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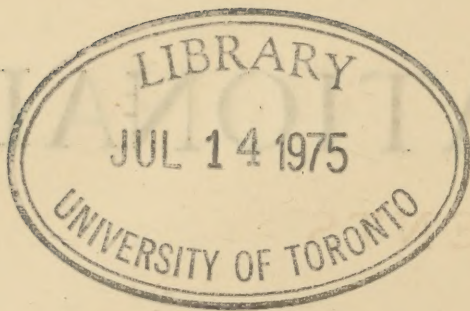
THE

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THE
INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1878.

THIERS.

I.

FATE summoned, in gray-bearded age, to act
A history stranger than his written fact,
Him who portrayed the splendor and the gloom
Of that great hour when throne and altar fell
With long death-groan which still is audible.

He, when around the walls of Paris rung
The Prussian bugle like the blast of doom,
And every ill which follows unblest war
Maddened all France from Finistère to Var,
The weight of fourscore from his shoulders flung,
And guided Freedom in the path he saw
Lead out of chaos into light and law,
Peace, not imperial, but republican,
And order pledged to all the Rights of Man.

II.

Death called him from a need as imminent
As that from which the Silent William went
When powers of evil, like the smiting seas
On Holland's dikes, assailed her liberties.
Sadly, while yet in doubtful balance hung
The weal and woe of France, the bells were rung
For her lost leader. Paralyzed of will,
Above his grave the hearts of men stood still.
Then, as if set to his dead lips, the horn
Of Roland wound once more to rouse and warn,
The old voice filled the air! His last brave word
Not vainly France to all her boundaries stirred.
Strong as in life, he still for Freedom wrought,
As the dead Cid at red Toloso fought.

THE ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL WEALTH.

PART I.

THREE QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE.

NO enterprise, public or private—the tilling of the earth, the manufacture of cloth, the navigation of the ocean, the education of a people, or the governing of a state—can reasonably be expected to command success, or be other than under the control of adventitious circumstances, unless those intrusted with its supervision and carrying out have from the outset such a clear idea of their intent and purpose as will enable them to make answer satisfactory to themselves or others of these three questions:

1. *What is it that it is proposed to accomplish?*
2. *What are the conditions precedent, or instrumentalities available or possible for doing that which it is proposed to do?*
3. *What has been the experience of ourselves or others in the past in seeking the attainment of the same or a like purpose?*

These questions are at all times pertinent and profitable for discussion, let the sphere of their application be what it may. But their importance can not well be over-estimated when their application is made national, and to a situation like that in which our country at present finds itself, with nearly every branch of its industry, trade, and commerce depressed, and such great diversity of opinion among its people, both in respect to the causes of such depression and the methods of relief or remedy. Let us therefore apply these questions, direct and in order, to the nation and the situation, and see if, through inquiry and discussion, we may be led to any thing in the way of profitable conclusion.

THE OBJECT OF NATIONAL LIFE.

And *first*, in respect to the question, What as a nation do we propose to accomplish? or, rather, What may we theoretically be supposed to desire to accomplish? the following would seem to be the only possible comprehensive and, at the same time, correct answer:

To insure to the whole people the greatest possible average of material abundance; and that degree of intelligence which will enable the people to use such abundance most advantageously for the attainment of the highest physical, intellectual, and moral development.

In proof of the correctness of this answer, attention is asked to the circumstance that so long as a man is engaged in a mere struggle for an animal existence, he can be but little more than an animal; and that the first step in social progress and the indispensable condition of all continued progress is, that there shall be such a degree of material abundance as will afford leisure or emancipation from the necessity of constant physical toil. For without leisure there can be neither opportunity nor taste for that acquisition of knowledge on which the progress of civilization depends. Wealth, therefore, must accumulate before knowledge begins.¹ Wealth must, furthermore, be very equitably distributed before a whole people, in contradistinction to a class, can attain any very high standard of intellectuality, purity, and righteousness. And herein is to be found one reason—and that a foremost one—why the efforts of those whose special mission it is to endeavor to make men better are so often productive of but little benefit. The full measure of the example of Christ, who fed and healed the people at the same time that he taught them, is not comprehended or followed; and the next great advance in theology will undoubtedly be found in making the study of political economy an indispensable adjunct of all systematic theological teaching; or in recognizing that the laws underlying and controlling the production and distribution of material wealth, if not identical with the laws underlying and controlling all intellectual and moral progress, are at least so far similar and closely connected as to be mutually interdependent.

It may also be here pointed out that there is no want of harmony between these propositions and the definition of the object for which the nation was instituted, as given in the preamble of the Constitution of the United States; for union of the people governed, and the establishment of justice, liberty, domestic tranquillity, and the means of common defense, are provisions so essential for the common welfare, that in their absence it would be in vain to expect the attainment on the part of any community of any high degree of material abundance or civilization.

¹ Buckle's History of Civilization, vol. i. p. 31, American edition.

THE CONDITIONS OF NATIONAL ABUNDANCE.

To the *second* question, What are the conditions for the attainment of the maximum of national abundance, and the attendant blessings which flow from the possession and use of such abundance—assuming such to be the essential object of a national existence? the answer must be necessarily somewhat complex. There must be, in the first place, the proper conditions of soil and climate—"the soil regulating the returns made to any given amount of labor; the climate regulating the energy and constancy of the labor itself." Mr. Buckle affirms that there is no instance of a country becoming civilized by its own effort, unless it has possessed one of these conditions in a very favorable form.

Opportunity, through favorable concurring circumstances of soil and climate, being once afforded, then that opportunity may be availed of to the largest extent, there must be physical efficiency or energy on the part of the population that compose the nation; adequate capital, or the results of accumulated labor; and intelligence, quick to devise and skillful to use instrumentalities for economizing labor or utilizing the natural forces; for the character of the tools a people use in the work of production indicates more distinctly than almost any other one thing the line, not only between barbarism and civilization, but the successive degrees of civilization when once attained. Contemporaneously also there must be protection and security for life and property; and such a system of law, morality, and administrative government as will prevent to the greatest extent the interposition of obstacles in the way of the equitable distribution of the wealth of the nation, when once achieved, among the masses.

Finally, one other condition ought to be included in this enumeration, which is not generally recognized as among the precedents indispensable for the attainment and retention of the maximum degree of national prosperity; and that is, that the nation shall possess homogeneity; or should not have incorporated into its national life, either by immigration or annexation of territory, a race element that it will not socially assimilate with or politically digest. All experience shows that the Anglo-Saxon type of race in the United States will not, or can not, socially assimilate with or politically digest the colored races—black, copper-colored, or yellow;—and where national assimilation or digestion will not take place, national indigestion or dyspepsia is inevitable; occasioning

disturbance, arrest of development, strangulation, and dissolution, according to the extent of the indigestible material which has been taken into the system.

In saying all this, little has been submitted but truisms, familiar to the merest tyro in economic and social science; and yet it is in such an enumeration of conditions only that we can find the standard by which our national economic possibilities may be gauged and estimated. Making next an application of our present national situation to the standard presented, what then do we find?

And first, in respect to our purely natural resources—a theme upon which the average American, with an enthusiasm founded upon intuitive perception, is ever so fond of expatiating as to make it difficult to offer any thing in the way of evidence that is not familiar—it is only necessary to remark that any really sober statement of our national advantages, in almost any particular, will, when contrasted with the conditions that prevail elsewhere, almost always seem to be more or less of an exaggeration. And if to such resources are added the character of the people that have entered into their possession—their energy, intelligence, quickness of perception, skill and ingenuity in adapting means to ends, and making the most of every situation—it would seem as if, for the first time in the world's history, that the conditions of the ideal state had been realized, and that under such auspices humanity was certain to attain its largest development.

Before, however, quitting this department, the writer can not forbear adding to what is already familiar, one or two items of evidence that have recently come to his knowledge, in illustration of what may be termed the extent of the natural capital available to our people for the attainment of abundance. Some few years since, during the construction of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, a number of foreign capitalists, attracted by the almost marvelous reports concerning the cheapness and mineral wealth of the lands underlaid by coal in the Kanawha district of Western Virginia, caused an examination to be made, with a view of making long-time investments in them, which would prove ultimately profitable, if not to themselves, at least to their descendants. The report made by their agent was substantially to this effect: The land is there, and though generally mountainous, is often fair for agricultural purposes. It is in large part covered with a magnificent growth of valuable timber. It is underlaid by coal, in part canal and oil-yielding, to such an extent that it would be almost

impossible to calculate the quantity above water-level that is readily accessible—a superficial geological survey having disclosed eleven workable seams belonging to the lower coal-measures alone, which aggregate fifty-one feet in thickness. The land can be bought in tracts for an almost nominal figure, and is, or at no distant day will be, accessible by railway; while along the line of railways already existing, iron ore, of superior quality, rises into ridges or cliffs, from fifty to seventy-five feet above the general surface. But such at the same time is the extent of such land, that to purchase it, and hold subject to taxes and interest, with the expectation of profit from augmenting value, would be a good deal like purchasing a portion of the Atlantic Ocean with the expectation of deriving profit from a future scarcity of water. And yet it is not in this favored locality, according to Mr. Lothian Bell, one of the best of English authorities who has studied our iron and coal resources, that the future centre of iron production in this country is to be; but rather in the yet comparatively unsettled regions of Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama, where the natural resources are even yet greater.

A word also in respect to cotton. Before the war, one of the difficult problems presented to us was the future of the so-called exhausted lands of the northern belt of the cotton country; and after the war, with the termination of the compulsory labor system, another seeming difficulty was the obtaining of a sufficiently reliable labor supply to admit of our again controlling the markets of the world in respect to this great staple. The first problem has been in a great degree solved by the greater degree of intelligence which, under the pressure of necessity, has been brought to the business of cotton cultivation; and also by the discovery in South Carolina, in the form of immense beds of mineral phosphates, of a fertilizer, which not only supplies the very element which exhausted cotton land seems to need; but is also said to so modify the character of the cotton-plant itself, as to admit of the advancement, by more than a degree of latitude, of its limit of northern cultivation. The change noted in the relation of labor to the cotton product may perhaps be better illustrated by the following story rather than by any argumentative statement.

In the late fall of 1874, a New York banker, prospecting the crop, got out of the cars at a small station on the line of one of the Alabama railroads. Noticing at a little distance, just emerging from the wooded road, a cart of the most primitive character,

drawn by a horse and a mule, containing two or three bales of cotton, he sought an interview with the driver and proprietor, and originated the following piquant and instructive conversation: "Your cotton looks good," said the interrogator. "Have you been troubled with drought?" the season having been unusually dry. "Drought?" responded the owner of the remarkable team, while a feeling of disgust seemed to steal over his face; "no, we watered the plants!" "Then, how about the worms?" which had also been very destructive. "Why, hang it, man, we picked them off;" while the deepening shade of disgust on the countenance of the respondent seemed to round off the sentence, by asking, in return, if the visitor was so green as to suppose they—the man and his family—were going to allow the drought or the worms to interfere with the supply of hog and hominy, to say nothing of whiskey and other things, in the cabin of that cotton planter for the ensuing winter. And in this last surmise was the key of the situation. The proprietor was what is termed a "*poor white*," who, before the war, had probably thought it beneath him to attempt any regular labor; but who, since the war and the impoverishment of his great neighbors, had found so many obstructions in the way of getting a living by living off from others, that he had been forced to learn that the easiest and most certain method of making himself comfortable to a degree never before experienced was to raise a little cotton, and raise it good. And having come to such a conclusion, it was not in that sort of human nature to allow what would have been insuperable obstacles to the cultivator of a hundred acres, to impair the product of his one or two acres. And what was true in this instance is known to be true to a very great extent throughout the South, especially in the older cotton States, giving these noticeable results: 1st. The building up of a class of small white proprietors, cultivating the soil, which never before existed, giving promise of the attainment of such a higher manhood as will ultimately greatly strengthen the State. 2d. An annual cotton crop more reliable and certain in quantity, yet not so capable as before of being closely estimated. 3d. Cotton better in quality and at a lower average cost—so low, indeed, that nothing can be more certain than that the control of the cotton market of the world by the United States will ultimately be more complete than ever.¹

¹ Shortly after the close of the Philadelphia Exhibition of 1876, Mr. Edward Atkinson, of Boston, one of the judges of Group No. 8 (textile fibres, fabrics, and machinery), caused to be prepared a circular, embodying a series of carefully con-

WAGES AND INTEREST.

A brief word here also, in respect to the efficiency of labor, considered as an element, in the problem of attaining the maximum of national abundance; and without which, any advantages arising

sidered questions, relative to the (then) present cost and product of cotton culture in our cotton-growing States. This circular, widely sent to persons intelligently engaged in cotton cultivation, elicited a large amount of new information respecting the condition of this great branch of American industry; and gave estimates of cost of production, ranging from six to fifteen cents per pound, with a general average of nine and six tenths per pound; and a range of product from 125 pounds to 2500 pounds of lint or staple per acre; the lowest estimates of cost and the largest estimates of average product coming from Texas, North Carolina, and Georgia, which are essentially farming States; and the highest estimates of cost and the lowest of product from Mississippi and Louisiana, which were formerly the locations of the largest and best plantations. As a further deduction from the results of these inquiries, Mr. Atkinson also reports:

“The plantation system is virtually at an end, and the farm, largely cultivated by white labor, is rapidly becoming the rule rather than the exception. Hence it is that all the *a priori* estimates of crops are becoming year by year more uncertain and delusive. Less than 2 per cent of the area of the cotton States is under cultivation in cotton, and the little crops of innumerable small cultivators, scattered all over the broad land, can not be counted until they are delivered, and when a school-boy working at odd hours and on Saturday afternoons, can make and pick four bales of cotton in a season, who can tell what cotton costs to produce, or how much there will be? Of such a case I have an authentic record.”

Another thought in connection with this subject is eminently worthy of the attention of the public. The inquiries instituted by Mr. Atkinson demonstrate, what was not unknown before, namely, that there is exceedingly great diversity in respect to cost and product, under equally favorable natural conditions of soil and climate, in the results of cotton cultivation in the Southern States; and that if the intelligence and methods of culture which now obtain, among the comparatively few, were to become general, the result would be a large increase of product at greatly diminished cost; a more complete monopoly of the world's supply of cotton on the part of the United States, and an augmentation of the abundance (wealth), not only of the cotton States, but also of the whole country. To effect such a result would seem eminently worthy of the attention of the Federal government, operating through the Bureau—namely, that of “Agriculture”—which was specially instituted to do such work. But such work this Bureau has never effectively done. It has never done any thing, with a large annual expenditure, equal in promise and value to the results of the private investigation above mentioned. It has never had a man at its head who ever had any comprehension of the grand possibilities of his office for usefulness, growing out of its right to command the resources of the government for collecting and diffusing information; and in illustration and proof of these averments, it is to be noted that at the present time this Bureau is devoting its energies particularly to the promotion and extension of the production of cane-sugar, the product of a plant that is exotic to the United States; which is limited in its growth under any circumstances, to a comparatively small section of our territory; and which, in the absence of the large bounty offered for its cultivation by the high tariff imposed—mainly

out of soil and climate will avail but little. The principal factors in determining this efficiency are peculiarities of race and breeding; the command and use of a generous and diversified diet, as contradistinguished from a diet meagre, uniform, and lacking in nutrition; general intelligence and education; and such political and social environments as encourage rather than depress and degrade the laborer. The advantages under all these heads being very great in this country, the laborer, or producer, in point of efficiency in the United States, has had in times past no superior; and, with the exception of the population of the British Islands, and some of the British colonies, no equal competitors. The result of which is, that the average product of labor in the United States has been and is in most particulars exceptionally large; as is proved by the circumstance that the average rate of wages and the average rate of interest for many years has been high. The people of the United States have been taught that the existing high average wages—the element of abnormal currency inflation not being taken into account—are the results mainly of legislation; and that it was desirable, also, to endeavor to reduce the rate of interest by some other methods than by increasing the supply of capital. But large product and high wages, and low product and low wages, are natural reciprocals, which in a community essentially free, legislation is powerless to materially alter; while an investigation of the conditions of the various civilized nations of the world reveals the fact that the degree of material prosperity which they severally enjoy is more nearly indicated by the per cent of interest which they are able and willing to pay, than by any other standard—average interest measuring the annual growth in wealth, and a large interest rate the share of capital in a large annual increase of product.¹

for revenue purposes—on the importation of sugar of foreign production, would hardly be cultivated at all with a view of profitably employing either labor or capital. Cotton, on the other hand, which needs intelligence and economy, and not bounties, to render its cultivation far more profitable than it now is, receives little attention from the government.

¹ The author, in this connection, can not forbear quoting the following clear statement from a private letter recently addressed to him, by a New York man of business, who studies and reasons on fiscal and economic subjects, not for the purpose of presenting any results to the public, but simply in order to acquaint himself with the nature of the economic and fiscal laws which directly or indirectly affect his business. He says:

“Of all the questions of political economy, there are none less understood, nor does ignorance of any other lead to such deplorable mistakes in the financial schemes of American politicians and legislators as this, namely, ‘*What is the principle which*

It will be observed, in this season of depression, when capital commands less than the average American rate of interest, that we have no more capital than we had in the country several years ago

governs the rate of interest? An impenetrable cloud seems to hang about this simple inquiry, to the darkening of almost all who essay to speak of it. If once clearly understood, we should hear no more nonsense about 'a currency adequate to the wants of trade,' nor of legislation 'which shall permanently lower the rate of interest.'

"A popular statement of the law or principle is, that 'the rate of interest depends on the abundance or scarcity of that part of the capital of a community which does not consist of money.' Suppose we say instead, *The rate of interest depends upon what can be made out of capital loaned.* We then have the law, and a law to which there are no exceptions.

"Without attempting to carry my argument upon this subject to a conclusion, allow me to offer a few suggestions which point that way.

"In practical life no one is hindered or hesitates an instant in a right determination of this question. All who wish to borrow and honestly pay, first ask, Can I use this borrowed capital so that, adding my care and labor to it, the resulting profit will enable me to return it with the interest, as agreed, to the owner, and leave enough to compensate me? A farmer wishing to start in his vocation, borrows and invests in the cheap, fair, and fat lands of the West. With good climate, good government, light taxes, good access to market, and the best approved implements, his *labor* and *capital* produce abundantly. Another, equal in character, energy, and ability, borrows an equal sum to start in the same occupation upon the granite hills of New England. Before beginning production, he must hew down a forest, and then for years delve carefully and industriously about the stumps, for scanty crops. It needs little arithmetic to determine which can afford to pay *capital* the larger percentage. The Western man can flourish and pay ten per cent, which in fact he does, while the Eastern farmer must work hard and live closely to pay six per cent, as for the past two centuries he has done. That the richest communities do not of necessity pay and receive the lowest rates of interest, or the poorest of necessity the highest, needs little observation to prove. While the United States were thinly settled and comparatively poor, the rate of interest was several per cent less than when in later years they had grown populous and rich; the reason being, as far as the farming interests are concerned, that we are occupying better lands and working with better implements and facilities; and as, especially with us, farming is the predominant interest, its prosperity is reflected and shared by all others.

"The exceptionably favorable conditions in which the American farmers, mechanics, and manufacturers work, enable them to produce a larger per capita and aggregate of wealth than is probably made by any other nation, and thus is labor enabled to render to capital the large percentage of interest so long current with us.

"We have said that to the law 'that the rate of interest depends upon what can be made out of capital loaned,' there are no exceptions.

"An examination of the incidents which make the wide interval between the lowest and the highest rates paid will show that they are all subject to it. The trustee, the widow, and the retired man in lending and calling for absolute security, are willing and obliged to receive a less rate of interest than the average, for the conditions they require limit the use of the capital they loan.

"The spendthrift who borrows upon post-obits, and the merchant who in panics borrows at usurious interest to save himself, both act upon the principle of this law, and in imagination or reality are largely paid by the result."

—probably less—when the rates were much greater; and for this difference there is but this one explanation, namely, that from various causes, capital can not now be used in such a manner that the profit resulting from its use would justify a high rate of interest.

LENDERS AND BORROWERS, EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYED, ALWAYS SILENT CO-PARTNERS.

In short, there is always a solidarity or silent co-partnership between the lender and the borrower; and between the employer and the employed. If capital employed in production is remunerative, those who use it will compete with each other, and thus cause a high rate of interest; and this rate will be proportioned to the rate of profit on the production. And if employers are making large profits, they will compete with each other to obtain the services of laborers, and by this competition, the wages of labor will advance to correspond to the profits of capital, or of the employers. This partnership between the money-lender and the money-borrower, and between the employer and the employed, is always continued and can never be dissolved. Therefore the rate of interest and the price of labor constitute the surest indications of the profit of production in any country. Therefore, the small rate of profit that accrues at present from the prosecution of almost every variety of business in this country forbids the payment of either high interest or high wages. A New York capitalist who was recently asked if he was willing to lend his money at four or five per cent, made answer to this effect: "Yes, so long as I am getting, as I am at present, my full share of the profits of the borrower. When my partner, the borrower, and other borrowers, come to realize a greater profit than they now do from the employment of capital, they will voluntarily pay me a higher rate of interest."

If the warfare upon capital in the form of loans—which is now popular, and which is now impairing the confidence of capitalists and retarding the lending of capital—should be continued, lending in the United States will finally cease. But the *lending* of money having once ceased, the *selling* of money—*i.e.*, the exchange of money for land and other property—would continue, and with greater advantage to the seller: and the power of the capitalist, instead of being impaired, would really be increased by the change. For it is evident that if no one will lend capital, those whose necessities compel them to borrow will have to sell their property, and at just those

prices which the capitalist—who is naturally averse to owning and managing property except at a greater remuneration than the average return for money at interest—is willing to give. The aggregate number of persons who are willing to lend in any community, is always much larger than of those who have such special knowledge of any particular class of property as will make them willing to buy. And so the class having this special knowledge, if there is no borrowing, will have special opportunities for the purchasing of property at reduced rates.

Usury laws are founded on the idea that it is possible to reduce the rate of interest—which is the rent of money—by statute enactment; but any thing which obstructs or prevents the *rent* of money increases the *purchasing or selling* power of money. Those who have special knowledge about property and the command of capital can, under such circumstances, take the greatest conceivable usury, through the enforced sacrifice of property, through the necessities of its owners, at low prices. These profits may be *fifty* or even one hundred per cent; but no law is violated, and the public does not complain. Accordingly, no usury law can be effective which does not also embody, in addition to limitations on the rates of lending, provisions forbidding the purchase of property, except at prices established by statute. But an arbitrary edict of this character, in this age of the world, would be universally discarded and condemned. It is pertinent and instructive, however, to here recall the circumstance that in old times legislation on this subject of usury, if absurd and unjust, was generally logical; for, while fixing the rent of money, it also established the purchasing power of money, by fixing the prices at which not merely commodities, but also labor, should be sold. The believers in modern usury laws are not, therefore, believers in either reason or logic. “I never violate the usury laws,” said a noted New York money-lender. “Why should I? I have only to bide my time, and when the necessities of the borrower become great, and he can not command money at the legal rate, he will sell me his property at usurious rates.”

The friend of the people who annually rises in the American State legislatures and proposes to enact legal measures looking to a compulsory and unnatural reduction of the rate of interest on capital, does not realize that if he could be successful in what he proposes, he would at the same time inflict a most serious blow upon labor; for capital and labor, in order to win any large measure of reward, have got to ride the same horse; and any treatment, in a free com-

munity, which impairs the quality of the animal for carrying one, will not permanently increase its ability to carry two. One of the shrewdest men of New England, who was the architect of a fortune for himself and many others, in the days when public expenditure was expenditure for public purposes, was accustomed to say, if you are looking for a good place to locate your boys in business, select those districts where interest and taxes are the highest. And he was right; for assuming that honesty and discretion are the rules of action, such districts would be the ones where capital and labor would command the highest reward for their services, and where private wealth was willing to contribute the most for the public good.

Again, upon no one department of economic science have the American people more confused and erroneous ideas than upon the relations that exist between the price of labor and the cost of the products of labor; and this muddling is due in no small degree to the absurd assumptions almost always made by the advocates and defenders of the doctrine of protection in the United States, that *a day's wages* is the proper unit of measure for determining the cost of similar products in different countries; when the fact is, as nearly all economists except the Americans have long perceived, and as Professor Walker in his recent work on wages has more clearly than ever before pointed out, that the price of a day's labor conveys no more idea of the comparative cost of labor products in different countries than the boy's comparison, "As big as a piece of chalk, or as long as a string," does of either length or capacity.¹

¹ "Wages are high or low according to the abundance or scantiness of the necessities, comforts, and luxuries of life which the laborer can command, without particular reference to the value of the service which he renders to the employer therefor. The cost of labor, on the other hand, is high or low according as the employer gets an ample or scanty return for what he pays the laborer, whether the same be expressed in money or commodities; so that high wages do not imply a high cost of labor, or low wages a low cost of labor. A sufficient demonstration of this is found in the well-known fact that employers usually take on their lowest-paid laborers last and discharge them first. The explanation is to be found in the varying efficiency of labor. The extent to which the consideration is popularly neglected may be seen by recurring to any discussion of the question of 'protection,' whether in the legislature or the public press. The mere announcement that a day's labor can be had in one country for ten cents, in another for fifty, while in a third it commands \$1.50, conveys to the mind of one familiar with the statistics of industry not even an impression as to the comparative cost of labor in different countries. Yet it has been held by a large party in the United States to be conclusive of the question of 'protection,' that laborers in other countries are more scantily remunerated than in our own. The avowed object of protective tariffs here is to keep wages from sink-

RELATIONS OF CAPITAL TO NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

Attention is next asked to a consideration of our resources as a nation in respect to capital, using the word exclusively in the sense of accumulated labor, as an element in the problem of securing national abundance. And first, it is to be noted that the condition of affairs in reference to the supply of capital is very different from what it was only a comparatively few years since. So long as nations were separated from each other by natural barriers, which it was difficult to overcome, or artificial barriers, the result of race-prejudices, or economic laws founded on the principle that free exchange was something hostile to abundance and morality; so long each country had to depend on such aids to its own natural powers of producing as resulted from its own savings; but now that steam, the telegraph, and the diffusion of knowledge have in great part or altogether removed these barriers, and made nations geographically remote commercially near, the amount of the world's *active* capital that any nation may command is limited only by the conjoint remuneration and security which it will offer. Just laws providing for the security of property and investments of capital and the efficient enforcement of such laws by those intrusted with the administration of the state, are, therefore, as

ing to the level of Europe and Asia. The allusions to 'pauper labor' which crowd the speeches of Clay, Stewart, and Kelley have significance only as it is assumed that a day's labor in any one place is the economical equivalent of a day's labor anywhere. It is, however, very far from the truth that a day's labor is always and everywhere the same thing."—*The Wages Question*, Walker, chap. iii. pp. 40-41.

"Where wages are high, we shall always find the workmen more active, diligent, and expeditious than where they are low."—Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*.

"In the quarry at Bonnières, in which Frenchmen, Irishmen, and Englishmen were employed side by side, the Frenchman received three, the Irishman four, and the Englishman six francs a day. At those different rates, the Englishman was found to be the most advantageous workman of the three."—*Work and Wages*, Brassey, p. 82.

"A ship-owner who had ships repaired in almost every port in the world states that he has nowhere found the work done cheaper than by the dearer labor in the British ports."—Edwin Chadwick, *Address British Association*, 1862.

One of the largest shoe manufacturers in Switzerland has reported to his countrymen, as one of the results of his visit to the United States at the time of the Philadelphia Exhibition of 1876, that while the shoe manufacturers in Massachusetts pay their workmen in certain departments very much larger wages than are paid for corresponding services in Switzerland, he found on examination that the work cost by the piece in Massachusetts only one half as much as it did in his own factory in Switzerland.

essential instrumentalities for insuring the material prosperity of a country as favorable soil or climate, or efficiency of labor; and a country in respect to development had better be stricken with famine and pestilence, than with a policy that impairs the security of either property or debts; for famine and pestilence are in general of not long continuance, and can be speedily alleviated or remedied by efficient human effort; but the extent and duration of the blight that is certain to come to all co-operative human effort from plighted faith broken, or confidence wantonly impaired, are matters that no man or community can arbitrarily control or determine. The managers of railroad property in the United States have doubtless often failed to use the trusts and privileges granted them by the public for the best interests of the public. But when a State like Wisconsin, with a view of remedying such grievances, assumed the right to arbitrarily fix freights and fare on the railroads by her chartered, at such rates as rendered such property unremunerative to those who represented the labor and capital that created it, she virtually appropriated private property without returning an equivalent, and brought on herself and the country a calamity much greater than that which she endeavored to escape from. For thereupon an understanding was instinctively, or by agreement, arrived at on the part of owners or controllers of active capital everywhere, to have no dealings with Wisconsin or her people, which could by any chance come to be submitted to her courts or legislature; and to-day Wisconsin is to such a degree cut off from the use of the capital of the world, for the furthering of her material development, that if she would engage in any public enterprise she must rely on her own resources, or pay for foreign or other American capital such a rate of insurance against bad faith, in addition to the ordinary interest, as will greatly diminish the profit of using it. And that this assertion is not made without warrant, attention is asked to the following extract of a letter recently addressed by the President of the Chicago and Superior Railroad to the editor of the *Wisconsin State Journal*, the occasion being the return from an unsuccessful mission to Europe to negotiate a loan for the completion of that road:

“The most formidable and only real obstruction,” he says, “to my negotiation was the legislation known as the Potter bill, which practically closes the European market against all Wisconsin securities, and most of the other Western or, as they are called here, the Granger States; and while money is exceeding plenty, and large amounts of it seeking investment at low interest, parties can not be in-

duced to examine any Western railroad enterprise, with a view of floating its bonds, while several Eastern railroads have been able to place their bonds in the market at large prices and a low rate of interest."

And in illustration of the uselessness as well as the mischievous character of the so-called "Potter laws," it has been asserted by those competent to judge, that there has not been a railroad grievance, for the redress of which such laws have been enacted in Wisconsin and other States, which might not equally well have been remedied by making it the duty of the attorney-generals of the several States, on the complaint of any citizen, to properly enforce the common law, which prohibits common carriers from making unreasonable charges for transportation.

In short, one of the lessons of the day which the people of the United States have not yet fully learned, and perhaps will not except through farther hard experience, is, that in contending against capital, even if capital is tyrannical, the worst thing that can happen, especially for the laboring classes, is that capital shall be so far controlled as to be terrified; for, as the Parthians, discharging their arrows over their shoulders, were most deadly to their enemies during their flight, so capital inflicts its heaviest blow on its opponents, when becoming terrified it runs away, and abandons all effort to defend itself. It would be also well for the public to bear in mind a fact that, in reasoning about these matters, they often seem unconscious of, and that is, that the word *capitalist* does not always mean the owner of vast possessions, to whom the loss of a little interest is no real inconvenience; but more frequently a very humble individual, whose stock investment represents the result of long years of labor and economy, and to whom the deprivation of a little interest makes all the difference between comfort and discomfort, abundance or poverty.

In forecasting the extent to which the future material development of this country is likely to be dependent on a future ready and cheap supply of capital, the bearing of the recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in the so-called Granger cases should not be overlooked; more especially the decision of March, 1877, in the "Chicago Elevator Case." In this case the court laid down the future law of the country as follows: "*When one devotes his property to a use in which the public has an interest, he, in effect, grants to the public an interest in that use, and must submit to be controlled by the public for the common good to the extent of the interest he has created. He may withdraw his grant by discontinuing*

the use ; but so long as he maintains the use, he must submit to the control." The reader, who has probably shared the general indifference of the American public to all such matters, needs here to be informed that in this case the defendants, private citizens, erected a warehouse and elevator at their own expense in the city of Chicago, where they transacted the business of receiving and storing grain for hire. They claimed the right to use their own property in such a manner as they desired, not inconsistent with the equal rights of others to a like use ; and denied the right of the Legislature of Illinois to fix the compensation which they might receive for the use of their own property in their private business, and for their services in connection with it. The rightfulness and legality of this position a majority of the United States Supreme Court, however, denied. The building used by the defendants was for the storage of grain. In such storage, they said, the public has an interest ; therefore, the defendants, by devoting the building to that storage, have granted to the public an interest in that use, and must submit to have their compensation arbitrarily regulated by the legislature.

But consider next what the minority of this same court said ! "If this be sound law, if there be no protection either in the principles upon which our republican government is founded, or on the prohibitions of the Constitution against such invasions of private rights, all property and all business in the State are held at the mercy of a majority of its legislature. The public has no greater interest in the use of buildings for the storage of grain, than it has in the use of buildings for the residence of families, nor indeed any thing like so great an interest ; and according to the doctrine announced, the legislature may fix the rent of all tenements used for residences without reference to the cost of their erection. If the owner does not like the rates prescribed, he may cease renting his houses. He has granted to the public, says the court, an interest in the use of the buildings, and 'he may withdraw his grant by discontinuing the use ; but so long as he maintains the use, he must submit to the control.' The public is interested in the manufacture of cotton, woolen, and silken fabrics, in the construction of machinery ; in the printing and publication of books and periodicals, and in the making of utensils of every variety ; indeed, there is hardly an enterprise or business engaging the attention and labor of any considerable portion of the community in which the public has not an interest in the sense in which that term is used by the court in its opinion."

“If the legislature of a State, under pretense of providing for the public good, or for any other reason, can determine, against the consent of the owner, the uses to which private property shall be devoted, or the prices which the owner shall receive for its uses, it can deprive him of the property as completely as by a special act for its confiscation or destruction. If it be admitted that the legislature has any control over the compensation (for its use), the extent of that compensation becomes a mere matter of legislative discretion. The amount fixed will operate as a partial destruction of the value of the property, if it fall below the amount which the owner would obtain by contract, and practically as a complete destruction, if it be less than the cost of retaining its possession. There is, indeed, no protection under the constitutional provision,¹ which does not extend to the use and income of the property, as well as to its title and possession.”

The record of all experience is to the effect, that every State which embodies in its structure a system of slavery, or a system of law which impairs the security or limits the ordinary use and enjoyment of property, contains within itself the seeds of its own decay or dissolution; to stamp out the life of which when once quickened, generally involves terrible internal social convulsions. In 1620, a Dutch vessel quietly landed twenty slaves at Jamestown, Virginia. The issues involved in this transaction, which the public at the time apparently regarded with approval, or at least with indifference, required for their ultimate settlement the expenditure of thousands of millions of dollars, and the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of lives. Has a vessel bearing a like pernicious freight, quietly and with public unconcern, sailed into our ports during the past year? Certainly, in view of the opinions of a minority of the Supreme Court, above, in part quoted, it can not be affirmed that this question is not worthy of very serious consideration.

¹ “Nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law.”—14th Amendment Constitution of the United States.

THE SECOND HARVEST AT OLYMPIA.

THE first period of excavation at Olympia closed at the end of May, 1876; and the second began the 23d of the following September. During the first year, the laborers were chiefly recruited from Tsakonia,¹ and they had their lodgings in tents near the temple of Zeus. This year, the commencement of the work called together a large force of laborers from the numerous neighboring villages. The inhabitants of these villages cherish the most friendly feelings toward the great undertaking. To say nothing of the indirect advantages which they receive from the presence of the German colony, it is to the persistent pressure of the German government that they owe the first wagon-road connecting their vineyards and currant plantations with the harbor-town Katakolo, now the thriving port of Elis; and they welcome the opportunity which the excavations offer to their children of receiving from German experts systematic instruction in manual labor.

The number of laborers employed has varied according to the demands which the cultivation of their own fields has made upon their time and strength. The highest figure reached was 260. The laborers fall into two classes. First, there are those who lay open the soil in its upper layers, load it up and carry it away. Then there are others who loosen with the pickax the earth at a lower level. For this latter labor, in a stratum where discovery is expected, only such workmen are employed as have been through a somewhat protracted training, and whose carefulness makes it certain that they will not injure any object which they may discover.

The different groups of workmen are under the control of overseers. In this latter capacity, a Dalmatian and a German (both late employés of the lead-works at Laurium) and a Greek are in our service. A fourth overseer is under appointment of the Greek government, and is directly responsible to the Greek commissioner, Dr. Demetriades, at whose disposition a small detachment of sol-

¹ Tsakonia is the modern name of Kynuria, the eastern part of ancient Lakonia. The Tsakonians speak a dialect strongly Doric in its character, and are an industrious and enterprising people.

diers is also placed, that he may be in a situation to quell any disorder that might arise among so many workmen. Thus far, however, not the slightest interruption of good order and good feeling has occurred.

Dr. Demetriades informs the Greek government as to the progress of the work, and conducts the negotiations for the acquisition of territory into which it is desired to extend the excavations. At the close of each term of labor the three store-houses which, at present, serve as receptacles for the antiques, are sealed by the employés of the two governments. The German overseer remains on the ground during the intermission of labor, to care for the German houses and property in the village of Druva.

The second campaign was begun with the advantage of a better-trained laboring force, and the excavation was further facilitated by the employment, on a large scale, of carts instead of wheelbarrows. Notwithstanding, the progress was at first slow, and the booty of the last months of the year 1876 was not abundant.

Ground was first broken on the west side of the temple of Zeus, and in the following manner:

First, a ditch, 25 feet in width, was laid open along the west front of the temple, and then, intersecting this at its middle point, a second trench was dug in the direction from east to west, crossing the ruin of the Byzantine chapel uncovered by the French excavators in the year 1830, but since silted up, and extending to the precipitous brink of the Kladeos. The object of digging this trench was twofold: first, to lay bare the ancient remains which it was confidently believed lay beneath the church; and, secondly, to provide a passage through which the earth, removed from before the west front of the temple, might be most readily carried to the brink of the Kladeos, and thence dumped into the stream below. Months, however, passed before this twofold object was accomplished, and the extraordinary dampness of the season contributed not a little to delay the operations. No year could have supplied a more striking illustration of the contrast between the climate of the eastern and western portion of Greece. Excavations, simultaneously in progress, could be prosecuted without interruption day after day under the dry sky of Argolis and Attica; but in the valley of the Alpheios, of old the famous seat of Zeus Kataibates,¹ through November and December, the storms which followed each other in frequent succes-

¹ Ζεὺς καταιβᾶτης, 'Zeus in tempest descending.'

sion, changed the entire region of excavation, lying as it does several meters below the surface of the surrounding land, into a swamp, and occasioned repeatedly a stoppage of all operations.

Notwithstanding all this, discoveries were made before the close of the year, which notably augment our knowledge of the sculptured ornaments of the temple and give new confidence as to results in the future. The first discovery was a head belonging to a figure of the east pediment, which gives us a new view of the art of Paionios. It is unfortunately only a fragment, yet half of the upper part of the face is extremely well preserved, and we trace in this a workmanship far superior to that of the head (the bald head of the sitting old man) discovered last year. This head, that of a man past middle age, is carefully executed. The hair is confined by a band, and around this band the ends of the locks of hair are wound.

Next in order there emerged from the fragments of the east front a colossal draped figure which can be built up from the fragments which have been found, complete even to the head. It is a matron, hewn in broad free lines. Buried in thought, she leans the chin upon the left hand, which, in its turn, is supported by the right hand and arm.

Next appeared two heads of horses, giving us the first knowledge how the heads of the horses of the two four-horse spans were represented, partly in relief and partly as detached sculptures.

Here was substantial progress toward peopling the east pediment. Here are discoveries which throw a new light upon the fragments found last year; and they also give new promise for the future, for the more the space within the gable-end fills itself with figures, the more reason to hope that what still remains wanting may be supplied.

Our hopes of success on the west side were not confident. We regarded it as the weather-side, and from the specimens of the sculptures of the west pediment which came to view last year, we had resigned ourselves to the expectation of finding only extremely damaged and weather-worn fragments of Alkamenes's work. What a surprise, accordingly, it was, when, in the middle of December, statues were found, which excelled, in their degree of preservation, every thing which the soil of Olympia had hitherto yielded! Especially noteworthy was the colossal head of a woman which was drawn forth absolutely uninjured from the accumulated earth, just before the temple steps, into which it had fallen. This head, a specimen of genuine Attic art, was at once a pledge of an unhopèd-for harvest

and at the same time a tantalizing enigma; for we have not been able to satisfy ourselves how, within the precincts of a furious Centaur-conflict, place could have been found for a woman's head so unperturbed in expression.

Last of all, before the end of the year there came to view two admirable metopes, an Athena and an Iolaos, two figures which stand fitly by the side of the combating Herakles, and two peculiarly characteristic specimens of the Peloponnesian school of sculpture. We could, then, enter upon the new year with a good degree of confidence, and, although the rain-storms continued to be unusually frequent until March of the present year, yet there began speedily to appear, instead of isolated, occasional discoveries, a series of objects standing in such relation to each other as to bring into a new stage of advancement our knowledge of temple sculptures. The heads which were found before the west pediment had rolled to the ground before the temple fell. Now there was revealed in succession the entire row of columns lying parallel to each other in a N. E. direction, as they had fallen in the earthquake; and, beyond them, the sculptures which had been hurled to a remoter distance than the columns and architraves. From this field of ruin, there arose one lifelike work of art after another, in surprising variety. There were groups and single figures; attitudes expressing the intensest physical exertion, and the most absolute repose; gods and half-human Centaurs; heroes and heroines; slave-maidens and reclining nymphs. We found, in three months, three groups of Centaurs in the act of seizing and carrying off women; one group representing a boy held fast in the embrace of a Centaur's arms; a kneeling female figure on whose bosom a Centaur's head is traceable; then, a series of single figures all nearer or more remotely engaged in the furious combat. There is the figure of Theseus brandishing his ax in his two hands which he raises above his head. There is a shrinking female figure drawing the folds of her garment together under her chin to conceal her face. There are other female forms, which have fallen to the ground in the conflict, and which, alike by their undignified attitude and by their ignoble features, are recognized as serving-maids of foreign origin. Then came two nymphs, reclining at their ease, and remote from the tumult of conflict, and finally the head of a god, executed on a larger scale and in a nobler style. This god is Apollo, who is to be recognized as the indignant avenger of crime, appearing in the very midst of the fury of combat. Surely a more

varied harvest of the fragments of the figures of one pediment could not have been expected.

At the same time the east gable was peopling and arranging itself. A splendid discovery in the space before the middle of this end of the temple restored to the so-called Poseidon-torso of last year the missing lower parts with the garment, and the figure was now identified as that of Zeus, the central figure of the pediment. Since now the female figure, hitherto called from its resemblance to the Vesta of the Giusstiniani collection Hestia, was recognized as belonging to this pediment, and since the now unmistakably identified statue of Pelops rendered it certain that to the previously so-called Pelops the name Oinonaos belonged, the result of a few weeks was—the middle group of Paionios complete! To this there are to be added the four-horse spans, on either side of the central group, with the persons of higher and lower rank belonging to them, so that at Easter we could reconstruct with certainty, as far as regarded essentials, the east pediment. True, most of what has been found is in fragments, yet the fragments are such as to give the chief dimensions of the figures, and with every new piece which is found, the probability of finding what is still wanting is increased. There remain, indeed, points not yet cleared up, but these will receive, in the course of the excavations, and in consequence of the research which accompanies them, their elucidation. In addition to the work above mentioned in the immediate vicinity of the temple, the Byzantine church was laid bare during the first quarter of the present year, and this excavation shed a clearer light on some points in the history of the plain of Olympia. It was recognized that before the overthrow of the temple of Zeus, a Christian church had been built here to form the new center of the hallowed spot. It was seen that this church rested entirely upon the foundations of a Greek sacred building. These foundations, rectangular in form, measured 32 x 12.40 meters, and were elevated 1.25 meters above the level of the bed of the Altis.

When the space before the east end of the temple of Zeus had been thoroughly cleared away to a breadth of 50 meters; before the west end, to a breadth of 35 meters; along the north side, the ancient level of the Altis uncovered to a width of 25–35 meters; and finally, the ditch crossing the Byzantine church had been extended to the Kladeos, we proceeded, from Easter onward, to run different trenches from the temple of Zeus as a center, with the

purpose of investigating the northern and north-eastern portions of the Altis. This was the more important because it could not be certainly known whether circumstances would permit us to complete the laying bare of the entire surface of the Altis.

Those directions were of course selected which seemed most likely to furnish additions to the fragments of temple sculptures already found. A ditch was dug toward the north-east, in which direction we must suppose the great altar to have lain; a second, parallel with the east front and in a line with it, toward the north; and a third, in the same direction and parallel with the west front. This trench must, we assumed, cross the precinct of Pelops, that sanctuary the position of which, next to that of the temple of Zeus, has been most definitely handed down to us. It lay north of the west end of the temple of Zeus, and in a direction parallel to it. This trench was called, from the objects which it was expected to reveal, the Pelopeion-trench. Although it failed to disclose the desired spot, either because the Pelopeion has wholly disappeared from the face of the Altis, or, as I think more likely, because the ditch had not followed precisely the right direction, it led to a surprising discovery, and one which exceeded all our expectations.

It revealed, at a distance of 80 meters north of the temple of Zeus, the substructure, rising on each side in three steps, of a Doric temple, which was recognized as the temple of Hera, the most important building, next to the temple of Zeus, within the inclosure of Olympia. This identification was placed beyond a doubt by the discovery, on the 10th of May, of the statue of Hermes by Praxiteles, mentioned by Pausanias as situated in the Heraion, and found by us in the cella of the temple. The north trench yielded insignificant results in comparison; it laid bare, on the slope of the hill Kronion, a semicircular terrace fronting toward the south. This structure, built of brick and originally faced with marble, is a Roman work and was built by Herodes Atticus, who erected upon it statues of Marcus Aurelius and his family. Fourteen colossal marble statues, eight female and six male, were found lying as they had fallen, and in essentials well preserved. This discovery, in itself of minor importance, gave an encouraging testimony to the fact that without as well as within the Altis, no general, complete destruction of statues had taken place. The north-east trench finally struck, at a distance of 100 meters from the north-east corner of the temple and at the foot of the hill Kronion, the massive foundations upon which there stood, in ancient times, the treasure-houses

of Olympia, and the row of bronze statues of Zeus.¹ Add to these discoveries the wonderful recovery of the upper part of the face of Pelops, so important an aid in reconstructing the east pediment, and the upper portion of the base of the Niké statue, and it will appear how fruitful of results were the closing months of the season of the present year. Not only have we revealed, in the discovery of the Heraion, fragments of an ancient and important temple of the Peloponnesus, which shed light on the history of architecture, but we are enabled to establish the locality of certain points essential to the determining the topography of the region.

Molds of the sculptures found have been made by Martinelli, and photographs of the originals have been taken by the brothers Rhomaïdhes. The casts from the molds will be made in Berlin, and will be set up there as far as possible in their original order and arrangement. The photographs form the second series of the "Excavations at Olympia," which will be accompanied, like the first series, by a brief explanatory text. The volume is to contain, from the east pediment, photographs of Pelops, Zeus, Sterope, a crouching youth and maiden, three bodies of horses, and the fragment of the head of a man. From the west pediment there are the following photographs: a female head with part of the neck, a kneeling woman, the reclining nymph of the north corner, the Centaur with a maiden, the head of one of the Lapithæ, Theseus, the head of an old woman, the torso of one of the Lapithæ, an old woman prostrate, the upper part of a woman's body, the head of an Apollo, Dedrameia and a Centaur-torso, a woman struggling with a Centaur. Besides these, there are the two metopes, and six of the best preserved Roman statues, also bronzes and terra-cottas. The Hermès of Praxiteles will be photographed and reproduced in plaster during the present year.

Having thus given a brief report of the progress and of the results of the excavations of 1876-7, I attempt to describe their significance and value from a scientific point of view.

The periods of excavation were two, of eight months each, though the first was reduced, by the time lost in training workmen, to five; the second seriously interrupted by unfavorable weather. During this time—not to speak at present of the statue of Praxiteles, of the Victory of Paionios, of the fifteen Roman statues, the four metopes, the inscriptions which number nearly one hundred, the

¹ Ζῆνες.

bronzes and the numberless architectural fragments in stone and colored terra-cotta—there have been brought together nineteen marble statues of the east pediment, and fourteen from the west pediment, and thus such an addition has been made to the stock of material for the study of Greek art as had not been made for many years. The pieces found, moreover, are almost universally fragments of large size, since the original figures were hewn from mighty blocks of marble, and we owe it to the superior quality of the marble that the smaller fragments have so well retained their form that, in very many cases, they can be restored to their proper places. We have not, for example, so many little fragments of doubtful belonging, as Thorwaldsen had to do with in his restoration of the marbles of Ægina.

Moreover, we have to deal, not with a provincial and nameless school of sculpture [as at Ægina], but with original works of those who were recognized as masters in the best period of Greek plastic art. These are men who have their place and part in a period when the development of art was most rapid, and their works furnish the most instructive parallels to contemporaneous monuments in Athens, and afford a firm chronological foothold from which to approach both the preceding and succeeding times. We make the acquaintance of contemporaries of Pheidias—that master from whom we as yet possess no original work—in their highest achievements, and we learn to know *one* of these contemporaries in works which seem to mark different periods of his development.

These works, moreover, were regarded in antiquity as marking an epoch in monumental art, and as objects of pride to the whole nation. They are works executed in the grand style, whose interpretation, in all important points, is clear; works which stand in mutual relation, and because of their architectural disposition can be surveyed as a whole. Many a problem, indeed, do these discoveries propose, many a missing link and many a doubt remain; nor can we say how far the lack will be supplied or the doubt removed by later discoveries. Still we have, in any case, an abundance of historical facts, and, resting upon these, we shall be able to cast a new glance into the development of Greek plastic art. The knowledge of the history of ancient art which it has hitherto been possible to gain, so to speak, only in drops, now breaks forth upon us, from the bosom of the Altis, in a free-flowing stream. The first feeling in which we all unite is that of rejoicing that these treasures of ancient art have been kept safely hidden in the ground in such a

degree of preservation as the boldest anticipations did not dare to predict. We are tempted to chime in with the utterance of Pausanias, who, as he gazes in astonishment at the glories of Olympia, as they appeared before his eyes, sees therein the special preserving care of Zeus for the place where his festival was celebrated.

What attitude, now, shall scientific inquiry assume in the face of this wonderful increase in the material for study here presented to her? She must modestly learn, and, in perfect freedom from prejudice, must familiarize herself with what is offered. We have been reproached because English reporters have anticipated the Germans in æsthetic criticism of the separate works. We have thought that we did our duty in bringing the treasures to light as fast as possible and in making them accessible to general inspection. As to passing critical judgment upon the artistic value of each work, we hold that there is no special haste. We believe that the right time for such judgment will not come until the separate figures shall have been brought together.

Suppose that we had discovered a tragedy of Æschylus in marble, who would sit in judgment upon the single fragments before he had done his utmost to study the entire composition as a whole? We know already what has been the result of our attempts to pass judgment upon Paionios before we knew what works, in fact, proceeded from his hand. Let the curious contradictions in this case attest how unsafe a guide, as a rule, is our æsthetic judgment. On æsthetic grounds, the same sculptures have been assigned by one party to the period before Pheidias's arrival in Olympia; by another, to the period subsequent to the Peloponnesian war. In the same works there has been detected, on the one hand, a radical difference from the sculptures of the Parthenon, and on the other an evident dependence upon and imitation of the same. It is my conviction that no judgment deserving of confidence can be passed upon the style of these sculptures, until they shall have been more completely brought together and shall have been examined by men who have practiced the sculptor's art, as well as by those who have made it a subject of scientific study. Then, too, the method of arrangement, the extent to which color was employed in decorating the sculptures, the dependence of the artists upon foreign aid, must all be most thoroughly investigated. It will be evident from these remarks, that what follows is not advanced as a final conclusive judgment, but that my object is simply to communicate re-

flections which have suggested themselves from careful inspection of the newly-found sculptures.

Can any species of antique sculpture offer a more attractive and satisfying object of study than the plastic adornment of the temple-pediment? No department of artistic representation belongs so peculiarly to the Greeks as this, for here that combination of architecture and sculpture on which the greatness of Greek art rests, was most successfully realized. In the groups of colossal figures which the Greeks employed to adorn the two ends of their temples, they themselves were wont to behold the triumphs of their national art. These were the masterpieces of their talent for composition, the product, after the deepest study, of their fertile thought. Here every technical difficulty is in the most brilliant way overcome, and the difficult problem—that of filling out with living figures a space shut in by the lines of a geometrical figure—is so solved that there is no sense, in beholding the artist's work, that he labored under the limitation of a prescribed space.

In the study of the groups of a pediment it is a great advantage that the figures, as they are successively found, are easily arranged according to their size and position in their original relation to each other. Thus we are able, with little use of subjective hypotheses, to trace out the thought of a classic master, and to restore his work with the certainty that, in essentials, we reproduce what was originally there.

The scientific study of Greek art has received its best impulse from the study of sculptures belonging to Greek temples, or, like the Niobe group, composed after the analogy of Greek temple sculptures. Similar researches in the future will be essentially furthered by the discoveries at Olympia. But we have also found inscriptions which, from their relation to the sculptures of the pediment, are of special interest and value. Contemporaneous with those earliest lines of inscription on the Acropolis, relating to the pediments of Attic temples, there lies before us here perfectly intact, and once more restored to the light of day, the inscription of Paionios, the most concise and instructive sculptor's inscription which has ever been discovered. Its contents appear fully to harmonize with the knowledge which we have of Paionios from other sources, while it also starts new problems and suggests new doubts.

“Paionios of Mende made it (the statute of Niké). Also he made the ornaments for the temple, and through them was the victor.”

When I published this inscription, I had no hesitation in drawing the inference that a competition had taken place between the two masters, of whom we know that one composed the east, the other the west pediment ; and that in this competition (which I suspected, from the analogy of similar instances, was subsequent to the completion of the work), Paionios was declared, by the temple authorities of Elis, to be the victor.

But a second and different explanation of the inscription has been proposed. According to this, the Greek word¹, which designates in general the ornament which crowns the upper part of a structure, should be restricted to the ornamental figures which formed the outer extremities of the triangle of the pediment ; *i. e.*, to the 'Akroteria' in the narrower sense. These would be the figure of Niké, above the centre of the pediment, and the two amphoræ of bronze at the two corners. These decorations, it is maintained, remained unprovided for on the completion of the pediments. For their execution a competition was ordered, and in this competition Paionios, as furnishing the best models, was declared victorious, and the finishing of the temple was committed to him. I am not ready to dispute the force of this theory, but I deny that any grammatical ground, or any ground soever, *compels* us to understand the word 'Akroteria' in the narrower sense ; for it is precisely the plural of the word which is usual when a single pediment is spoken of. When I consider the matter on general grounds, it appears to me improbable that a famous master like Paionios, to whom the composition of the pediment had been intrusted, should exult over a victory which he had gained through a piece of extraneous decoration.

It seems to me that we are not in condition to pass a positive judgment upon the inscription, and that we shall exercise our penetration upon it in vain. In the face of the mass of new material which is now so richly offered us, we must positively refuse to entertain questions which do not admit of an answer. To this category belongs, for example, the inquiry : From the booty of what war was the Niké of Paionios dedicated ?

Here archæological research may learn a lesson from natural science, which only consents to seriously undertake an investigation, when a method has been discovered which promises to bring the same to a successful termination. Let us consider first what we

¹ Ἀκρωτήρια.

have given us, and direct our attention accordingly to the two pediments, and to what they have in common.

We lack especially the suggestions which would come from the inspection of an expert, because no experienced sculptor has visited us at the scene of the excavations. There is, however, apparent in the same pediment not only a difference in the workmanship, but also in the material. The head of a divinity of the west pediment, for example, appears to be cut from Parian marble of the finest quality, but the character of the execution betrays the limitations of the local art. In the same figure the lower portions of the garment are rough and neglected; the upper, which are visible from below, are better executed. This is illustrated in the figure of the kneeling woman of the west pediment. The transition from a free detached figure into relief is very clearly illustrated, not only in the four-horse span, but also in human figures. For instance, the upper part of the body of the woman who holds with both hands her garment over her breast, is only executed in relief. The comparative neglect of the parts which are concealed or turned away is general yet not universal. The beautiful group of the Centaur who grasps a boy (unfortunately not yet photographed) is so thoroughly executed in every part that even the arm behind the back is perfectly shaped and most carefully wrought. This reminds us of the best pieces of the pediment of the Parthenon, although even there a close inspection discovers a neglect of the parts which were turned away. Traces of different hands upon the same work, and of different grades of artistic skill, have also been detected in the Parthenon. But here we shall be led more and more to recognize, as our study of the sculptures progresses, that the sculptures at Olympia were not only the work of hands differing in practice and in skill, but also of artists of wholly different schools; and, in the second place, that different claims were made and a different standard prevailed at Olympia than in the city of Perikles. In Athens, the master-artist stood in a most intimate relation to the statesman who controlled the finances, and both, regardless of outlay, strove for one object—namely, to satisfy the highest demands of artistic taste. The works of monumental art were not only to have the proper effect upon the spectator who beheld them from below, but they must sustain individually with success every test of their merit. Athens was recognized in the rest of Greece as having reached the summit of excellence in art, and the desire was general throughout Greece, when adequate means were at hand, to procure the adorn-

ment of suitable works of art. The curators of the temple at Olympia concluded contracts with the first artists of Athens, and these latter were no doubt determined to accomplish at Olympia the best which their art could bring to pass. But so many skilled artists could not be spared from Athens as would be necessary to complete the work at Elis by the hands of workmen of the Attic school. It would also have been an unpopular measure to exclude Peloponnesian sculptors. The officials at Olympia, moreover, desired that the entire work for which they had contracted, and from which they anticipated a heightened fame for Olympia, should be completed in the shortest possible time: the finish, in all the details, was to them a less important matter. Such considerations explain the union of Attic and provincial talent which we trace at Elis, and which may also be inferred in other parts of Greece where Attic artists labored, *e. g.*, at Bassae, and at Delphi, and it is because of this lack of finish in the execution of details, which is recognizable in the sculptures of all these places, that we can speak of a provincial art style in contrast to the Attic art at Athens.

It is evident that it is a matter of the highest interest to follow out these differences in detail. For this much time and much careful observation are necessary. The figures of the metopes already found sufficiently prove that a school of artists, skilled in working in marble, existed in Elis.

It seems to be established that the Peloponnesian artists who aided the masters from Athens were more successful in representing the naked figure than the garments which draped it, and that they succeeded better, in the treatment of garments, with fabrics falling down in tightly-drawn perpendicular folds than with those which hung in thick masses, or were gathered together in compact bunches.

Common to both gables is the neglect of the hair. The aid of color is relied upon for all minute representation. In the case of the figure of the old man in sitting posture, the head of which was the earliest found of all the heads, the mustache itself is only rudely shaped in marble. Yet there are exceptions to this carelessness of execution. In one of the figures of the east pediment, many details are neglected, but the numerous windings of the locks of hair around a band which encircles the head are carefully and admirably represented. So also special honor to the head of the god in the west pediment seems to be intended, by the care with which the locks of hair are executed even down to the finest detail.

There are certain attitudes which frequently recur in both groups of figures, because especially adapted to the space which it was necessary to fill. Among these typical forms may be mentioned especially the figures in the corners, the reclining river-divinities, which find their unmistakable model in the corresponding figures of the pediment of the Parthenon. Other recurring figures are such as are represented as sitting or crouching on the ground with the knee elevated, and finally the divinities occupying the central position of each pediment.

Having thus noted what is common to the two pediments, we turn now to a more instructive subject of study, to the respects in which they differ. It is one of the principles of Greek art to prefer, for the adornment of the façade of a temple, tranquil representations, that no impression of impassioned action may disturb the spirit of the devout worshiper as he approaches the temple. This principle is more conspicuously illustrated in the case of the temple of Zeus at Olympia than in any other temple of Greece, and we have no reason to doubt that the selection of the two masters was determined with reference to the different character which it was desired to give to the two temple pediments.

Even before the group of Paionios lay before us in its fragments, Pausanias's description left upon us the impression of a composition in which a stiff symmetry prevailed, at the cost of a lifelike representation. It is a solemn procession of monumental figures which stand immobile, one after another, with Zeus as the mathematical centre in the middle. Yet it would be premature if we were to recognize here without further investigation the evidence of an archaic style, and to declare, as has been done, the composition for one which could not have come into existence in the time after Pheidias. We must consider, first, the typical character (that of solemn repose) suitable to the east façade, and secondly, the high antiquity of the temple edifice, with whose style the calm seriousness of the composition had to correspond. Priestly influence, moreover, everywhere opposed to novelty, held sway in Olympia. If, however, the contest which had been so decisive for all time for the fortunes of Olympia, was to be represented in the pediment (and no more suitable subject could have been selected), we may well ask how the representation could have been changed and improved? The motionless expectation, on either side, of the sign from Zeus, must have made a powerful

impression. One must have felt impelled as it were to hold his breath in the presence of the intense excitement of the two groups of contestants, which insensibly communicated itself to the spectators. Nor was it a monotonous succession of detached parallel figures which filled the pediment; but there was a division into three groups: a middle group about Zeus; two side groups, each gathered about a four-horse span; and finally the figures at the corners inclosing the whole composition. The king of the gods is no rigid, immobile centre, such as, after Pausanias's expression, we should expect in a statue of Zeus; but it stands before us in modest guise, and its appearance is peculiarly human and youthful. The heroes on either side regard it with confiding look, as if it were one like themselves. The body is nobly formed in free lines. The garment, lightly cast around the hips, veils the entire lower part of the body. The left hand is pierced by a small hole which may have served as a means of attaching the thunderbolt. I am, however, rather disposed to believe that the god held in his hand some emblem of victory, as, for instance, a victor's fillet. The right arm hangs too close to the body to have carried a scepter.

Oinomaos standing with the right hand braced against his side, holds the other extended, and must have carried in this a lance. Pelops stands in the same position reversed. Hence we conclude that Pelops stood on the right (from the spectator's point of view) of Zeus; Oinomaos on the left. Farther to the right, beyond Pelops, came Hippodameia, in the motionless attitude of a shrinking bride, while next to Oinomaos stood his wife Sterope. Thus the five figures composing the central group were so disposed that those persons who as pairs belonged to each other stood in immediate proximity; while yet each group was separated from Zeus by a considerable interval. Next came on either side a four-horse span attended by three figures, described by Pausanias as a charioteer and two grooms. He says of each charioteer, that he "sits before the horses."¹ We shall be better able to judge of the meaning of this expression when we shall have experimented by placing the plaster-casts in various positions. It will then appear whether the charioteers had their place between the horses and the heroines who stand next in order beyond them, or whether they stood in front of the obliquely placed bodies of the horses and rose above them. It is noticeable that the two human figures, in which

¹πρὸ τῶν ἵππων.

we recognize beyond a doubt the charioteers, are turned in the same direction, so that one must have been turned toward, the other away from, the divine arbiter of the contest. Besides the charioteer, there were in the vicinity of each chariot two figures which corresponded as pairs to each other, but they can not be identified as grooms, in conformity with Pausanias's description. One pair consists of two old men represented as sitting buried in thought. The recently-found head of the second of these figures is characterized by a higher dignity than was the first, and I can suggest nothing better toward an identification of them both than the conjecture of Charles Newton, who holds them for seers. The figures of the second pair correspond with the greatest exactness to each other. Both crouch upon the ground, one knee resting upon the earth and the other raised above it. But one figure is that of a boy whose garment falls from the left shoulder down upon his back; the other a maiden, closely wrapped in a long garment. The latter looks toward the left, and grasps with the right hand the left foot; the boy occupies the reverse attitude.

An attempt has been made to bring these figures into relation with the river-divinities in the corners of the pediment, after the analogy of the west pediment of the Parthenon. Following out this idea, the female figure just mentioned has been christened "Arethusa;" but, although the supposition of such a pair is a natural one, nothing positive upon this point can yet be said; nor would the closely-draped female figure correspond at all to our conception of a nymph. Pausanias enumerates twenty-one figures in his description of the east pediment, and it is evidently his intention to omit no figure in his enumeration. Twenty-one figures, in larger or smaller fragments, now lie before us as the result of our excavations: ten to the right of Zeus; ten to his left. It would indeed be a curious coincidence, if the same two figures which Pausanias has failed to describe should have disappeared without leaving a trace, and the twenty-three figures exacted by some as needful to fill out the pediment, do not appear to me to be necessary. I hold the enumeration of Pausanias to be accurate and correct; only in the identification he must have committed numerous errors. Now it is an important matter to have established in the case of the east pediment that the correct understanding of one of the great compositions of classic art had been lost at the time of Pausanias, even by the official guides of the temple inclosure. There are no four grooms such as Pausanias describes. If Pelops

stood on Zeus's right, and Oinomaos on his left, then the river-god on the side of Pelops must have been not the Alpheios but the Kladeos, so that we must assume that the guide had either confounded the river-gods or the figures of the two heroes. Of chariots no trace has as yet been discovered, and as the charioteer on either side is described as sitting before the horses, it is probable that there were no chariots, which, in fact, it would have been difficult to introduce into the composition. The horses were represented as standing with all four feet upon the ground; fiery impatience was expressed in their heads alone.

We come now to the west pediment. The ruins of this were not found, like those of the east side, misplaced, overlaid, and united into separate fragments; for on the west there were no mediæval dwellings. Therefore single works of art were found here in better preservation than almost any other works of Greek sculpture, because they fell upon the soft *débris*, and remained lying undisturbed as they first fell. To this circumstance we owe the series of beautiful heads which have been found here; while those on the east front, not being especially useful as building material, were thrown aside. The west pediment was the exact opposite of the eastern. It embraced within its triangle the wildest movement. It resembled a sea, lashed by storms, while in the east pediment there reigned the stillness before the tempest. In each there are two parties; but in the one case they confront each other calmly, waiting for the signal for the contest; in the other, they are confusedly mingled in hand-to-hand conflict. Yonder is an epic repose in which we may imagine the figures as long remaining motionless side by side; here, a dramatic commotion so great that we feel that the groups which stand before our eyes must in the next moment change their entire position.

A survey of the whole composition is here incomparably more difficult, for the number of figures was greater, and the motives of the groupings and positions were much more various and bolder. Though a parallelism between the two sides of the pediment is not to be denied, yet the law of symmetry is by no means as strictly carried out as in the east pediment, and hence the reconstruction is made much more difficult. There is wanting too, in this case, a detailed description, such as Pausanias gives of the east pediment. He only notes, in general, the subject, the contest which broke out at the wedding festival of Peirithoos between the Centaurs and the Lapithæ. He calls attention to individual groups and persons,

extols Alkamenes, the creator of the work, as second to Pheidias in the mastery of art; but, further than this, he gives no distinct idea of the order in which the figures were arranged.

Among the pediments known to us, the west pediment of the Parthenon also depicts a violent conflict; but it is restricted to the central group, and the other groups remain in epic repose. In the Æginetan temple the pediments are entirely filled with combatants; but they are really only arrangements of combatants, in cold, academic pose, without real emotion, and each figure stands alone by itself, without relation to another. Here, on the contrary, we see the conflict carried out in a series of independent and connected groups. There are wild scenes of the rape of women and of boys, for which the groups on the metopes of the Parthenon might serve as types. But these contending groups are wrought by the gifted art of Alkamenes into a single battle scene, which filled the triangle of the pediment with colossal forms. We distinguish two classes: groups of detached figures; and groups of figures closely united in one common action. The former class may, for the most part, be identified with certainty. Here belongs the figure of an unclothed hero who, with both hands uplifted, must have grasped a weapon. According to Pausanias, this must have been Theseus, and he could have borne no other weapon at this peaceful festival than the ax used for the festive sacrifice. A second male figure is preserved, the torso of a hero striding forward with arms outstretched. These are the leaders of the Hellenes against the barbarity of the Centaurs. This barbarity is attested in five groups. We see a half-kneeling woman, who is still fully clad, with garments undisturbed, but the track of a Centaur's hoof shows that she has already become the object of an attack. The other groups are more distinct. We owe their preservation, in their most important parts, to the massive blocks of stone from whence they were hewn. There are two groups in which violence is on the point of succeeding unopposed: the capture of the boy whose beautiful form is unfortunately not yet modeled and photographed; and the capture of the maiden who, embraced by both hands of the monster and held fast by his right fore-leg, after vain resistance, lets her head sink despairing. We have every reason for recognizing in this group Eurytion and Deïdameia, the bride of Peirithoos. Here is exhibited in the same group the highest degree of muscular tension and relaxation.

Then follow two groups, in which is presented an energetic con-

flict, the result of which is not yet declared: a Centaur, holding in his embrace a woman, who with both hands thrusts back the face and bust of her captor, who is paralyzed by intoxication; further, a second Centaur hastening to the right, who in his haste has fallen on his knees, and is trying to drag along with him in his flight a woman grasped with both hands, who strives with all her might to get free from him, and to escape in the other direction. Thus we have two eccentric groups; the second we may call antispaetic. The fall of the Centaur is caused, no doubt, by an attack from another quarter, so that still a third figure is concerned in this group. Thus we here plainly see plastic art in that course of development which we have long since recognized on the frieze of Bassae. It is striving by accumulation of motives to make the groups more animated and more dramatic, and thereby more effective. We have, as in the drama, principal and minor characters. To the latter belong the figures in the background, viz., the woman stepping anxiously back, holding her garment together under her chin—further, the retinue, serving-women, who creep away in fright at the outbreak of the tumult, and, finally, the female spectators reclining in the corner. In this powerful drama the interfering god seems not to be wanting; but as long as the figure of the latter is not found, and as so little can be said with certainty as to the position of the chief hero, it is hardly advisable with the existing material, which is perhaps two thirds of the whole, to attempt a reconstruction of the pediment.

How Alkamenes was able to control this mass of individual figures, to establish a general unity, and by means of the towering figure of the god as a central point, vouching for the victory of the right, to produce a satisfactory and tranquillizing total impression, we can not yet perceive. But we regard with admiration the abundance of ingenious motives which, without making use of any thing foreign, serve to furnish this cosmorama. The sensual barbarity of half-animal monsters, the helplessness and heroic determination of noble women, the self-oblivious heroism of Hellenic heroes, the common distress of the subordinate persons, and finally, in the midst, the divine helper. As the eye follows from him as a centre, in both directions, outward down to the nymphs indifferently surveying the scene from the corners of the pediment, the long succession of figures, it discovers a wonderful gradation of the most various sentiment and disposition.

The especial good fortune which we meet with in the west pediment is the stately series of heads in good preservation, in which

the art, and especially the dramatic talent, of Alkamenes is very perceptible; for, just as we can distinguish in their very posture the different orders to which the figures belong, so their characters are mirrored in their physiognomies. The stupidity of the Centaur, who grins like a drunken Silenus, without energy and without clear self-consciousness, is expressed with surpassing truth. Then come the two remarkable heads of female attendants, of the slave condition: the one with long, hooked nose seems to betray a Syrian descent; the other is characterized, by her wrinkled cheeks, as a woman of riper years, and, at the same time, by the prominent lips, which she anxiously opens, as a foreign slave. The head of the reposing nymph resembles, in its comfortable, rounded outlines, that of a pretty peasant-girl, without other expression than that of a curious participation in the strange occurrences at the wedding repast.

Of the heads of the Lapithæ, only one is in really good preservation. It exhibits a painfully distorted face, without high ideality. On the other hand, we have two female heads which are especially conspicuous for their noble form; the head of Deïdameia, which could not be understood until it was adjusted to the body; and furthermore, a head on which part of the neck remains. This head is, in spite of the injury of the lower lip, the most charming of all female heads—a head full of life, a model of Attic grace, a picture of refined manners and breeding. Finally, the head of Apollo, with large nose and full, parted lips, is foremost among all the other Apollo heads from its size and its lofty style, as well as from the careful treatment of the hair. The expression, however, is fixed and lifeless. Thus we see how art still experienced great embarrassment in attempting to make a sensible, personal representation of the gods. The head faces the left, so that only three quarters of the countenance were seen, and the ear which is turned away is neglected. In the mouth we seem to perceive the anger with which the god looked down upon the outrages of the bestial Centaurs; but more emotion, more excitement than this, the sculptor did not venture to express in the countenance of the god.

It is worthy of note that a similar restraint also manifests itself in the more remarkable female heads. Here also the artist avoided depicting passion in such a manner as should in anywise detract from the quiet dignity and normal beauty of the countenance. This is especially the case with the woman whom we call Deïdameia. The weary sinking of the head on the breast alone reveals to us that, after vain exertion, she sorrowfully yields to despair, and resigns

herself to the inevitable. The lips are scarcely parted in lamentation.

The head of the other woman—probably that of the sitting one—is gayer and more animated. She is not yet overpowered, but only threatened, yet the face appears too unperturbed and calm even for her situation. Here also the endeavor to leave uninjured the beauty and purity of the features is predominant. While, in this case, a certain one-sided idealism stands in the way of a truthful representation, in the beings of an inferior sort, on the contrary, where such considerations disappear, a complete naturalism comes to light. Such is the case with the Centaurs and the two female slaves. In these the age, condition, descent, disposition, are distinctly denoted. The sharp characterization, which the artist did not venture on with the ideal figures, he gave to the subordinate ones.

This series of heads, the first colossal works of free sculpture which we possess of this art-epoch, will long furnish occupation for scholars. They show, more than all other remains, the uncommonly rapid progress in the development of Greek plastic art. The head of Apollo is still severely archaic, exhibiting an austere style, a national constraint, the full freedom of which in naturalistic representations forms a surprising contrast. We are reminded besides of the old time by the shape of the heads, which is such that we can not certainly distinguish between male and female, by the form of the eyes, which are strongly arched and oblong, and seem to be inclosed by thick lids, and by the parted lips, of which the lower one protrudes.

But not only is the diversity among the different types of heads noteworthy, but also the irregularity of shape which is perceptible in the same head. Thus, for example, the eyes of Deïdameia are of different size, and in the female head, from which the lower lip is broken off, one side is larger than the other. One plainly sees how far plastic art is already removed from the formalism such as is shown in the head of Apollo, and that it has begun to represent the human countenance in complete variety and freedom.

The plaster casts and photographs, which will be accessible in October to all friends of art, can alone make clear the views here expressed, and will give opportunity to artists as well as to archæologists to study, with this newly-gained material, the physiognomic productions of the contemporaries of Pheidias, of which we have until now known so little.

The great dissimilarity between the two pediments, which were

made by contemporary masters under like influences, is a memorable witness to the unsuspected many-sidedness of the artistic faculty in the time of Perikles. Still more noteworthy, however, is the conformity on a point where we least expected it.

Rathgeber, in his learned essay concerning the antiquities of Olympia, arrived at the opinion that a divinity was represented in the centre of the west pediment, as in that of the east pediment. Welcker rejected this view; "for," said he, "Pausanias would certainly not have failed to mention such a central figure." It now appears, nevertheless, that Herr Rathgeber was right, and the conjecture involuntarily occurs to us that Pausanias perhaps took the Apollo for Peirithoos, of whom he states that he stood in the middle of the pediment. In any case, we recognize that there was a necessity felt at that time for placing gods in the middle of the pediments, as their superhuman stature would most naturally fill the middle height of the triangle, and their decisive participation in the events depicted on the temple pediments seemed indispensable. These technical and religious motives are in full harmony with the views of the time. I mean those views, in accordance with which Æschylus, as well as Herodotus, made the gods interfere in human events, in accordance with which, also, the painters of the Poekile Stoa, in the market of Athens, made the immortals appear in the ranks of the combatants. We thus see how Paionios and Alkamenes, certainly not alone out of regard to the external symmetry, are, with all their other diversity, faithful to the same tradition, which also regulates the Æginetan temple pediments.

Paionios, of whom we formerly knew nothing, has now become known to us in two remarkably diverse productions. For who would conjecture that the Goddess of Victory was by the same master as the group on the east pediment, if it were not so well attested as is seldom the case in the history of art? The Niké is indeed an art product of the first rank, yet a purpose lies at the foundation of it. One feels likewise the endeavor of the master, among the mass of bronze figures which surrounded the temple, to show himself a virtuoso in the technical treatment of marble. The one work is as bold, surprising, and calculated for effect as the other is measured, solemn, and modestly subordinated to external rules. How seldom it happens that an artist, known to us by name, out of a classic period, is presented to us at once in two so characteristic works?

Alkamenes was much more celebrated than Paionios, and if, as I

shall proceed provisionally to assume, he was obliged to yield the palm to Paionios in his pediment, several reasons for it may be imagined. Perhaps he did not succeed, in spite of the Apollo, in investing the composition with the quiet dignity which was demanded in a temple pediment. It is quite possible, too, that the choice and conception of the subject were too Attic for the Eleans, and that the prominence of Theseus especially was displeasing to them.

Alkamenes must have been one of the oldest pupils of Pheidias, since he is said to have competed with him for the first place. Although recognized also as a worker in metal, he was pre-eminently a virtuoso in marble, one of the masters of the high style of Attic art. For if he could represent athletic figures, like his Pentathlos, so that they were regarded in the artist world as models worthy to serve as a standard, yet the renown which he maintained by the side of Pheidias was linked with his ideal representations of the gods. From his chief work, the statue of Aphrodite, in the "Gardens" near Athens, we may assume that it was he, before all others, who, according to the verdict of the Athenians, fixed in a worthy image the beauty of the Goddess of Love. Of masculine types he was most successful with the milder ones—Dionysos and Asklepios. He represented Hephaistos so that he appeared lame, but not at the expense of his beauty. His virtuoso-ship was exhibited especially in the countenance, in the delicate outline of the cheeks and the grace of the face, as seen from the front, while, until then, in the carving of pediments as in painting, one saw mostly heads in profile. Finally the mastership of Alkamenes in detail was boasted of, in the joints of the hands, in the delicate structure of the wrist. Such, according to Lucian, were the characteristic features of the art of Alkamenes.

We can now inquire into the justice of this praise, and I think that the heads which are preserved reveal the very master of feminine beauty. We perceive the fine observation of nature, which takes notice of even the slightest detail; we admire in the original works the soft outlines of the cheek, the delicate woman's hand, the speaking distinctness of the motions. How full of life, in spite of injury, are the two hands which push away the Centaur's head! Alkamenes was, indeed, a master of delicacy, yet not effeminate or sickly, but full of strength, bold, inexhaustible in motives. And side by side with the idealism which held him back from all contortions of the countenance of an Hellenic woman, he exhibits a

fearless realism in the representation of the non-Hellenic. Side by side with the restraint and repose in the countenance of the god, he reveals a mighty striving after increase of life and movement, in which he goes beyond what Pheidias produced.

Is it not a substantial gain to the scientific study of art that we can thus study men like Alkamenēs in their works?

We have also the first original work of a third master of Hellenic sculpture—Praxiteles. His Hermes, bearing on his left arm the little Dionysos, was found in that spot of the Heraion where Pausanias mentions it. The left arm, which was raised, and probably held a bunch of grapes, is at present wanting; also the upper part of the young Bacchus and the lower part of the feet with the base. It is a simple but highly interesting group. The tenderness with which Hermes regards the child agrees exactly with the art of the master, who was the first who knew how to express in marble the finer moods of the soul. The inclination of the head, as well as the whole reciprocal relation between the two figures, so corresponds with the group of Eirene and Plutos, the work of Kephisodotos, that we recognize therein in an unusual degree a tradition transmitted from father to son. This beautiful treasure can only be rightly appreciated when the casts and photographs shall appear.

The third period of work at Olympia began the last of September. The first task will be to excavate still further before the temple on the west, in order to find the missing remains of the pediment. The third part, which is lacking, can not have disappeared entirely without a trace. The second task is to take to pieces and examine the foundations of the mediæval buildings which lie before the east side, in order to collect, as far as is possible, the parts of the east pediment which are wanting. Then the Heraion, which is built of better stone than the temple of Zeus, and is therefore in better preservation, will need to be further examined, and finally, perhaps, the region from the temple of Zeus and the Heraion toward the east, where, around the great altar, was the sacred centre of the whole temple area.

May the threatening political situation of the Orient not impede in the coming years the German work of peace!

FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF ATHENS.

ABOUT two years ago¹ I recorded in this REVIEW my first impressions of Rome. I have now to do the like by a city not less famous than Rome, but whose fame is of a wholly different kind from that of Rome, and whose history and present state may profitably be contrasted with the history and present state of Rome. Here are two cities whose names are equally illustrious, illustrious above the names of all other European cities. But the claims of each to hold that lofty position are as unlike one another as if they had been deliberately invented to be put in contrast with one another. Rome, in two periods and in two characters, has been the ruler of the world. She has ruled the world with direct authority; she has so filled the minds of men with the idea of her authority, that men have rejoiced to bear her titles, to deem themselves her sovereigns or her subjects, when in truth their sovereignty or their subjection was nothing more than the shadow of a venerable name. As one form of Roman dominion died away, another form of Roman dominion gradually grew into life. There has been no moment, from the days of pre-historic legend down to the wars and controversies of our own time, when Rome has not stood forth before the eyes of men as one of the foremost spots on earth. The case of Athens has been different. Athens has never ruled the world, or any large part of the world with direct authority. In the days of her greatest splendor—when the central civilized world did not reach beyond a group of islands and peninsulas in the south-eastern corner of Europe—when the most distant outposts of that civilized world did not reach beyond detached points of the Mediterranean and Euxine coasts—even over that narrow world Athens never was mistress. The utmost that she ever reached was to be for about two generations one of two rival holders of a divided power, to be the chief of the Grecian seas and islands, while another city was chief of the Grecian mainland. While Rome is for all time, Athens seems, in our first glimpse of the world's history, to be only for two or three centuries. She seems to pass out of sight, even be-

¹ INTERNATIONAL REVIEW, May-June, 1876. "First Impressions of Rome."

fore the career of the separate Grecian world is ended. When that moment comes, she seems to be utterly lost in long ages of foreign dominion, from the Macedonian to the Turk. As history is commonly read, Athens has no historic being from the death of Dêmosthenês till the days of our own fathers—that is, on the charitable assumption that the days of our own fathers are taken into the account at all. Here, as almost always happens, the popular notion, though not the truth, has an element of truth in it. Athens has a history, a history which stretches from the earliest times to our own days; but, when a few brilliant centuries are passed, it is a history which, if the history of Rome is to be taken as the standard, may fairly pass for no history at all. In short, Rome never passed out of men's thoughts, and she has twice directly ruled over men's thoughts and actions. Athens for ages passed wholly out of men's thoughts; and at no moment did she ever directly rule over more than a few of her own immediate neighbors. And yet the fame of Athens is a fame which fully stands alongside of the fame of Rome. She stands alongside of Rome, as a centre of historical associations, as a place of historical pilgrimage. If she has not been, like Rome, the mistress of a realm of direct authority, she has had hardly less power as the mistress of a realm of indirect influence and of direct example. Athens leavened the world; she leavened Rome herself. Without Athens even the old Rome could not have been what she was, while new Rome could not have been at all. Rome ruled mankind with the twofold sword of the warrior and the lawgiver. Athens brought the world, not under her rule, but under her dominion, by the magic of a purely intellectual supremacy. If Rome planted her outlying seats of empire at York and Trier and Antioch, Athens planted her outlying seats of literature and philosophy at Alexandria, at Pergamos, and at Thessalonica. She planted them, too, in that spot which may pass for the common child of Rome and Athens, once an Athenian dependency, then the greatest of Roman colonies, that city of Constantine which for so many ages kept alive alike the tongue of Athens and the empire of Rome. And Athens, in the truest view of her history, has done more than this. It was something to be the chosen home of art and poetry, and history and philosophy; but the great democracy was yet more. The highest claim of Athens on the memory of man is to have been the parent state of justice and freedom, the spot where men learned that freedom and order could walk side by side, where assembled thousands first learned to listen to the appeals of rival speakers, and to decide

by a peaceful vote between them. We may reverence the home of her art on her Akropolis; we may reverence the home of her philosophy in her academy; but higher still are the associations of those stones cut in the hillside which mark the place where the people sat in the full exercise of sovereign power. There it was that Periklês put forth the schemes of his far-reaching policy; there Diodotos pleaded the cause of mercy; there Sôkratês refused to break the law, even when the voice of the sovereign called for its breach, and when the sovereign who called for its breach was no other than the Athenian people.

On turning to my Roman article, I see that I there set it down as the characteristic of Rome which first impresses itself on the mind that there seems to be such a gap between the earlier and the later monuments of the city. But I go on to say that, though this is true as a first impression, yet on minuter study it is found to be less true. I suspect that, to one who should visit Athens first and Rome afterward, the remark would not suggest itself at all. The traveler who comes to Rome from the north naturally misses those great monuments of the middle ages, with one form of which he has been familiar north of the Alps, while he has become familiar with another form of them during his passage through northern Italy. He misses the churches, the castles, the municipal palaces, to which he has become used elsewhere. At first sight there seems to be hardly any thing in Rome between the arch of Constantine and the new St. Peter's. More careful research corrects this impression; but it does not wholly take it away. Rome has positively a great deal which comes between those two dates; but she has little in proportion to many other cities, and what she has does not enter so directly into the general effect as either the earlier or the later monuments. The buildings which give Rome its special, and as it were its personal, character, are the buildings of the older empire and the buildings of the later papacy. Between these there is a wide gap in general effect, though more minute examination goes far to fill up the gap.

But, to one who came to Rome from Athens, one may doubt whether there would seem to be any gap at all. The gap at Athens is so much wider—it is of so much more startling a kind, that, compared with it, the Roman gap would seem as nothing. The severance between old and new is far more violent in every way. First of all—I speak of those monuments which in each case produce the general effect—what is old at Athens is so much older, what is new

is so much newer, than it is at Rome. Speaking roughly, our first impression is, that at Rome there is a gap of not much more than a thousand years, while at Athens the gap seems to be one of more than two thousand. At Athens, as at Rome, minuter researches will go some way to fill up the gap ; but the first impression which we get from Athens, as it now stands, is, that whatever is not as old as Periklês, is no older than Otho. And this impression is the stronger, because there is at Athens a much wider local severance between things old and new than there is at Rome. There are indeed quarters of Rome where every thing that is left is old ; and there is a growing quarter of Rome where nearly every thing is new. But there is a large part, perhaps the larger part, of Rome in which the old and—we will not say the new but the comparatively modern, are closely mixed up together. Some of the most precious remains of the older Rome stand out from the midst of the papal city in the Campus Martius. But our first impression of Athens is that one part of the city is wholly old and that another part is wholly new. There is the Akropolis and the parts immediately adjoining it, where every thing seems to be two thousand years old or more. There is the modern city, with the king's palace as the most prominent object, where every thing seems to be forty years old or less. Nor is this impression wholly false. There is a region which is wholly old ; there is a region which is wholly new. But a further inquiry shows that there is also a region where old things and new are to some extent mingled, and where, moreover, we may find objects which are neither so old nor so new as those which strike us at first sight. As at Rome, then, so at Athens, something may be done toward filling up the gap. But we can not come at all so near to filling it up as we can at Rome. At Rome we can trace out an unbroken succession of monuments from the earliest times to the latest, though at some stages our examples come few and far between. At Athens we presently come to see that the seeming gap of two and twenty centuries has no real being ; but, however near we go toward filling it, we shall have to leave two or more gaps of several centuries each which we can do nothing to fill up.

The difference between the general look of Athens and the general look of Rome is the natural result of the difference in the history of the two cities, and above all in the history of the most modern times of all. Rome has seen not a few unpleasant and dangerous visitors ; but she has at least not had to endure the dominion of the Turk. Bajazet the Thunderbolt did indeed threaten to feed

his horse on the high altar of Saint Peter's; but the arms of Timour freed Rome and the world from that danger. And when Mahomet the Conqueror had stretched his power as near as Otranto, the second Bajazet was not at all likely to carry out the threats of his forefather. Rome has been under a foreign yoke more lately than Athens; but it would be absurd to compare the two forms of bondage. It is the three hundred and sixty years of barbarian rule—broken only by a momentary deliverance which did more to destroy than to preserve—which makes the greatest of all differences between Athens and Rome. Here is the greatest gap of all; here is the gulf which parts off the elder Athens from the newer. Under the Turk Athens fell lower than Rome fell in her darkest days. Even when contending barons turned the monuments of older times into houses of defense against one another, when they joined their forces to welcome or to withstand the coming of a pope or of an emperor, there still was a kind of life in Rome, such as *it* was. But at Athens under the Turk, there was simple death. None among the many revolutions of Rome so utterly broke the continuity of her being, none so utterly parted off the time before it from the time after it, as the Turkish occupation of Athens, or of any other spot where the Turk has ever ruled. There is no such great gulf fixed between any two periods of Roman or other western history as that which is fixed in the history of any eastern European land by the encampment of the Asiatic horde within its bounds. Add to this that, as regards the fate of the material city, no spot in Greece suffered more than Athens during the war of independence. Taken and retaken, assaulted and defended, by friend and foe, Athens came out of the struggle a ruined city with hardly an inhabited house. If, then, Athens was to become again the dwelling-place of man, above all, if she was to become the capital of liberated Greece, something like a new birth of the city was needed. Athens had to be built afresh, as she had herself had ages before to be built afresh after her occupation by the Persian, as Rome had somewhat later to be built afresh after her occupation by the Gaul. Thus there has been at Athens within our own times an ending of one state of things and a beginning of another, in a way to which there has been no parallel in Rome since very early times—to which there has, in truth, been no parallel to Rome at any time. The occupation of the Gaul answered to the occupation of the Persian, not to the occupation of the Turk. Each was a momentary occupation which destroyed the buildings of the city, but which in no way broke the real life of the

city. Houses and temples perished ; but Rome and Athens lived on at Veii and at Salamis. Three hundred and sixty years of barbarian bondage was another matter. There was no Veii, no Salamis to flee to. Men had to bear the yoke in their own homes, and to sit still while the iron entered into their souls, till the day of deliverance came.

In point of chronology, the Turkish occupation of Athens nearly answers to what we may call the papal occupation of Rome. The final establishment of the popes at Rome after their flittings to and fro, the beginning of the days of the *Renaissance* at Rome, happened about a generation before the Turkish conquest of Athens. The Turks destroyed and the Popes destroyed ; but the Popes did something besides destroy. If they wrought greater havoc among the remains of the elder Rome than Goth or Vandal, than Norman or Saracen, than Colonna or Orsini, they at least called a new city into being, a great and stately city, which no one has destroyed, which no one has ever wished to destroy. The dominion of the *Renaissance* Popes is a period in the history of Rome ; but it is not a break. The Turkish dominion at Athens can hardly be called a period in the history of Athens. It is a mere break, a time during which Athens ceased to be. We can quite understand the feeling with which the founders of regenerate Athens wished to wipe out all traces of Turkish rule, to make the regenerate city look as though the Turk had never been there. Such a feeling is not a wholesome one. The facts of history are abiding, and it is vain and foolish to try to wipe out their material witnesses. But the feeling, if vain and foolish, was natural. Nor is it very wonderful, however much to be regretted, that the same feeling has gone further still. There has been far too much in Greece of going back to a far distant past, of dreaming of that distant past, almost striving to recall it. Men's minds have dwelled on a few favored centuries ages of ages back, till it almost seemed as if all later ages, and all memorials of later ages, were intruders on Hellenic soil. No doubt the memories of Roman, Byzantine, and Frankish rule are less pleasing than the memories of the old Athenian commonwealth. But all alike are parts of the history of Athens, of Greece, and of the world. The historian can have no sympathy with the mere classical pedant who thinks only of the events of a few favored ages, who cares only to preserve the works of a few favored ages. In the wider view of œcumenical history, the lessons of one age may be more attractive, more instructive than

those of another; but no age is without its lesson. All are alike parts of the great whole; of none are the material witnesses to be recklessly swept away.

It is, then, to the rule of the Turk, to the warfare which was needed to put an end to the rule of the Turk, to the feelings which his rule and the consequences of his rule gendered in men's minds, that the startling contrast is owing between the ancient Athens on and around the Akropolis and the modern Athens where the king's palace, the House of Assembly, and the University are the most prominent objects. Except a few of the churches which startle us here and there, among the streets of the modern city, the monuments of intermediate times are found for the most part in a quarter of their own, lying at the foot of the Akropolis, between the ancient and the modern city. Here are several of the surviving remains of Roman times; here the Byzantine churches lie thickest. Here is the only monument of Turkish times which at once proclaims itself as such. But none of these are among the more prominent buildings of the city. None of these strike the eye at the first glance like the ancient temple or the modern palace. There is, indeed, one small monument of Roman days which is very prominent in the general Athenian landscape, namely, the monument of Antiochos Philopappos on the Mouseion hill. But, though this monument is prominent in the general view, yet it does not, in the general view, proclaim its own date and nature. As seen at the first glance, it might be of almost any date; it is not till we come close to it that we take in its strictly Roman character. One of the greatest monuments of Athens, the mighty temple of Olympian Zeus, is indeed, as it now stands, a work of Roman days. The foundations may come from Peisistratos, but the columns are of Hadrian. But the temple of Olympian Zeus stands so far apart, both from the Akropolis and from the modern city, that it hardly forms a part of either. It forms the most stately of foregrounds to the Akropolis; but it hardly groups with it as an immediate neighbor. And again, though, when we come to compare the two styles more technically, there is a wide difference between the Doric of the Parthenôn and the Corinthian of the temple of Zeus, yet this difference hardly touches the general effect. The construction of the work of Hadrian is as purely Greek as the construction of the work of Periklês; the difference in proportion is hardly so great as the difference between the Doric of Corinth and the Doric of Nemea. What does seem out of place, what seems to belong to nothing and to have no

kindred with any thing else, old or new, is the flimsy arch of Hadrian hard by. So flimsy indeed it is, especially as the work of a prince whose buildings commonly affected a certain massiveness, that we can not help thinking that it must have formed part of something whose general effect was very different. Setting aside these exceptions, which for the most part are not exceptions in general effect, the mass of the monuments of intermediate dates, younger than Periklês, older than Otho, are gathered together in an intermediate quarter under the northern shadow of the Akropolis. There is still on the Akropolis itself Roman and even Turkish work; but we do not find it out till we get there. The impression which the Akropolis gives us from below is that of the temples of Periklês fenced in by the wall of Themistoklês. The impression which the lower city gives us is that of a city absolutely modern, save when we now and then find a Byzantine church at the crossing of some of its streets. But this last is only what we are used to everywhere. The churches of Saint Theodore and Kapnikarea strike us only as St. Peter's Abbey and Christ's College strike us in the midst of modern Westminster and Manchester. For such mediæval oases in a modern city all northern Europe, and England above all, prepares us. The intermediate quarter goes for nothing in the general effect. What does seem to hold an intermediate position between the upper and the lower city is the most perfect and the most ancient of the monuments of ancient Athens, the Thêseion—some deem it rather a Hêraikleion. Our first impression, then, is that an ancient city on its height rises above the modern city at its foot. To these two regions further research enables us to add two others. There is the region at the northern foot of the Akropolis, the intermediate region as I have called it; and there is the region of ruin and desolation which, as we look from the modern city, may be said to lie behind the Akropolis. Each of the four regions tells its own story.

Let us start from the Akropolis, the oldest Athens, the primitive hill-fort which grew into the historic city. We are so apt to look on the Akropolis as the center and the holy place of the enlarged city, that we are tempted to forget that in the earliest state of things it was the city itself. Yet one relic of those earliest times is still to be seen, if we seek for it. There, shadowed and almost hidden by the great works of historic times, still stands a fragment of the old Cyclopean wall, a wall as truly primeval as any thing that we see at Tiryns or at Mykênê. That is the wall of the oldest Athens; beside it the wall of Kîmôn, the wall of Themistoklês, the wall in which we

still see the fragments of the temple which Xerxes overthrew, seem but works of yesterday. That wall of the oldest Athens answers to the wall of the oldest Rome, the wall on the Palatine which fenced in the primeval *Roma Quadrata*. And here one point of contrast at once strikes us. The earliest Athens answers to one only among the many hills of Rome. In other words, Athens is the city of a single hill; Rome is a city of many hills. But beside this, Rome is a city by a great river; Athens stands between two rivers so small that they form no feature in the landscape, so small that in the summer heat they vanish altogether. That is to say, Athens is beyond all doubt a city of far more ancient foundation than Rome. Those few stones of her primeval wall belong to a far earlier state of things than the oldest stones which fence in the city on the Palatine. Athens in truth has less in common with Rome than she has with Tusculum. She stands on no such height as the old Latin *Arx*; yet Athens and Tusculum alike belong to the earliest type of hill-fortresses, the works of days when men kept away from the sea as from an element which brought danger on its waves. Rome, even the earliest Rome, belongs to a later type of settlement; it is the work of days when the neighborhood of a great river offered a tempting sight to men who had learned the profit which might be drawn from intercourse with other lands. Whether the hill of the Palatine or the hill of the Akropolis first became a dwelling-place of man is not the question. If it were, it would be a question which none could answer. Shepherds and herdsmen may have raised their rude huts, they may even have fenced themselves in with their rude palisade, as early on the one hill as on the other. But Rome, as a city, the Rome which has her special, and as it were, personal, place in history, the city of the hills, the city by the river, the outpost of Latium against the Etruscan, the city whose site marked her out as the centre of Italy and of Europe, begins in truth only when the Latin of the Palatine took the Sabine of the Capitoline into his fellowship, and girded the two heights together with a single wall. Athens, I have said, is a city of a single hill. True it is that her Akropolis looks low as Lykabêttos soars above her; and we perhaps ask for a moment why Lykabêttos did not itself become an Akropolis which might have rivaled the Larissa of Argos and Akrokorinthos itself. But a moment's thought will show that the mere physical shape of Lykabêttos must have always shut out such a scheme. Its sides are more rugged, its summit is narrower than those of either of its loftier fellows. It could never have been the

site either of a great temple or of a great fortress. And again, neither at Argos nor at Corinth was there any lower hill answering to the Athenian Akropolis. The mountain top itself had to become the fortress, while at Athens the primitive hill-fort, the primeval city, found a far more tempting site on the hill which its great works still cover. Nor does Athens lack other hills. There is the hill of Arês, the hill of Pnyx, the hill of the Mouseion. But these are hills which might well form, as they did, outposts to the rock of which the primeval city rose. They could not of themselves become the site of a city without it. The hills of the Pnyx and the Mouseion are but the *colles* of Athens; the hill of the Akropolis is her single *mons*. The life of Athens lay in that single hill, as the life of Rome lay, not on the Quirinal or the Esquiline, but on the Palatine and the Capitoline, the Cœlian and the plebeian Aventine. But while the life of Athens was centered on a single hill, four hills were grouped together to make the life of Rome. Rome was, above and before all things, "the great group of village communities by the Tiber." It was because those hills and their communities stood so near that they could be fused into a single city, because in truth they had no choice between fusion and endless sectional havoc, that Rome became all that she became. Had the Palatine and the Capitoline stood as far apart as either stands from the hill of Tusculum, or even from the sacred mount beyond the Tiber, Rome could never have been what she was. The history of mankind must have taken another course from that which it actually did take.

It was, then, in the nature of things, that the group of hills washed by the great river of central Italy should have a different fate from the single hill which stands between the sea and the higher mountains in the midst of the half-detached eastern peninsula of Greece. But, as we stand on the Akropolis and think of all of which that hill became the centre, we remember that Athens did her work of fusion too. And we see that that was a work of fusion the more wonderful and memorable because it was not, like the fusion of the Roman hills, forced on her by a physical need, but was a need purely political, brought about by forces purely moral.

Till we have really seen with our own eyes something of the geography of Attica, and of Greece in general, we shall perhaps fail to take in the really unique position which Athens holds in the history of the Greek cities. We know in a kind of way, we read vaguely in the history, we see dimly in the map, how near the famous cities of Greece lay to one another, and yet by what marked lines

they were geographically cut off from one another. If we stand on the Akro-Corinthos, or if we sail along the Saronic Gulf, we look, as Sulpicius looked, on the seats of a whole crowd of famous commonwealths, each of which in the great days of Greece exercised the powers of an independent state. They lie close together, as close as the market-towns of an English county. Each commonwealth could see what its neighbors—that is, its allies or its enemies—were doing. When Corinth was the rival of Athens, when Corinth grudged the growth and the splendor of Athens, the feeling must have been all the keener because the Corinthian could, by climbing to the top of his own mountain citadel, actually see the great works which were rising on the lowlier Akropolis of the rival city. An English statesman has lately, with great wisdom, warned his countrymen to look on a map on a large scale, and to see how far off their supposed rivals really are. A Greek statesman would rather have warned his fellow-citizens to climb the nearest hill, and to see with their own eyes how near their real rivals were. As a rule, the territory of each Greek commonwealth contained some spot from which it was possible to see the whole of its own territory and something of the territory of several other commonwealths. But each of those territories has its separate geographical being; each can give a physical reason why it became the territory of a separate commonwealth; each distinct state occupies its own island, its own peninsula, its own valley or mountain plain. There are parts of Italy which teach us something of this lesson; there are parts of Switzerland which teach it more clearly. But it is in Greece that we learn it in all its fullness. The view from the hill of Corinth is the exact opposite to the view from the hill of Brescia. From the hill of Brescia we see the cities of Lombardy lying beneath us, each marked by the tall tower of its great church or its municipal palace. But, as those towers rise side by side out of that boundless plain, we see no reason in the nature of things why the boundary which divided the territory of one commonwealth from that of its neighbor should have been placed at one point rather than at another. From the Akrokorinthos we not only see the spots which history tells us were independent commonwealths; we see also the physical cause which made them independent commonwealths. How then is the case from the hill of Athens? From the Akropolis we are far from seeing the whole territory of Athens. I do not speak of the whole dominion of Athens, of the endless cities which, in the days of her greatness, obeyed the power of Athens. To ex-

pect to see all of them from the Akropolis of Athens would be as vain as to expect to see the whole of the dominion of Venice from the top of the campanile of St. Mark's. Neither can we see the western possessions of Corinth from the top of the Akrokorinthos. But from the top of the Akrokorinthos we see all that was politically Corinth, and a great deal besides. From the top of the Akropolis of Athens we do not see all that was politically Athens. We see, indeed, coasts and islands which lay beyond the dominion of Athens; we are far from seeing the whole of her home territory. We stand by the temple of Athênê Polias; but we do not see the whole of the lands from which men came to do their homage to her as citizens of her own city. We look on the hill of Pnyx; but we do not see the whole of the lands from which men came to take their places as parts of the corporate sovereignty which sat there enthroned. The man of Marathôn, of Sounion, of Eleusis, was as much at home in that temple and on that Pnyx as the man who dwelt at the foot of the Akropolis itself. He was as much a citizen of Athens as the man who could take his daily exercise in the Academy or pay his daily worship on the holy hill of Athênê. Marathôn, Sounion, Eleusis, were all politically parts of Athens; but from the centers of Athenian political and religious life we look in vain for a glimpse of any of them. We see immediately around us a district fairly fenced in by natural boundaries, a district which might well make the territory of a Greek commonwealth, and that a territory larger than the territory of many a Greek commonwealth. Athens must have its haven at Peiraieus; the land between Pentelikos and the Saronic Gulf, between Hymêttos and Aigaleôs, would form a considerable city territory according to Greek notions. It would be the district which in Attic geography is known as *Pedion*, or the plain, the vale or *strath* of Kêphisos, if we count Kêphisos for a stream great enough to have a vale. I say from Hymêttos to Aigaleôs, the eye indeed ranges beyond Aigaleôs to the greater mountains which fence off Attica from Boiôtia; that is to say, we are apt to leap in our view over Eleusis and the Thriasian plain, as though they were not there at all. The land of Eleusis and the land of Marathôn are both cut off by marked physical boundaries from the immediate land of Athens. From our ordinary experience of Greek geography we should expect to find that each of them formed a separate commonwealth, perhaps that each of them formed more than one separate commonwealth. Yet in the historical times of Greece, Eleusis and Marathôn had no distinct political being. They and the other

towns of Attica were politically parts of the one city of Athens. Eleusis alone had even the honorary rank of a city. The free inhabitants of Marathôn and Eleusis had, like the citizens of any other Greek democracy, their place in the assembly of their own commonwealth. There they gave their voices in the election of magistrates, in the passing of laws, and in the declaring of war and peace. But the meeting-place of the city where they gave their voices was not to be found in what physically might seem to be their own city. They could give no voice on such matters, each man in his own town; they could give it only on the Pnyx of Athens. We read this in our books; we see it on our maps; but it is not till we look on Greek geography with our own eyes that we fully take in how strange a fact it is in Greek geography that, while Megara and Corinth and Sikyôn, Aigina Epidauros, and Hermionê were separate commonwealths, the whole land from Eleutherai to Sounion formed politically only a single commonwealth, that the free inhabitants of this whole region were citizens of Athens, giving their voices in the Athenian assemblies on equal terms with the inhabitants of Athens herself.

We stand then on the rock of Athênê, on the immemorial hill: fort into whose political being the other Attic towns were content to merge themselves, and which grew through their union into the abiding model of city commonwealths for all time.¹ We see how the city of Athens, the historic Athens whose career we know, came into being through a moral fusion, as the city of Rome, the historic Rome of the Seven Hills as distinguished from the primæval settlement on the Palatine, came into being by a physical fusion. The hill of Athênê had no Capitoline, no Cœlian or Aventine neighbors to weld together into her own substance. Lykabêttos soars above her too lofty to be her rival or her partner. The hill of Arês, the hills of the Pnyx and the Mouseion, stood ready to become her outworks; they could not become the seats even of settlements ready to be merged into a greater whole. Athens, high and low, old and new, stands round the sacred rock as her single centre, in a way in which Rome does not stand round either the hill of her first birth, or the hill which became at once her strongest fortress and her holiest sanctuary. Even "Jove's eternal fane" on his own Capitol, never became the centre of Rome in the way in which the house of the Virgin on her holy rock has ever been the center of Athens. The

¹ On the political aspect of the union of the Attic towns, I have said something in *Historical Essays*, Second Series, pp. 118-120.

Akropolis was to Athens at once her Palatine and her Capitol. As time rolled on, the site of *Roma Quadrata*, and more than the site of *Roma Quadrata*, was covered by the house of a single man, a man who still was in form not the sovereign of Rome but her first citizen. Meanwhile the rival hill lived on alike as fortress and as sanctuary. The Athenian Akropolis discharged the functions of both. While yet, in name at least, a free Hellenic commonwealth, the house of the Virgin had to receive, if not a prince of her own city, at least a princely guest, one whom the mockers of the age said was no fitting guest for a Virgin's house.¹ A change had indeed come since the days of Kodros, of Solôn, and of Periklês, when Dêmêtrios the Besieger was lodged by the decree of the people in the Opisthodomos of the Parthenôn. The guest was worshiped as a god; but he was not acknowledged as a sovereign. The time came when Athens had her acknowledged sovereigns, whether emperors of her own speech, ruling her from the seven hills of the new Rome, or princes of foreign speech, ruling her from the hill of her own Akropolis. Let no man who looks on the shattered temple of Athênê forget that, for a thousand years after the altars of Athênê ceased to smoke, her temple lived on, whole and uninjured, as the holy place of Christian worship, and that it ceased to be the holy place of Christian worship only to become the holy place of the worship of Islam. Athênê had done her last work for her temple and her city in the days of the Wandering of the Nations. Then in the belief of the votaries of her expiring faith her vision turned away the Christian Goth from the gates of Athens as the vision of the Christian apostle was soon, in the belief of his votaries, to turn away the pagan Hun from the gates of Rome. Alaric, the spoiler of Eleusis, turned away from Athens; he who overthrew the temple of the Mother and her Child laid no hands on the temple of the Virgin. That temple lived on as the temple of successive creeds. It passed on in turn from the Christianity of the East to the Christianity of the West, from the Christianity of the West to the faith which the Turk had learned of his Arabian master. It is in this long abiding life, even more than in the memory of the days when it was first reared, that the student of the history of the world will place the undying interest of this memorable pile. Still on its walls we may see the traces of the pictured forms, the forms of patriarchs

¹ Plutarch, Dêmêtrios, 23. τὸν γὰρ ὀπισθόδομον τοῦ παρθενῶνος ἀπέδειξαν αὐτῷ κατὰ λυσιν, κακεῖ διαίταν εἶχε, τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς λεγομένης ὑποδέχεσθαι καὶ ξενίζειν αὐτὸν, οὐ πάντῃ κόσμιον ξένον οὐδ' ὥς παρθένῳ πρῶτος ἐπισταθμεύοντα.

and saints and emperors, which once looked down in all their Byzantine sternness on the rites of the Byzantine faith. They looked down on the rites of that day of triumph when the Slayer of the Bulgarians came to pay his homage in the Parthenôn, which had passed from Athênê to the Panagea. His empire passed away from Athens; and the worship of his empire passed away with it. Strangers divided the dominions of the Eastern Rome, and made Athens the seat of princes who spoke not the tongue of Greece, nor accepted the creed of Byzantium. The days of the Frank Duchy of Athens have almost passed away from memory. But from the memory of English-speaking men at least, they should not pass away. It was from the French and Italian holders of that duchy that Shakespeare borrowed that title which, to purely classical ears, seems so strange when Thêseus himself, the legendary statesman who wrought the union of the Attic towns, was brought by him on the stage, like a De la Roche or an Acciaïoli, as Thêseus Duke of Athens. And doubtless many readers of English and French history have been puzzled when, in the story of the fight of Crecy, a Duke of Athens appears as if he were as naturally to be looked for at such a moment as the Count of Alençon or the Earl of Warwick. In the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, the Lords and Dukes of Athens held no inconsiderable place among the secondary potentates of Europe. The invasion of the Catalans did much to hasten the decline of the principality; but it lived on with no inconsiderable European fame till after Constantinople had fallen before the Turk. Thus Athens became again, though under foreign masters, the capital of a separate state, which it had never been since the old democracy had been silently merged among the provinces of Rome. And those princes had left their material monuments behind them. In their days the Akropolis had indeed become Palatine and Capitoline in one. The holy place still remained the holy place. The house of the Virgin was still the house of the Virgin, though a third form of worship, that of the Christian West, was now offered on the altar of St. Mary of Athens. The Propylaia became the palace of the dukes, and their palace was guarded with a lofty and massive tower, which broke the purely horizontal lines of the ancient buildings, and proclaimed to all men that Athens was not wiped out of the history of mankind when she yielded to Philip or to Antipatros. The ducal tower on the Akropolis stood out boldly as a living teacher of the unity of history. But to the pedant who is satisfied to grope

among the details of two or three arbitrarily chosen centuries, the unity of history has no meaning. He deems that the facts of past time can be wiped out by wiping out its material monuments. At the bidding of such men, the ducal tower, which had lived through so many sieges of friend and foe, has been leveled in sheer wantonness. The excuse for the barbarous deed was the hope that inscriptions might be found in its ruins. To some minds the chance of finding a shattered stone with an *alpha* or a *beta* graven on it seems to be of more value than the preservation of a living monument of an important period of the world's history; a period which its very incongruity makes attractive. Happily no inscriptions were found. The pleasure of destruction was the sole reward of the destroyer, and they who wrought this merciless havoc may boast themselves as the doers of a deed from which Mahomet the Conqueror had shrunk.

The Dukes of Athens passed away; Athens again ceased to be a separate power, and was again merged in the dominions of the new Rome. But the new Rome had now ceased to be an European or a Christian power. Now comes the time of utter darkness and bondage, the time when for a while Athens ceased to be. And yet even that time has left its monuments, and a true national feeling would preserve those monuments as trophies. The temple of Athênê, the church of the Panagea, the church of Our Lady, now became a mosque to Islam. A mosque implied a minaret, and a minaret did not fail to arise to break the entablature of Iktinos. Let me now tell my own experience. On the 28th of May, in this present year, the 16th of May in the Greek calendar, I was myself, along with others, on the Athenian Akropolis. Presently a sound reached our ears, a sound like "the buzz of eager nations." I climbed the staircase of the Turkish minaret, better to see and hear what was happening in the lower city. From that height I looked on what was in truth no small moment in the history of modern Greece. The *Dêmos* of Athens was gathering, not indeed on the seaward side amid the forsaken stones of the Pnyx, but far to the right on the open space before the modern palace of the modern kingdom. The voice of the people arose, the voice of a people which knew how to teach right and wisdom to its leaders. The cry was raised that personal and party jealousies should be put aside, that unintelligible rivalries should be cast to the winds, and that the hero of Greece should be called to the lead of Greece in her hour of need. The cry on the lips of those gathering crowds

was for the leadership of Constantine Kanarês. Since then the aged hero, the last relic of a mightier generation, has obeyed the call of his country and has as truly died in the service of his country as if he had been blown to atoms in one of his own fire-ships. This I saw from the Turkish minaret; and I half thanked the Turk who had given me the means of better looking down on Athens on such a day. I should not even complain if the minaret whose staircase I climbed still stood there whole with its airy spire to tell of what had been and what is no more. The minaret is broken down; the tower is swept away; but there are still traces left of Roman, and Frankish, and Turkish work. There are still monuments of the days of our fathers, the days when Greek and Turk so often strove for possession of the Athenian citadel. Every stone, be it as old as the first Odysseus or as modern as the last, is part of the history of Athens, of the history of Hellas, of the history of man. The destroyer has wrought his wicked will long enough; let him now hold his hand and spare the remnant that is left.

It seems at first sight a little strange that those who seem to take the greatest delight in wanton destruction are always ready to curse the memory of one who was a destroyer only by misadventure. In the year 1687, Athens was for a moment freed from the Turk. Francesco Morosini, the *Peloponnesiacus*, the last hero of Venice, the last man till our own times who rescued Hellenic soil from barbarian rule, for a moment restored Athens as well as Peloponnesos to Christendom. He may be fairly called to account on one score. It may be argued that, if he either could not nor would not hold Athens when he had won it, it would have been better not to have won it at all. A moment of deliverance only made renewed bondage heavier. But this is not the score on which every babbler who sees the Parthenôn in ruins has his fling at the last of the great doges. An accident of warfare shattered the temple, which up to that had remained perfect, and left half its columns and capitals on the ground. It may be that, before any great time is past, not only the church of Saint Mary at Athens, but the church of Saint Sophia at Constantinople, may receive some casual damage from the cannon of a liberating army. And surely, unless stones are better than men, unless memories are more than realities, unless the buildings of a land count for more than its freedom, we might not deem the boon too dearly purchased at the price. But it seems that there are those who not only call Morosini to account

for the havoc which he did but never purposed, but who further call the heroes of modern Greece to account for the crime of doing their best to free the Akropolis of Athens from its barbarian masters. In their eyes, it would seem, it would have been better to leave Athens and Greece in Turkish bondage, rather than run the risk of breaking a nose or a finger of a single image. With such men it is vain to argue; it is enough to copy their words in simple wonder.¹

But, if the Akropolis has been the centre of Athens in all ages, the true life of Athens in her greatest days centered, not on the Akropolis, but on the desolate hill between the Akropolis and the sea. Athens, with the whole of Attica as it were welded into her substance, soon passed the narrow bounds of her ancient rock. Athens, like Rome, had her inner and her outer line of defense;

¹ I quote from "Rambles and Studies in Greece, by J. T. Mahaffy," London, 1876. Mr. Mahaffy records the damage done to the Parthenôn, and thus goes on:

"But the Venetians were not content with their exploit. They were, about this time, when they held possession of most of Greece, emulating the Pisan taste for Greek sculptures, and the four fine lions standing at the gate of the arsenal in Venice still testify to their zeal in carrying home Greek trophies to adorn their capital. . . . The Italians left their final mark on the place by building a high square tower of wretched patched masonry at the right side of the entrance gate, which has of late years become such an eyesore to the better educated public that when I was at Athens there was a subscription on foot to have it taken down—a good deed, which will not only remove a most offensive reminiscence of the intruders, but which ought to bring to light some pillars of the Propylæia built into it, as well as many inscribed stones, broken off and carried away from their places as building material."

Mr. Mahaffy then discusses the doings of Lord Elgin, and adds:

"People who would bombard their antiquities in a revolution are not fit custodians of them in the intervals of domestic quiet. This was my reply to an old Greek general who assailed the memory of Lord Elgin with reproaches. I told him that I was credibly informed the Greeks had themselves bombarded the Turks in the Akropolis during the war of liberation, as several great pieces knocked out and staved on the western front testify. He confessed, to my amusement, that he had himself been one of the assailants, and excused the act by the necessities of war."

Mr. Mahaffy's general principles I leave to answer themselves. But it would seem that he believes that in 1687 the Venetians held possession of "most of Greece," and that he believes that Morosini, who kept possession of Athens less than three months, found time to build the ducal tower. Its real date, not later than the last years of the fourteenth century, is discussed by Colonel Leake (*Topography of Athens*, I., 73). And Mr. Finlay (*Mediæval Greece and Trebizond*, 188).

As for "the Pisan taste for Greek sculpture" in 1687, when Pisa had been swallowed up by Florence, and Florence by Tuscany, I must plead my own utter ignorance. But Mr. Mahaffy's whole account reads very much as if he did not draw any very clear distinction between the taking of Constantinople in 1204 and the taking of Athens in 1687.

she had her wall of Servian and her wall of Aurelian. And she has her forsaken quarter, answering to those parts of the hills of Rome where we here and there light on a cottage in a vineyard, or on a solitary church and monastery. Within the second wall, the Servian wall of Athens, lay the great buildings immediately south of the Akropolis, the older and the newer theatre, the vast temple of Olympian Zeus, the temple which Peisistratos began and which Hadrian finished. Far to the south-east, within the outer, without the inner wall, we see the ancient stadion, now the chosen place for gatherings of the Athenian people. There is still life in the people who called Kanarês to their head, the people who can bear up under a state which is neither war nor peace, the agony of preparation and inaction. Firm and resolute, they are waiting for the hour to act, while the barbarian is doing his evil work on their border, while the baser renegade who has sold his soul for barbarian gold is longing to earn his wages by laying Christian cities in ashes, and handing over Christian homes for his masters to work their will upon them. That ancient stadion has become the meeting-place of modern Athens; but it is to the nearer meeting-place of ancient Athens that the thoughts turn as we look forth from the minaret of the Parthenôn or from the steps of the Propylaia. The whole region is desolate. The hill of Arês, round which gather so many associations, heathen and Christian, the hill where Athênê gave her casting-vote, and where Paul brought strange things to the ears of the Athens of imperial times, stands close beside us. It is marked only by a few ancient steps which were trodden by the feet of the judges of the venerable Senate which there sat. Further to the left we may wander over the hills of Pnyx and Mouseion, and trace out the fragments of the second wall, and meet no living soul save the shepherd with his crook and his Albanian sheep-skin. But his presence tells us how Greece has been colonized by strangers, how she has won those strangers within the Hellenic fold, how she taught them to guard their common country against the common enemy. If the garb of Illyria seems out of place on the Athenian hills, we must remember that the garb of Illyria was the garb of Markos Botzarês. The hills are desolate; we stand on the mighty stones which mark the *bêma* whence Dêmôsthenês thundered against Philip, and we look to the other hill, the hill of the Mouseion, the hill of Philopappos, where, when the soul of the patriot had passed away at Kalaureia, the garrison of Macedonia kept Athens in foreign bondage. And from thence our eyes may again

wander far away to the stadion, and remember that, among the representatives of assembled Greece, Macedonia now sends her sons to crave admission within the borders of free Hellas. Below the hills lies the ancient *Agorê*, now dead and silent; save for the roads which pass across it, as dead and silent as the once busy Aventine of Rome. The life of Roman, mediæval, and modern Athens flitted to another quarter, that intermediate region of which I have so often spoken, the region of the columns of Hadrian, of the *hôrologion* of Andronikos, the region of the later *Agorê* and the modern bazaar. Here relics of all ages are mixed together; here the cupolas of the churches are thickest, and here is the cupola which is not that of a church. Hard by the range of Corinthian columns, the work of the prince who was at once Imperator at Rome and Archôn at Athens, stands the one surviving relic of masters who did not thus become her children or her magistrates. There is the remaining Turkish mosque, desecrated and degraded. Why should it be desecrated and degraded? A higher feeling of patriotism would consecrate it afresh, and would make it the noblest trophy of national and religious victory. Clear out the building, repair it, hallow it to a purer worship, let its dome blaze as Saint Mark's still blazes, and as the domes of Saint Sophia shall blaze again, and make it the monument of the hero who has just passed away. No more fitting trophy could be found for the man to whom, more than to any other man of her blood, Greece owes that she is Greece once more. The older people of Athens have changed their creed and their name. The house of the Virgin is in ruins; Thêseus and Saint George may alike claim back the house of which modern havoc has robbed both alike. The balance may be restored by bidding the temple of Islam change into the temple of Christendom, by bidding the work of the oppressor change into the memorial of the deliverer. The Erechtheion, the Thêscion, speak of days which have passed away; the mosque, cleansed and consecrated as a KANAPEION, would speak of days which are barely gone, of men who still linger among us. It would be the most speaking and living sign that from the land where the barbarian once ruled he has passed away forever, the most speaking sign that Hellas is Hellas once again, and that her freedom was won, in no small measure, by the toil and the blood of her own sons.

THE PLACE OF CHARLES SUMNER IN HISTORY.¹

MR. PIERCE has done justice to Mr. Sumner's selection of him as a literary executor, and has displayed great industry and knowledge as well as a sincere admiration for his subject. Each successive chapter, elaborated with conscientious fidelity, is the tribute of a devoted personal friend, who has made the best use of the mass of material bequeathed for the purpose, and of hundreds of letters collected from the persons to whom they had been written. The interesting and perfect record of Mr. Sumner's early life thus presented enables us to trace the growth of his mind and character from childhood up, along the avenue of years, to his entrance into public life, and beyond those portals, through the triumphant yet embittered statesmanlike career, so untimely ended by death.

As a lad, Sumner acquired from his father, then the sheriff of Suffolk County, a love of power. To obtain it, he forsook the sports of boyhood and the amusements of early manhood to gain those rich stores of learning which in due time secured him the commanding position he coveted. He not only became versed in classic lore, but studied the best authors in his mother-tongue until he became master of the "pure well of English undefiled," and able to clothe noble thoughts in nervous and striking language. Milton was especially the object of his admiration, and he quoted from him in his Bowdoin prize essay of 1833 these words: "For surely, to every good and peaceable citizen it must in nature needs be a hateful thing to be the displeaser and molester of thousands. But when God commands to take the trumpet, and blow a dolorous or a jarring blast, it lies not in man's will what he shall say or what he shall conceal." This defiant spirit animated Sumner thenceforth, and his life became, as he often used to remark, a life of controversy, especially characterized by "jarring blasts" of eloquence.

¹ "Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner." By Edward L. Pierce. Two volumes. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1877.

Graduating from Harvard College, and entering the Law School at Cambridge, Mr. Sumner attracted the attention of his father's friend, Judge Story, then a professor there. The Judge soon became "the guide, philosopher, and friend" of the young student, and stimulated his ambition to attain distinction in the profession which he had chosen. He wrote to an old classmate in college:

"I like living here, for I can be by myself. I know hardly an individual in the school. Days of idleness must be atoned for; the atoning offering is at hand, and it is a steady devotion to study. Late to bed and early to rise, and full employment while up, is what I am trying to bind myself to. The *labor ipse voluptas* I am coveting. I had rather be a toad and live upon a dungeon's vapor than one of those lumps of flesh that are christened lawyers, and who know only how to wring from quibbles and obscurities that justice which else they never could reach; who have no idea of law beyond its letter, nor of literature beyond their Term Reports and Statutes. If I am a lawyer, I wish to be one who can dwell upon the vast heaps of law-matter as the temple in which the majesty of right has taken its abode; who will aim, beyond the mere letter, at the spirit—the broad spirit of the law—and who will bring to his aid a liberal and cultivated mind. Is not this an honest ambition? If not, reprove me for it. A lawyer is one of the best or worst of men, according as he shapes his course. He may breed strife, and he may settle dissensions of years."

Sumner had at this time attained the full stature of his manhood, six feet and two inches, but he was slenderly built, and only weighed one hundred and twenty pounds. His bearing was uninviting, his complexion was bilious, his hazel eyes were inflamed by night-work, and his features were seldom lighted by a smile. While he had no vicious habits, he possessed a quick and retentive memory, a deep reverence for truth and honesty, and a keen hatred of cant. Acting by the advice of his patron, he visited Washington City during the first session of the twenty-third Congress, and was in attendance at the federal metropolis for a month. The names of some of those who then figured in debates at the Capitol have come down to us as having filled important places in our public history. The impassioned, fascinating eloquence of Clay, the close reasoning of Calhoun, the ponderous arguments of Webster, the mellifluous sentences of Preston, and the profound mental powers of Silas Wright, made a strong impression upon the young law-student. But he was not favorably impressed by what he saw of political life. Writing to his father, just prior to his departure for Boston, he said: "Calhoun has given notice to-day that he will speak to-morrow on Mr. Webster's Bank Bill. I shall probably hear him, and he will be the last man I shall ever hear speak in

Washington. I probably shall never come here again. I have little or no desire to come again in any capacity. Nothing that I have seen of politics has made me look upon them with any feeling other than loathing. The more I see of them the more I love law, which I feel will give me an honorable livelihood."

Admitted to the bar at Worcester in 1834, Mr. Sumner began practice in Boston, and was soon enrolled by the "solid men" of that city, who were ever on the lookout for recruits to fight their battles and to perpetuate their caste. It is evidently a source of pride to Mr. Pierce that the notables and magnates of his native city patronized the briefless young lawyer. Nor was Sumner unmoved by these attentions, which he felt were merited. It was said of the provincialism of Professor Wilson that "he hated with an Edinburgh hatred and loved with an Edinburgh love," and Sumner became a thorough Bostonian. Although on some points he renounced his allegiance to the magnates of Beacon Hill, his financial views were always in harmony with those of State Street, his opinions on the tariff were those of the owners of factories at Lowell and Lawrence, and he was the champion of railroads controlled by Boston stockholders.

Not meeting with any marked success in the courts, Mr. Sumner sought and obtained literary distinction as the reporter of Judge Story's decisions in the United States Circuit Court—as a writer for "The Jurist" and the "North American Review," and as a lecturer before the Cambridge Law School in the absence of Professors Story and Greenleaf. It appears to have been his ambition to be independent and self-reliant, sustained by a sense of his own great powers. As was said by an ancient writer, "He thought himself worthy of great things, being in truth worthy."

In 1837, at the age of twenty-six, Mr. Sumner was enabled, by the aid of three friends, to carry out his long-cherished plan of visiting Europe. The young American travelers of that day generally

"Sauntered Europe round,
And gathered every vice on Christian ground,"

as they enjoyed the home comforts of England, the delicious cookery of France, the fine scenery of Switzerland, and the antiquities of Italy, but learning little about the government, the laws, or the structure of society in those countries during their sojourn in them. But Mr. Sumner possessed the capacity of understanding and appreciating the people of other lands, and his visit, as recorded in

his journal and letters now first published by Mr. Pierce, was not only interesting but profitable.

Few young Americans have ever enjoyed a pleasanter or a purer foreign experience. The bearer of letters of introduction which gave him entrance into the highest literary and social circles, he was received with the most flattering attentions, both in Great Britain and on the Continent. He was a close student of the decencies and many of the graces of refined life, and he came home so well versed in the manners of the cultivated society of the old world that his social position in Boston was thenceforth fixed.

Returning in 1840, Mr. Sumner resumed the practice of his profession at Boston, devoting his leisure hours, which were many, to writing for magazines. His attention was also directed to philanthropic subjects, especially prison reform, upon which he wrote and spoke with great force. About 1842, he became interested in the subject of slavery, which was then tabooed in Boston society, but had, nevertheless, begun to be agitated by men of earnest courage, who cherished opinions for which they were ready to sacrifice their popularity, and with it all immediate political recognition. Both the Whig and Democratic parties treated these embryo emancipators as political impostors, who sought to trade on the sympathies of the public, yet never were men and women more terribly in earnest. Neither allured by ambition nor deterred by the fear of unpopularity, they persevered with a singleness of purpose and a spotless devotion to their cause never before witnessed in American politics, until their principles had been adopted by the State and by the Republic.

Mr. Sumner, who had evidently formed to himself at an early age a vast idea of the value of success, and had studied the points that aid a man's political advancement, was already favorably thought of in the Whig Party. There, it would be for him plain sailing; he would have nothing to do but float on the top of the political wave, and in due time he might be sent from Boston to the Congress of the United States, with a fund raised for his support by subscriptions from wealthy men, who desired in return his support of protective duties or a national bank. But Mr. Sumner, rejecting Paley's theory that whatever was expedient was right, turned from the conservation of stocks and spindles to embrace the more sacred cause of liberty, for which Sidney died on the scaffold and Hampden on the battle-field. Nor was he long in ascertaining that the Whig Party, which had been called into existence for the

protection of national credit, had accomplished its mission, and fallen into chaotic disorder in attempting to grapple with the question of emancipation, while the Democratic Party was gradually assuming the protectorship of "the peculiar institution." His election was soon made. Rejecting either party, he became an advocate of impartial liberty, and he lived to see the United States freed from the stain of slavery.

On the Fourth of July, 1845, Mr. Sumner's political career may be said to have been commenced. Invited, in accordance with a time-honored custom, to deliver an oration before the municipal authorities of Boston, he chose as his theme "The True Grandeur of Nations," and his key-note was in these words: "In our age there can be no peace that is not honorable; there can be no war that is not dishonorable." It was a vigorous protest against all wars as unchristian, and it was adorned with the richest stores of classical lore. Yet in this finished and elegant production there was embodied a bitter invective and a licentiousness of language which almost precluded the charitable hypothesis that the eloquent speaker was ignorant of the force of words. Aware, of course, that there would be a military escort of citizen soldiers from the city hall to the church in which the oration was delivered, and that officers of the army and of the navy of the United States, in uniform, would be among the invited guests, Mr. Sumner in his remarks branded the military and naval establishments of the United States with elaborate sarcasm and audacious ridicule. After harmonious notes of eloquence and wisdom, he thundered forth a "jarring blast" against "men closely dressed in padded and well-buttoned coats of blue besmeared with gold."

The first impulse of the military and naval gentlemen present was to leave the hall in a body, but on reflection they decided to remain, and gave vent to their displeasure at the banquet later in the day. During the speeches then made, some of which were very personal, we are told that "Sumner sat placidly, betraying no sensibility or surprise at what was said." He doubtless had no idea that he had provoked any censure by the language which he had used, although it was undoubtedly his deliberate intention to have gratified the aggressive spirit of the people of Massachusetts, inherited from their Anglo-Saxon ancestors, by his unpardonable words. Mr. Sumner himself, later in life, when preparing his "Orations and Speeches" for the press, made numerous changes, softening the expressions which so justly gave offense at the time. His biographer is forced

to admit that "from that day his hold was weakened on the class then controlling society and opinion in Boston," while "reformers were made glad as they saw him—a fresh and well-armored knight—enter the arena where they were contending against numbers and power."

Meanwhile, a coalition was formed between the anti-slavery men in both the Democratic and Whig parties, which controlled the politics and divided the offices of Massachusetts. To secure this success, many methods of dubious morality were employed, but Mr. Sumner had no share in negotiating the alliance. Without any personal effort on his part, any sacrifice of opinion, or any surrender of principle, he (a Whig) was elected to the Senate of the United States, and Mr. Boutwell (a Democrat) was elected Governor of the Commonwealth. In a letter to the Legislature of Massachusetts, accepting the high trust conferred on him, Mr. Sumner said :

"Your appointment finds me in a private station with which I am entirely content. For the first time in my life I am called to political office. . . . I accept it as the servant of Massachusetts, mindful of the sentiments solemnly uttered by her successive legislatures—of the genius which inspired her history, and of the men, her perpetual pride and ornament, who breathed into her that breath of liberty which early made her an example to her sister States. . . . I accept it as the servant of the Union, bound to study and maintain with equal patriotic care the interests of all parts of our country, to discountenance every effort to lessen any of those ties by which our fellowship of States is held in fraternal company, and to oppose all sectionalism, whether it appear in unconstitutional efforts by the North to carry so great a boon as freedom into the slave States, or in unconstitutional efforts by the South, aided by Northern allies, to carry the sectional evil of slavery into the free States, or in whatsoever efforts it may make to extend the sectional domination of slavery over the National Government."

Mr. Sumner entered the Senate of the United States on the 1st of December, 1851, the day on which Henry Clay left it, and was sworn in as the successor of Daniel Webster. Soon after he took his seat in the arena, which had just been made famous by the political champions of the North, the South, and the West, Mr. Benton said to him :

"You have come upon the stage too late, sir ; all our great men have passed away. Mr. Calhoun, and Mr. Clay, and Mr. Webster are gone. Not only have the great men passed away, but the great issues, too, raised from our form of government and of deepest interest to its founders and their immediate descendants, have been settled also. The last of these was the National Bank, and that has been overthrown forever. Nothing is left you, sir, but puny sectional questions and petty strifes about slavery and fugitive slave laws involving no national interests."

Calhoun, and Clay, and Webster did indeed pass away; but Chase, and Seward, and Sumner took their places, to engage in struggles more momentous than those supposed to have become extinct. Mr. Sumner had but two coadjutors in opposing slavery and in advocating freedom when he entered the Senate, but before he died, he was the leader of more than two thirds of that body. We are told, however, that at the outset of his senatorial career he was treated as a detested fanatic, and refused a place on any committee as "outside of any healthy political organization." He lived to be Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and to see men of African descent elected to seats in the Senate and the House of Representatives, commissioned as foreign ministers, and admitted to practice before the bar of the Supreme Court, which had declared that these very persons had no rights which white men were bound to respect.

Persevering, and in no wise daunted, Mr. Sumner became a writer of parliamentary orations, which is a most difficult art, only attained by great labor, and frequently thrown into the shade by those who have the divine gift of unpremeditated eloquence. Comprehensive in intellect, and possessing a wide range of knowledge, his speeches bore the marks of a patient consultation of authorities, and of an industry which never wearied in its quest after perfection. They were able and exhaustive disquisitions, attractive to the analytical inquirer, but his delivery was too monotonous to be powerful. The meditative cast of his mind, and the resolute, indefatigable drudgery with which he worked out his glorious ideas to be polished over and over again, were all against his shining in the quick contests of senatorial debate.

At last, determined to attract and fix public attention, he sounded "a jarring blast" against slavery and slaveholders, and received in return, on the 18th of May, 1856, bodily injuries from which he never recovered, and which consecrated him as the martyr leader of the vanguard of emancipation. For years his curule chair was vacant, while he endured the cruel treatment prescribed by modern science, and then he reappeared in the Senate, with improved health, but never again a well man, to take his part in the great struggle. Sympathy for him as a victim to brutal force had contributed largely to his fame, and he became a recognized champion of liberty in the conflict for freedom. Some leading Republicans regarded the conflict with a complacent optimism, and others drifted along with the current, adorning but not in any way shaping

the tide of events. With Mr. Sumner it was different, for he possessed that root of statesmanship—the power of forethought. Stepping boldly in advance of the Republican forces, he would plant a banner bearing as an inscription some movement toward emancipation, and then urge others—the President, Congress, the Cabinet—to come forward and sustain it. His was the only directing mind in the Senate which deliberately fixed a distinct end of action, selected the means for arriving at that end, and pursued it steadily with a courage which shrank before no opposition and suffered no abatement in defeat.

Victory came at last. Four millions of the victims to the barbarism of slavery hailed with joy that addition to the Constitution of the United States which prescribes that “neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States.” Others who had fought the good fight then sat down in the shade of success, while demagogues and thieves divided the spoils. But Mr. Sumner remembered that “eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.” He declared that Congress, which had earnestly conducted the war to a successful termination, should enact a policy which would secure the fruits of victory. He was not willing to passively acquiesce in the inaction attendant upon the usurpation of power at the South by the adventurers left behind by the Northern army—the Dalgettys of the rebellion. But he looked over and above them all into the future, and with indomitable will demanded “equality before the law” as the only panacea which would restore to all sections of the Union the blessings of a secure peace.

As Mr. Sumner brought forward a succession of legislative measures calculated to perpetuate his views, he naturally excited the opposition of many of his own political friends, as well as of his Democratic opponents. But he never shrank from persistently pushing his measures forward toward their enactment, and he pressed them upon the attention of the Senate with tireless zeal, regardless of the petty intrigues and narrow rivalries of those around him. Mr. John Sherman, who was a member of the United States Senate with Mr. Sumner, said of his position there :

“His part on the leading measures of the war and on those that grow out of the war is so conspicuous that their history could not be written without his name appearing in the forefront. The true criticism of his course is, that he has often been so eager in the advance that he did not sufficiently look to practical measures to secure the progress already made. . . . He was always for a clean victory

or a clean defeat. He would not yield even on minor points, and would often fight for a phrase when he endangered a principle. He would sometimes turn his warfare upon his best friends when they did not keep exactly abreast with him. This feature of his character lay at the foundation of many of his controversies with his associates, and was its weakest point."

Senator Morrill, of Vermont, who was Mr. Sumner's personal and political friend, said of him :

"His persistency in pushing his own measures to the front, though to their present hurt or to the hurt of others, often provoked rebuke. His enemies he easily forgave, but could not so easily bury the slender personal affronts received in any wordy encounters from his peers. His self-confidence, admirable enough when he was right, was no less unmistakable and glittering when he happened to be wrong. To his conclusions, sincerely reached, he gave regal pretensions, and for them accepted nothing less than unconditional submission. Unconscious of personal offense, he imperiously and with the stride of a colossus, trampled down whatever arguments stood in his way, not knowing who was bruised, and yet was sometimes so sensitive that if his own arguments were touched by the gentlest zephyrs of personal retort, he felt they were visited too roughly."

"Why, Mr. Sumner," said Mr. Lincoln one day to the Massachusetts Senator, "I am only six weeks behind you." Mr. Sumner was always in the advance, and his place on the service roll of the Great Rebellion will be, "Leader of the Vanguard of Freedom."

Mr. Sumner as a Senator was a man of more imposing presence than was Mr. Sumner when a student, and it might be said of him in his later days, as Doctor Johnson once said of Edmund Burke, "Sir, if you should meet him under a bridge during a shower, and had never seen him before, you would know him to be a great man." He was six feet two inches high ; his average weight was two hundred and eight pounds ; and he measured forty inches around the chest. After his infelicitous marriage, his thought-worn face was serious, even to sadness, and his long waving hair became silvered. His manners were gentlemanly and cordial ; he was an industrious collector of paintings, engravings, rare books, autographs, and historical curiosities ; he was hospitable and generous ; and those who served him loved him. He possessed no element of humor or romance, and his modesty was so well known at Washington that the most famous teller of ribald stories there never uttered one in his presence.

Mr. Sumner's share in the diplomatic success of the North during the Great Rebellion should not be lost sight of. He endeavored to have the President select for appointment to diplomatic

positions men of experience in public affairs and of known integrity rather than bestow those places as rewards for political services or asylum-retreats for defeated candidates for office. Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward both entertained the highest regard for him, and, by humoring some of his weaknesses, made him a valuable coadjutor in conducting foreign affairs during the difficult and delicate period of the rebellion. Mr. Sumner had always been accused of Anglo-mania, but in 1869 he blew such "a jarring blast" concerning the responsibilities of Great Britain for the damages committed on American commerce by Confederate privateers fitted out in British ports as to awaken the ire of Her Gracious Majesty's subjects, especially those of them connected with the public press. Indeed, he rarely made a speech of any length in which the well-balanced periods, the terse expressions, and the purity of the language, was not marred by violent and audacious phrases.

To record the three last years of Mr. Sumner's life will be a difficult and a disagreeable task for his biographer. He found himself at war with some of those with whom he had stood shoulder to shoulder in the great battle for equality before the law, while corrupt men were wearing the uniform of the Republican Party that they might plunder the military chest. But he never complained, although he must have acquired a vast and not very pleasant experience in what is called political psychology. This was especially the case in 1872, when many of those Republicans, who had urged him to oppose the re-election of General Grant to the presidential chair, suddenly wheeled backward into their party lines. To quote his own written words: "Alas for the heartlessness and falsehood of men! Have I not reason to say this?" It was manifestly painful to his true heart to see the pure and patriotic instincts which had originally guided the Republican Party gradually yielding to the blandishments of power and the seductions of salary, and—what troubled him more—to hear rumors that economical reforms had degenerated into downright corruption. A Republican Senate deposed him from his position as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, with the approval of a Republican President; and the Republican Legislature of his own State, instigated by designing politicians, undertook to rebuke him; but the people of Massachusetts, apologizing for their temporary desertion, rallied again to the support of their senior Senator who had so honestly and so heroically represented them.

Mr. Sumner passed the closing years of his laborious career in

carefully editing a collection of his speeches, haunted by the sad presentiment that his days were numbered. "Let me but finish this work," he would say to friends, "and death will be welcome;" and as he spoke, his sonorous voice would falter and his eyes would fill with tears. The last morning that he visited the Senate Chamber, he replied to an inquiry as to his health, "I am tired, tired!" That night, on his dying-bed, he repeatedly murmured, "Oh! so tired! Oh! so weary!" It was the old story of uncrowned hopes and unpaid public service, which is never trite because it is sadly true. Wearily, and unsoothed by woman's tender love, Sumner's heroic soul departed from earth and its troubles. Lincoln, Seward, Chase, Fessenden, Stevens, Hale, and other stalwart departed captains of freedom's hosts, were speedily followed hence by the Commander of their Vanguard, Charles Sumner.

MONEY AND ITS LAWS.¹

IN his preface, Mr. Poor tells us that he has, in his book, treated money as coming "within the range of the exact sciences." With this enticing bill of fare before us, we turn the page and find, in the first sentence, the assertion that "the first lump of gold or silver dug from the earth, *as soon as its beauty and uses were displayed*, became the object of universal admiration. Each beholder sought to become its owner by exchanging therefor such articles of merchandise or property as he possessed, not necessary to his immediate wants." "In the desire for gold and silver . . . all nations and races, barbarous and civilized, . . . meet on the same plane. To all they have an attractiveness equal in durability and intensity." "Articles for which such a universal preference was felt, based alike upon their beauty and utility, necessarily became by virtue of such preference, the highest form of capital, the universal equivalent—MONEY." "It is in overlooking the original and universal attractiveness which the precious metals have for the race, that nearly all the errors in monetary science have arisen." The cases in which people give "untold gold for a morsel of bread" are set aside by our inductive philosopher as "exceptions." "Without some article or articles for which a supreme preference was felt, there could have been no adequate motive to industry; for without them industry could have produced nothing beyond the food, clothing, and shelter necessary to sustain life upon its lowest plane." Yet we have been told, in the first sentence quoted above, that when the first lump of gold was turned up and its uses and beauties were known, there were merchandise and property on hand which were eagerly given for it, so far as they exceeded immediate needs. It was not, our author goes on, until after sales of merchandise were "payable in the precious metals" that "commerce could assume any considerable dimensions," or time contracts be made. "If a

¹ Money and its Laws: Embracing a History of Monetary Theories and a History of the Currencies of the United States. By Henry V. Poor. New York: H. V. & H. W. Poor. 1877.

person were to receive 1000 bushels of wheat, at the expiration of ten years, he could form no idea of what it would realize to him till it was received and sold for coin," while the present worth of \$1000 receivable ten years hence can easily be determined. We pause here to observe that, if the rate of profit on wheat had been as carefully settled by supply and demand as that of the profit on general capital, we could reckon the present worth, *in wheat*, of a thousand bushels of wheat deliverable ten years hence, as easily as we reckon the present worth, *in coin*, of \$1000 in coin at the same term. "Without [the precious metals] there could be no exchanges, no wealth, no government, no institutions, no history; nothing but the eternal iteration of savage or barbarous existence." The precious metals alone, he adds, draw interest, and without them charitable and educational endowments would not be possible, since they could not be made with perishable stores of food and clothing. We should say that they never have been, or could be, made with any thing else than perishable goods. "The universal demand for the precious metals at their cost, and the uniformity of their supply, are, equally with moral laws, part of God's providence with man." The demand for the precious metals being constant and infinite, and value depending on demand and cost, the value of the precious metals is "ABSOLUTE," "depending on one condition—cost." "In all transactions [the precious metals] pass at their absolute value." This is why gold is the "STANDARD." It has now been demonstrated that "gold and silver (money) are the most substantial of all kinds of wealth; that a person is rich in ratio to the amount of them that he possesses, as he can, by their use, command whatever other people possess, and can never come to want so long as there is food or clothing for the use of any one."

This is the doctrine of this book, and is all there is in it by way of contribution to monetary science. It is claimed that it is *new* and *original*, and this claim must be conceded in its full scope. We only suggest that, when any one confers on mankind the inestimable benefit of solving successfully and finally a hard problem, which has long perplexed the ablest and best trained men, a certain deference toward the well-meant efforts of his unsuccessful predecessors would be eminently becoming. Let us, however, examine Mr. Poor's doctrine. To begin with, we are met by a broad and dogmatic assumption, after the worst method of *a priori* reasoning, about the first lump of gold. This assumption we will not stop to analyze in detail. It carries with it all which follows, when it

assumes that all the bystanders were affected with the same vehement desire to possess the lump of gold which, to-day, would take possession of a company of Americans. This assumption is made in regard to an historical fact, and the test of its truth is historical investigation. Such investigation shows that love of gold is by no means universal, much less innate or God-given; that civilization has often and in many places advanced to a high degree on barter or on inferior forms of money; that the precious metals have been long used as ornaments by nations of high civilization without being used as money (the aborigines of America); that contracts, loans, and sales on credit have been highly developed where there were no precious metals in use as money; that the precious metals have not an attractiveness equally intense and durable for all men in any one nation, much less for different races, and races on different stages of civilization; that men have not been drawn up to civilization by the attractiveness of any thing before them, least of all by the precious metals, but have been forced upward by the pressure of distress below; that the experience of those who thought the precious metals were in any especial sense wealth, has proved that notion a delusion; that money is an invention, like the alphabet, which has a history and development, every stage of which is open to our study; that this invention was wrought out by man in a long struggle to meet his needs and improve his condition; that the successive selection of various materials for money has been controlled by convenience, and that the final choice, up to the present time, of the precious metals, is due simply to the fact that, of all things tried, they best answered the purpose, just as, after trying stone, bronze, and iron knives, we have settled to the use of steel ones; that the invention of any money was an immense step in civilization for any nation which attained to it; that successive improvements in the material of money have constituted new steps in the same progress; that a highly civilized nation to-day needs the *best money* attainable, not because there is any fetichism about gold, but for the same reason that a carpenter, if he intends to compete with the best workmen, must have tools of the best materials; that the next advance upon the highest money-system is the credit-system, which is nothing but a highly-refined and world-embracing barter; and that the first condition of entering upon this stage is to have a measure of value of the highest stability and accuracy as a common denominator for the transactions of the parties. These are facts in the history of money,

and they controvert the dogmatic assumption with which Mr. Poor starts so completely that his whole structure crumbles with it. He nevertheless thinks that his method is strictly scientific, and that it is not himself, but those who have established the above facts by careful investigation of history, and of the manners and customs of inferior races, who are to be classed with the politicians who base their theories on a state of nature, natural rights, and the social compact. Mr. Poor employs nothing but deduction. His "historical method" consists in quoting English writers on money in chronological order, from the first and greatest to the last and least, and denouncing their doctrines in strong terms so far as they differ from the dogmatic structure erected by him in his first chapter. If a doctrine is new and original, of course it differs from what has gone before; but it does not prove the new doctrine to be true, to quote the old ones and show that they are different. The author's scorn of "Aristotle and the schoolmen" surpasses language; but the "categories" have one advantage:—they restrain one from writing what seems to be intelligible and is not. What, we ask, is an "absolute" which depends upon a condition, and that condition too a thing which is relative and comparative? Value is a ratio, unless this too be an exploded absurdity of the economists. What then is an absolute ratio? and what is meant by saying that the precious metals pass at an absolute value?

Having duly shown the gold-fetich to the people, and swung incense before it, the author, after the manner of the new mercantilists, puts it back again into its shrine, and offers us—the bank-note. He takes bank-notes, checks, drafts, bills, etc., all together. He declares that the distinction between bank-notes and the others is "utterly and wholly fanciful," and has been the cause of the slow progress of monetary science. He then demands a "symbolic currency," symbolizing merchandise, not coin, and is of opinion that such currency can not be inflated, so long as it is issued for merchandise, but will only serve to facilitate exchanges, and will only be called for so far as it is needed for that purpose. As a consequence of embracing all forms of mercantile paper with bank-notes, he is led to confuse capital, credit, and money, his treatment of banks and banking is necessarily confused and incoherent, and he escapes from the necessity of discussing the laws of money altogether. He simply denies that there is any "requirement" for money, establishing a limit to its quantity. He therefore denies that inconvertible currency is rated by any thing but the credit of the issuer. He argues

well against accommodation paper, land banks, and loans on stocks, looking at them from the stand-point of a conservative banker in a bank of issue, *i.e.*, he sees their mischief in their effect on the "reserve." This branch of the subject seems to have the chief interest for the author; for, when he comes to the continental economists, he dismisses them in a note (in a book on "Money"!) because they have written nothing on bank paper, although the German literature on bank paper is more extensive than the English.

The positions stated may be briefly examined. A creditor is such because he has put goods into the market for which he has not yet received an equivalent. A debtor is such because he has taken goods out of the market for which he has not yet rendered an equivalent. As the total of goods taken out within any limited period can not exceed the total put in, the total amount of all the paper used to record and evince all the transactions can not exceed the total amount of capital in the market. Hence it appears that the sole but important effect of the restriction of discounts to short paper, for real transactions, is to *prevent any one from taking goods out of the market for which he does not render an equivalent within the limited period* specified. It hence appears just how much truth there is in the doctrines above quoted. But the paper created by the transactions mentioned specifies "dollars," not wheat, cotton, iron, etc., *i.e.*, the goods have all been measured as to value, and the paper specifies multiples of the common denominator of value. What then is this "money," or measure of value? Obviously it underlies this whole system of credit-barter, although not employed in it. It must, therefore, be sought and studied by itself. Notes specifying promises to deliver "dollars" are not dollars any more than contracts to deliver cotton are cotton. Notes and bills for goods can not exceed the amount of goods, but that is no guarantee at all, as the history of American banking abundantly shows, that credit will not be mixed with money, prices raised, the measure of value falsified, and the whole trading and financial system be inflated together. A borrowing country, whose exchanges are depressed by continual loans of capital, and which has a usury law, is continually open to this financial error, and the banking rules which Mr. Poor advocates, sound as they are in themselves, will not protect it.

Furthermore, what Mr. Poor says of the inconvertible note is equally true of bank-notes not covered by gold. There is no get-

ting rid of interest. In one case, however, the government does not pay interest, nor, in the other, the bank, but, in both cases, the successive holders. If one takes a greenback, giving value for it to-day, it ought to bear the fifteen years' interest which would have been earned by the capital for which it was given, and which was destroyed fifteen years ago. If the holder keeps it a week, he ought to get interest on it, when he buys something with it. Hence the question is whether he takes it at such rate, when he gives goods for it, and parts with it at such rate, when he buys goods with it, as to save the interest. Bankers, merchants, and middlemen do this; salaried men, wage-receivers, and producers do not. The case of an uncovered bank-note is precisely the same. The note displaces a coin, which, or its equivalent capital, passes into the possession of the bank. If the note-borrower keeps the capital, he pays interest on the note, which interest obviously must be earned by the capital. As checks, drafts, and bills have not this effect of enabling those who issue them to get interest instead of paying it, writers on money have hitherto thought that the distinction between bank-notes, and money on the one hand, and checks, drafts, and bills on the other, was of the first importance.

Still again: After metallic money has been displaced by bank-notes down to the level of the lowest denomination of paper allowed, any further issues will unquestionably have short circulation, and will fall in the same category with bills and drafts, *i.e.*, they are instruments of credit and negotiable paper. All such documents are inevitably subjected to discount, and the only difference between those issued for real transactions and those issued for accommodation paper is that there is, in the former case, much greater probability that, when the term of the paper expires, capital will be forthcoming with which to *buy* the notes. A debtor can discharge his debt by delivering capital to the specified amount. This is what a man does who sells goods for bank-notes with which to take up his own note. A creditor can sell his evidence of credit for goods. This is what one does who deposits bank-notes and draws his check to pay for goods, and the reason why banks can not pay interest on deposits is that they would be paying interest, not on capital, but on their own canceled debts. The debtor and the creditor mentioned of course meet in the market, since they are any one and every one, and the transactions balance; but, in the exchanges of notes for goods, there is a double negotiation concealed in the prices, just as certainly as there would be a double

negotiation required if one gave government bonds for a house. These transactions are all barter of securities for goods under reference to some measure of value known and employed but not present. They have no analogy to the conversion of a covered note with its constituent coin, and these operations, so far forth as we have yet been led to consider them, throw little light on the powerful and useful functions of banks in facilitating the borrowing and lending of capital. Covered bank-notes are like money, and are used simply so far as convenience dictates. Uncovered bank-notes are like money, and differ from instruments of credit, in that they displace coin and usurp its functions. They are like instruments of credit, and differ from money in that they are negotiable paper. We must therefore affirm that Mr. Poor, by jumbling bank-notes, drafts, etc., together, has not only not corrected an error in financial science, but has barred the way to any successful study of banks and banking, or of money, capital, and credit. This point is the citadel of his argument, and, when the distinction he denies is established, any one who goes on to study (1) money; (2) banks and banking, with capital; (3) bills, notes, and drafts, with credit will find the economists right and Mr. Poor wrong.

As for "symbolic currency," it is one of those dangerous phrases which are likely to introduce clouds of fallacies under their shelter. What is a symbol? The cross is a symbol of Christianity; the crown, of monarchy; the Phrygian cap, of liberty. Each of these concrete objects calls up by association persons, institutions, ideas, sentiments, and epochs of history. How can the term be applied to pieces of paper which are the record and evidence of goods parted with and not paid for? In our history, the bank-note has been the symbol of nothing but fraud, folly, and ruin. That is why so many of our people hate it as they do, and their consequent preference for inconvertible notes threatens us with perils which are the penalty for the errors of those, in former generations, who held and acted on the theories which Mr. Poor maintains.

For the rest, the author makes criticisms on the safety fund system, on the notion that the government can issue convertible notes with a reserve of one third specie, and on the feasibility of resumption by banks which do not control their own capital, which are incontrovertible.

IMPERIAL FEDERALISM IN GERMANY.¹

I.

ALTHOUGH at the German universities political science has attained to a considerable degree of perfection, there is, perhaps, at present, no other nation whose broad popular understanding of modern constitutional law has to encounter so many serious difficulties as in Germany. Not only aliens, but also native students of political science amidst the German public have to devote much attention and a great deal of mental labor to their investigations before they are allowed to acquire a tolerably exact knowledge of the German Constitution. It is no exaggeration to assert that the non-professional public, taken from the middle classes of the German population, are better acquainted with the essence of Mr. Darwin's theories of evolution than with the main features of constitutional law, whose doctrines may be said to have hitherto remained utterly unpopular even with the legal profession. Down to the present time, it has been held that the thorough study of Roman law and ancient German customary institutions would be sufficient to mentally shape professional lawyers and the officers of the public administration. In the eyes of conservative law-makers, the traditional spirit of political liberalism, prevalent at the German universities since the beginning of our century, might have been appearing innocuous so long as liberalism remained connected with the dry reading of civil law, while its application to political science might have been held to involve serious dangers to the interest of conservative government. For this reason no official premium was held out to the study of political science. So eminent an authority as the late Robert von Mohl, and, besides, many other distinguished professors still living, were constantly complaining of a remarkable want of deeper interest, and a strong feeling of indifference widely spreading among such students as had been trained to consider Roman law not only as the surest way leading to profes-

¹ The author himself has written his article *in English*, as he desires to bear the more personal responsibility for many *legal* explanations which it might be difficult to confide to a translator. After publication in *THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW*, it is to be translated in German, Italian, and Hungarian.—EDS.

sional advance, but also as the exclusive source of political wisdom. Official neglect, shown to the teaching of political science, went so far as to refuse the highest honors to the study of social laws, by awarding the advantage of academical patronage to natural science and history alone. And down to the present day the royal academies of Germany are kept out of any direct relation to political science, omitting, as they do, to include in their organization any special class, devoted to that branch of science, that may undoubtedly claim for itself the same degree of dignity as Egyptian antiquities or the exact observation of natural phenomena.

On the other side, little has been done to render more accessible to the public at large the principles of constitutional law. Prior to Professor Bluntschli's recent and highly noteworthy publication on the general principles of constitutional law, no serious attempt has been made to propagate by popular description the knowledge of the German Constitution. The fact, therefore, was that students of political science had either to resort to voluminous and bulky text-books, published by professional authorities with a view to exhaust their subject, or to content themselves with a rather fragmentary, occasional, and superficial criticism, as contained in the newspapers, or published by unscrupulous advocates of party tenets.

Strange enough, no accepted theory of political science can be asserted to have been laid at the bottom of the Imperial Constitution of Germany, prepared, as it was, by the preceding Constitution of the North-German Confederation in 1867, and remodeled in consequence of the Franco-German war. While the United States Constitution, like that of the Swiss Confederation, had been growing out of certain general principles inherent in public life, or deducible from popular belief at the time of their creation, the German Empire could not avoid accepting the contradictory precepts accessory to or inseparable from the motley mixture of disharmonizing interests and party compromise, forming one of the strongest characteristics in modern German history, and deriving its power from the undeniable fact, that the traditional authority of monarchy could not maintain the same amount of governing influence as in England, nor could doctrinal principles vindicate the same degree of supremacy as in the United States of America.

There is perhaps no constitution in modern history that might justly claim the merit of having outlived the first years of its infancy without having had to undergo the practical necessity of admitting many incongruous precepts, owing to the impossibility

of absolute identification of politics with pure logic. Whatever anomalies, however, both useful and detrimental, might, since the days of the French Revolution, be shown to have been gradually introduced into constitutional legislation, all of them must appear insignificant when compared with that amount of irregularity which is contained in the Imperial Constitution of Germany.

As a rule, most modern constitutions have been framed under a strong tendency towards political imitation, unconsciously working and leading to the adoption of what in other countries could have been shown to work as a reliable political institution. From the days of American independence and the first overthrow of the French royalty down to the present time, there has, on the Continent, been an uninterrupted succession of political ideas, popular movements, and constitutional experiments, originally proceeding from France; and on the other hand, a constant repetition of reactionary measures, shaped on the French pattern of the "*coup d'état*." Of the Imperial Constitution of Germany, however, it can not well be said that its framers have been following the authority of modern political doctrines or of parliamentary precedents. No analogy can be shown to exist between the modern German Empire and the mediæval Holy Empire of the German nation. And though the new empire has a right to its classification under the general head of Consolidated Federal Government (the so-called "*Bundesstaat*"), some essential features, presented by the American and Swiss Confederations, are wanting in the German Constitution.

There is, accordingly, no settled political theory available for the legal interpretation or constructive explanation of the thirteen sections and seventy-eight articles of which the Imperial Constitution is composed, its first plan having been devised and carried out by the original sagacity of one single man, the Chancellor of the Empire, independent of the theories of modern democracy as well as of the doctrines of divine monarchical right.

The opposition both of Liberalism and Radicalism to the new military organization of the Prussian army had been violently swept away before the constitution of the empire could have been proposed before the representatives of the North German people. But, at the same time, the doctrine of the absolute sanctity of monarchical power, as hitherto maintained by the conservative parties of the German legislative assemblies, had been defeated on the battle-fields of 1866. Prior to the formation of the North German Confederation, there existed among conservative politicians a firm belief in some

divine mystery, sanctifying the indelible right of personal sovereignty by the grace of God. The new imperial power, however, was prepared in 1866, either by the overthrow of monarchical governments once legitimate in Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, and Nassau, or by the compulsory assent of beaten Saxony, and afterward finally organized on the voluntary submission both of German princes and legislatures during the course of the great war in 1870. Hence it can not be sufficiently explained by our resorting to mediæval theories of divine right, or modern principles of national sovereignty.

While the King of Prussia, like all the other German monarchs, may still at present invoke the divine right of his hereditary crown, when exercising his prerogative within his Prussian dominions, he can not assert the same mysterious title of religious sanctification with regard to his imperial dignity, proceeding from the innate rationalism of modern history. Even those that are unshaken in their belief in the supreme guidance of divine providence, and in a supreme rule over the destinies of mankind, can not reasonably hold the German imperial dignity to be deducible from the same kind of divine right which mediæval princes and orthodox writers once believed in, when condemning popular or republican government, and raising absolute monarchy to the highest standard of sanctity.

The practical consequence thereof must be, that political efficiency expected to attend the measures of the Imperial government is not likely to be by public opinion appreciated according to the same standard of traditional reverence that might seem naturally prevalent among the Prussian people in their merely territorial feeling toward the Hohenzollern dynasty. For no historian can deny the Prussian State to have been called into existence by the Hohenzollern Electors or Kings. No doubt the loyal feeling of Prussians might for centuries continue to depend on the silent and hereditary working of tradition, while among the German people the sentiment of attachment to their victorious emperor is not likely to have constant growth, unless it were deeply rooted in modern considerations of national welfare and political reason. Using the terminology of church writers, the Prussian state doctrine might be said to be corresponding to the hereditary tradition of an Established creed, while the German Empire bears the impression of Unitarianism, merely rational.

At present there may not yet exist any strong tendency toward drawing a line of practical separation between the royal and imperial prerogatives vested in the same Prussian crown, the less so, be-

cause the Emperor and the Imperial Crown-Prince have, by the extraordinary prominence of their personal qualities, as well as by military success, acquired such an amount of popularity even among the South German people, as no German prince could have boasted of since the romantic days of Barbarossa. Nevertheless, it is necessary to remark, that future generations are by no means assured, that the political feeling of the German nation toward their emperor must at all times continue to coincide with the attachment of the Prussian people to their king. The Prussian king may allow himself and his ministers to carry out unpopular measures and bad laws to a considerable extent without thereby incurring any practical chance of responsibility. The German Emperor, however, could not stand unpopularity for a long period without shaking the foundation-stone of his authority. The King of Prussia may adopt a course of whimsical policy. The German Emperor must be led by the principles of clear necessity, and remain faithful to the rules of liberal government. Physically, the Imperial King of Prussia and the Royal Emperor of Germany are one and the same person, but politically they are not. The practice of Prussian government may remain somewhat different from the aims of Imperial politics; a supposition becoming visible in the fact that the ecclesiastical policy of the Emperor is, according to prevalent notions, liberal, so far as it tends to weaken Ultramontanism, while the ecclesiastical policy of the King of Prussia appears to be strictly anti-liberal, so far as he is strongly opposed to the free Protestant movement among the Prussian people.

The same distinction, to be drawn between the Emperor and the King of Prussia, also applies to the German princes. Their own state government may remain exempt from personal responsibility. Their deputy ministers, however, when deliberating in the Federal Council at Berlin, or deciding on the more important questions of interior administration, are, at once, becoming liable to reprimands and general dissatisfaction in the eventuality of their behaving contrary to common welfare, either real or imaginary.

On the whole, the Federal Council of the German Empire, in doing their political business by the way of secret transactions and having to act in strict accordance with official instructions received from the respective state governments, enjoy no chance whatever of acquiring popularity in the eyes of the German people. The consequence is, that the forty and one non-Prussian delegates to the Federal Council are very likely to jeopardize the personal authority

of their sovereigns, whenever they are about to attempt effectively to oppose such liberal bills or measures as may have been proposed by the Imperial government and supported by a considerable majority of the Reichstag members.

The legislative power of the Empire, vested in the Federal Council and the Reichstag concurrently (the Emperor having, however, a right to veto in some exceptional cases), covers a wide area of different subjects, which may be classified under the following heads:

1. To establish uniform laws of domicile and residence throughout Germany, to regulate the law of aliens and passports, the personal right to trade or industrial enterprise, emigration and colonization.

2. To legislate on matters of commerce, both foreign and national, exports and imports, to lay taxes, tolls, or imposts, to fix the standard of measures and weights and coins, to issue paper money and regulate banking.

3. To provide for uniform rules of postal and telegraphic communication, inspection over railway lines, either public or private, in the interest of common welfare, over the navigation of rivers, canals, or territorial waters, or on the open seas with regard to national ships; to construct railway lines for the benefit of the empire.

4. To organize the army and the navy.

5. To provide for uniform codification in regard both to civil and criminal law, the law of pleading and evidence, including commercial law and promissory notes, the law of patents and copyright, national as well as international, the execution of foreign sentences and judicial requisitions.

6. To regulate the liberty of print and of public assembly.

7. To provide for measures of public sanitary inspection.

From the above enumeration of the subject-matter belonging to the competence of Imperial legislation, it is easy to draw a comparison between Germany and the corresponding sections of other federal constitutions, showing that, in some respects, federal legislation has been carried further on in Germany, while in some other respects, individualism of the state governments has been maintained in opposition to common opinion and to such constitutional provisions as have been adopted by the United States and Switzerland.

One most striking feature, apparent in the general tendency of German legislation, will be found in the singular prominence given

to uniformity in the codification of law. The codification of commercial and maritime law, including bills of exchange, had been carried out prior to the downfall of the old Bund. Although in many other respects strongly opposed to popular demands, and by no means prone to undertake national legislation, the Bund of 1815 was acting under the pressure of public opinion when assuming to codify commercial law. The benefit to be derived from uniform legislation in matters of civil and criminal law as well as of judicial procedure had gradually become so evident that the new empire could in no way refuse to assume a task which might, in the eyes of English lawyers, appear as lying beyond the limits of human powers, there being in Germany not only a huge accumulation of customary law, sadly disconnected by contradictory decisions from a dozen of supreme state courts, but besides German customary and Roman law, a series of innumerable statutes. There are still in force several hundreds of local laws, surviving the destruction of many small states once sovereign at the times of the ancient German Empire. Some townships remaining under the rule of permanent collision between different kinds of hereditary or matrimonial laws, the exact number of which is unknown even to experienced jurists, English lawyers would deem it impossible to undertake the gigantic work of codification on so vast a scale.

Still, a few years have been sufficient to successfully codify the criminal law, including procedure, the law of civil suits, and of bankruptcy. Less than ten years had elapsed since the erection of the North German Confederation, when the following codes were adopted by the legislative power:

1. The Criminal Code of 1871, regulating punishments on account of all crimes, almost all misdemeanors and many minor offenses, and leaving to the criminal legislation of the several states only such misdemeanors and minor offenses as have been deemed to offer no connection with the general interest of the Empire.

2. The Criminal Military Code for the Army and the Navy of 1872.

3. The Code of Judicial Organization of 1877.

4. The Code of Criminal Procedure of 1877.

5. The Code of Civil Procedure of 1877.

6. The Code of Bankruptcy of 1877.

To complete this extensive work of codification, there remains nothing to be done except the uniform codification of civil law, now in preparation.

It might be questioned whether codification, carried out to so vast an extent, could have been effected without material danger to the intrinsic value of legislation. Many possible improvements, no doubt, had to be sacrificed to the prevalent political view of legislative unity. Taking, however, the whole, the advantage realized by federal codification can not well be overestimated; the civil and criminal legislation of the less advanced states having been overruled by the triumph of principles generally progressive.

It is a favorite idea with some distinguished English lawyers, that extensive codification can not well be realized, unless it be undertaken by absolute monarchy or military dictatorship. Yet the position occupied by Prince Bismarck, though his influence has been considerable even in such matter of legislation where he is not allowed to claim any degree of personal authority, is by no means similar to the precedents offered by the names of Frederick the Great or Napoleon, whose legislative activity has been supreme in codification. No positive idea of innate value has been brought forward by Prince Bismarck to promote the higher ends of justice and the constitutional dignity of the judicial power. On the contrary, Prince Bismarck's personal views on criminal legislation must be acknowledged to be in open opposition to public opinion. He at all times believed rather in the justice of material power than in the moral power of justice. His influence, strong as it was in giving aid to the general scheme of uniform legislation, has been exercised with a negative view to prevent the adoption of such special clauses as might, in his eyes, have been apt to weaken the prerogative of the executive power by allowing too much legal protection to persons accused of any misdemeanor against the public security. To his peremptory opposition, it must be attributed, that the benefit of trial by jury, traditional throughout the South German States, was not admitted to become the law of the Empire. The more active influence, exercised in shaping the particular provisions of Imperial Codification has been proceeding partly from experienced jurists, partly from delegates selected by the Imperial Parliament to form a special committee for the purpose of codification.

The waste of time hitherto required in order to ascertain what kind of local law should be applicable to the legal consideration of any single case, will henceforth become unnecessary, and old technical terminology, unintelligible to the people at large, will be replaced by plain legal notions.

MODERN LOVE.¹

I.

IT seems often to be thought that love is but a story of private and personal interest, and that it has little of the dignity and universality that are characters of history. It is the old, old story, if you please, but not a history. Thus, Goethe seemed to favor this notion, when he spoke of meeting in the Roman Campagna a young woman who was nursing her child, and seated upon the fragment of an ancient column. When he questioned her about the ruins around her hut, she knew nothing about them, and her mind turned wholly upon the child in her arms. This new baby was story enough for her, and she cared as little as she knew about that old history. Yet that history had a great deal to do with her story; for she was an Italian mother, and whatever had given laws and usages to the state and the homes of old Rome and new Italy had made its mark upon her, her husband, and their child, and the life that they were living together among those ruins. She, too, was making history whilst she met the gaze of that young poet, and heard and answered his question. She has gone into his poetry, and what is poetry but history set to music, that it may more easily roll through the ages and sing itself into the mind of the race? This poet, probably more effectively than any man of our age, has portrayed and animated the love sentiment in literature and society; and, in a certain sense, it may be said that love has become history since his story of Werther and what went with it.

So we might name this essay upon the love sentiment in our time, "Since Werther," and it is well to begin it by taking a look at the most memorable record of the old classic thinking upon love. Can we do any thing better in order to get inside of the higher mind of Greece than to take our seat at the "Banquet" of Plato, and listen

¹ I. "Richardson, Rousseau und Goethe." Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Romans in 18. Jahrhundert. Von Erich Schmidt. Jena: Edward Fromman. 1875.

II. "Portraits des Femmes." Par C.-A. Sainte-Beuve de l'Academie Française. Paris: Garnier Frères. 1876.

III. "Womankind." By Charlotte Mary Yonge. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

to the various conversations, which Socrates heads with his wisdom, and Alcibiades foots with his drunken rhapsody. This symposium has the more interest for us now from the fact that the various characters were drawn from high life in Athens, and their opinions, therefore, have a social importance as well as literary worth ; a combination which we find also in the poems and romances which went forth from Goethe at Weimar, where he was as much a man of society and of state as of letters and art. Mr. Jowett calls this the most perfect of all the works of Plato, and he considers it as Greek both in style and subject, having a beauty as of a statue, whilst the companion Dialogue of the Phædrus on the same subject is marked by a sort of Gothic irregularity. He regards it, too, as having more Plato's own peculiar thought than any of his other writings, and as emancipated from the old philosophical systems of Pythagoras and his associates.

Although given in the form of a narrative, told by Apollodorus to a companion in a walk from the Piræus to Athens, and professing to be derived some years before from Aristodemus, who was present on the occasion, and to have been confirmed by Socrates afterwards, this dialogue is quite dramatic in structure, and it might be made into a telling little play, meagre though it would be in the absence of all women except the light flute girl, who was sent away when the talking began, and the grave Diotima, who figured only as a quotation in the exalted discourse of Socrates. Aristodemus is represented as meeting Socrates in holiday attire, and as being invited by him to a banquet at the house of Agathon, who had been offering a sacrificial thanksgiving for his victory in tragedy the day before. On entering the house, the invited guest finds that Socrates, who had invited him, is missing, and he immediately enters into conversation with his host, Agathon, as to drinking, and they come to the conclusion, with the advice of the physician, Eryximachus, that as they had been drunk the day before, they had better abstain from their cups now, and instead of listening to the flute girl and her 'noise,' they should discourse in honor of love, one after the other, passing from left to right as they were sitting at table. This was agreed to, and Phædrus, who started the idea, began the conversation with an encomium on love as the oldest of divinities, the source of the highest good, the spur to the faint-hearted, and the soul of courage and self-sacrifice. Pausanias follows him in a speech upon the distinction between the vulgar and the celestial love. Next comes the physician, Eryximachus, who treats

the subject from the medical point of view, speaks of the various loves, and urges the worth of the love which is conversant with the good, and goes with justice and temperance in giving happiness, and in securing true fellowship with others and with the gods. Aristophanes then gives some odd speculations upon the origin of the different kinds of love from the original types of the man, the woman, and the man-woman in whom the sexes were combined. He makes it out that these three types of sex were made round, with four hands, four feet, two faces, and all else corresponding, and that Zeus, alarmed at their fierceness, concluded to split them in two, so that each went about seeking its mate, and marriage was devised to restore the union. Thus, love is the craving to be whole, and the truest marriage is the complete wholeness. After some raillery, in which Socrates, who had come in when the feast was half over from a brown study in the portico of a neighboring house, and who was in time to hear the whole discussion, took part, Agathon, who was the host and a tragic poet, made his speech upon the god of love and his gifts. He agrees with Phædrus in calling love the most blessed of all the gods, the most beautiful, the best; but he can not call him old, or older than Saturn, because he seems to him to be youngest of the gods and ever eager to shun old age and to go with youth. Agathon then speaks of the virtue of love and its service to justice, temperance, valor, and wisdom—to the imagination of the poet and the handicraft of the inventor, its exalted place as the ornament of gods and of men, a leader the most beautiful and best, in whose train it is the duty of every one to follow, hymning well his praise, and bearing part in that sweet song which he sings himself when soothing every god and man. Agathon's glowing words were received with a general cheer, and then Socrates comes in with the speech of the day, full of puzzling cross-questions, beginning with a knock-down argument against the position of Agathon and others, who maintained that love is the source of every good, whereas it is no good at all, but only desire of the good, and ending in the grand passages upon the higher love which he professes to have derived from Diotima, the prophetess of Mantinea, in which love is presented as the mysterious power, partly divine, partly human, which produces the best creations by union with the beautiful. Love is thus not love of the beautiful only, but the love of generation and birth in beauty; and this beauty may be moral and ideal, and the birth may be in accordance in the ideal world. "Do you not see that in communion with that

high loveliness only, and in beholding beauty with the eye of the mind, the lover will be able to bring forth not images of beauty, but realities; for he has hold not of an image only but of a reality, and bringing forth and educating true virtue to become the friend of God and be immortal, if mortal man may. Would that be an ignoble life?" Thus Socrates closes his report of Diotima's utterance.

Alcibiades then staggers in with a troop of revelers, and, drunk as he is, he helps out the perfection of the dialogue by his lively speech, which relieves the high strain of mystical sentiment; and by his enthusiastic and, in some respects, repulsive eulogy of the virtue of Socrates, he actually clinches the sage's argument. Indeed, by Plato's rare art, the rowdy ending of the Banquet does not destroy the exalted lesson or leave Socrates any the less master of the situation. The champion of ideal love sits the night out with the guests who remain, and if he did not drink them under the table, he left them asleep on their couches to their ignoble slumbers, whilst he in the morning, after washing himself, went to the Lyceum as bright as the new-born day.

Such is the drift of the famous Symposium of Plato, which was written as late as the year 384 before Christ, and not later than 369, during the period of fifteen years in which the author passed from his forty-fourth to his fifty-ninth year, when, of course, he was no longer a young enthusiast, but a mature thinker. It would be a perplexing and laborious task to undertake to characterize clearly the distinctive opinions of the several speakers, and to define exactly what Socrates meant by the kind of love which he so exalts, and which is generally but erroneously supposed to be what is called Platonic love, or ideal affinity between man and woman. It is clear that difference of sex is not at all essential, but is rather in the way of this love. Mr. Jowett, whose delicate sensibility is as well known as his scholarly learning, after animadverting upon the nameless crimes between persons of the same sex; which Socrates is praised for shunning, but which he ridicules rather than abhors, speaks thus of the enthusiasm of cultivated Greeks for beauty in their own masculine sex: "Still more surprising is the fact itself that the elevation of sentiment, which is regarded by Plato as the first step in the upward progress of the philosopher, is aroused not by female beauty, but by the beauty of youth, which alone seems to have been capable of inspiring the modern feeling of romance in the Greek mind. The passion which was unsatisfied by the love of

women, took the spurious form of an enthusiasm for the ideal of beauty—a worship as of some godlike image of an Apollo or Antinous. Thus wide is the gulf which separates a portion of Hellenic sentiment in the age of Plato not only from Christian but from Homeric feeling.” Mr. Jowett regards the love which Socrates celebrates, as a kind of mystical intellectualism, the “passion of the reason,” which leads exalted souls to delight in intellectual conceptions, as the vulgar delight in the procreation of children. Mr. Grote, with his equally keen and more prosaic mind, accepts the same idea in a more positive form. “The beauty of women yielded satisfaction to the senses, but little beyond. It was the masculine beauty of youth that fired the Hellenic imagination with glowing and impassioned sentiment. The finest youths, and those too of the best families and education, were seen habitually uncovered in the Palæstron and at the public festival-matches, engaged in active contention and graceful exercise, under the direction of professional trainers. The sight of the living form in such perfection, movement, and variety, awakened a powerful emotional sympathy, which, in the more susceptible natures, was exalted into intense and passionate devotion.” Hence he traces out the influence of beauty upon the higher love in the love of pure beauty, or rather of procreation in the beautiful, whereby satisfaction is obtained for this restless and impatient agitation. “With some this erotic impulse stimulates the body, attracting them toward women, and inducing them to immortalize themselves by begetting children; with others, it acts far more powerfully upon the mind, and determines them to conjunction with another mind for the purpose of generating appropriate mental offspring and products. In this case, as well as in the preceding, the first stroke of attraction arises from the charm of physical, visible, and youthful beauty; but when, along with this beauty of person, there is found the additional charm of a susceptible, generous, intelligent mind, the effect produced by the two together is overwhelming; the bodily sympathy becoming spiritualized and absorbed by the mental.”

We have no difficulty in understanding the ideal love which Plato sets forth through the lips of Socrates, but the wonder is that so little account is made of the power of woman to inspire it. She makes a very small figure in the famous Symposium, and the men of the world who do speak of her charms in passing, speak quite as much of the loves between men, giving indeed more emphasis to the impassionate friendship of Achilles and Patroclus, Harmodius

and Aristogeiton, than to the loyal loves of Alcestis and Admetus, and Orpheus and Eurydice, while Socrates, in quoting a woman's thought about love, goes wholly out of the dominant literary circles, has no word to say of the accomplished Aspasia whom he admired, and whom Plato sets forth in the *Menexenus* as the oracle of patriotism ; but he sets up a grave prophetess to treat of the supreme love. How different the age of Plato from this age of Goethe ! How marvelously a *Symposium* written since *Werther*, and with the full counsel of the minds formed under this author's influence, would read in contrast with that Athenian dialogue of Greek thought since Socrates ! Who should or who could put into shape and embody fully and freely with his own conviction, the various ideas that are held of the love sentiment in the nineteenth century, it is not easy to say ; and to decide it, we decide who is the Plato of our day, a task not simple and perhaps not possible. Our office is much less ambitious, and the present aim is merely to trace out as well as one can the leading characteristics of the thought and life of love which Goethe has done so much to form, that he may be called the representative man. Great changes indeed have taken place in the principles and the spirit of society since that *Banquet* was written two thousand years and about a quarter of a thousand years ago. The rise and progress of the Christian religion, the union of the Hebrew theism with the Greek humanism, the Roman empire with its universal law, the Germanic race with its inward turn of mind, its impatience of priesthoods, its stubborn independence, and a certain romantic reverence for woman, the revival of classic culture, the Protestant Reformation, the uprising of the great modern nations against old Rome, the new discoveries in nature, and the new inventions of the arts—these had made all things new, and told mightily upon social life as well as upon philosophy and literature. Yet something more was to be seen, and history that ends before *Werther* and stops short at 1774 is a very old story, and tells us nothing of the new forces, alike in science and in society, that have brought on the great revolution and reconstruction that have made the nineteenth century what it is, and have not by any means done their work. When Priestley discovered oxygen in that year (1774), and Lavoisier followed him up with his study of the nature of caloric and the law of definite proportions, chemistry was born, that science which is the root of all our new physical science. But our human life is moved by a more subtle force than heat, and its flame needs a more ethereal element than oxygen. In the *Sorrows of Werther*, this subtle

force came forth from the broken crucible that held it, and from this unhappy victim of passion, the love sentiment, which is the oxygen of the heart, flamed out, a consuming and also a purifying fire in the new age of romance.

In Goethe a new style of man was born into the world, and alike by his personal qualities and his position he led a great revolution and tried not wholly in vain to make a great reconciliation. The classic and romantic ages had gone before him, and he was pre-eminently the modern man and the leader of the modern age, which is trying to bring the classic and the romantic together under new and stirring conditions. It is not necessary or advisable to go into the particulars of his life, rich as are the materials which every year is accumulating upon our hands. It is enough to say now that his personality and his position alike fitted him for his work, and both went well together. A born poet, he had in his birthplace a congenial home, and Frankfort-on-Main, the seat of the old Germanic empire, fitly cradled this imperial soul. He was the more ready for his new empire, which was to be so largely democratic, by not being born aristocratic. He came of a race of tradesmen, yet he was twice well born by being son of a vigorous, intelligent father, and a great-hearted, bright-witted mother, and by adding to this worthy heredity of blood a good heritage of culture. He lived from the first in the best life and thought in that city, where the old empire and the new commerce so combined their powers and their lessons; and from the best books and people he learned the ancient wisdom of the Scriptures and the classics, and he was equally earnest to catch the spirit of piety from a devotee like Fräulein von Klettenberg, and to plunge into the mysteries of Spinoza, whose *Opera Posthuma* he hunted up and studied. He seems to have known a little of every thing, and to have known it by heart. He took fire in turn from the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Gothic, and German ages, and he threw himself into the mystical thought and passion of the East. All the while he was himself, and with all his genial openness to influence from art, letters, and society, he was as original as he was susceptible, as productive as he was receptive. He was from boyhood what he did not cease to be at fourscore, a famous lover, and the love that robs so many men of their wits seemed to brighten his wits and to quicken his invention. In his teens he had more than once put his passion into verse, and the second part of *Faust*, which he finished shortly before his death, ends like the cadence of a life-long love-song. This swan as he was dying did not stop, but

deepened the rapture of the old romance. That swan-song dies not away into nothingness, but deepens into the eternities.

Goethe wrote *Werther* in 1774, after his study of law at Strassburg, his return to Frankfort, his composition of *Goetz von Berlichingen*, and his love affairs with Lotte and Frederika. This young Apollo of twenty-five years, whom people stared at in streets and hotels, and who was so handsome as to make the guests at public tables put down their knives and forks to feast their eyes upon his face and form, began his literary career with two works of the most revolutionary bearing; with *Goetz*, the insurgent against the old empire, and with *Werther*, the rebel against the old social order. *Werther* opened the fire in German literature against the stronghold of conservatism; it was the first gun against the Bastille of conventionalism there, and it was none the less effective because fired by a young man who became the pet of the aristocracy, and whom democracy still quarrels with on account of his indifference to the struggle for liberty. The book made a prodigious sensation, and the author seems to have had the advance-guard of France and England on his right and left, whilst young Germany backed him up with its power. The story is an extravagant and absurd one; yet it is hard enough to read it without crying over the hero's sorrows, even now with our large experience and cool criticism, and with Thackeray's noted burlesque in face of all sentimentalism. *Werther*, who has loved before and been fondly loved, and brought from the affair at once a sting of remorse and a spur of passion, falls dead in love with a charming girl, whom he sees dealing out bread and butter to her little brothers and sisters. After a waltz with her at a ball, which drives him almost out of his senses, he learns from her that she is engaged to marry Albert. He tried to find employment and companionship elsewhere, but there society did not smile upon him, and Miss B., whom he liked and who liked him, was not allowed by her courtly circle to go with a young man of such plebeian caste. Thus two disappointments, love and ambition, came together to crush him, a combination of motives which struck Napoleon as unwise, and which he so represented to Goethe at Erfurt in 1808, after telling him that he had read *Werther* seven times. The result was, that the wretched man blows out his brains with pistols which he had borrowed from Charlotte's husband, and which had been touched by her own hand; and he does it with her name on his lips, as the divinest name that he could speak.

Werther was not particularly the embodiment of Goethe's own

spirit ; for although he was at times sad, as all wide-awake and susceptible and aspiring young men at times are, he loved life and he had no crushing disappointment. But he could not live away from the air of the time and people. It was what is called the Storm and Stress period of German letters, and the restless, rising mind of Young Germany spoke through him. He was part of its madness as he was to be the voice of its wisdom and its peace. His people had been arrested in their intellectual and social as well as their political development by the terrible Thirty Years' War, and for more than a century after the treaty of Westphalia in 1648, the Germans had been kept down by the dogmatic letter of the scholastics of the Reformation, and by the hard dictum of the new dynasties. The long-delayed emancipation of thought and letters was at hand, and he, in his way, led the revolt against the old routine. The same fire, call it by what name we choose, whether the primitive Germanic freedom or the new and universal yearning for liberty, had been burning elsewhere ; and there is good reason to believe that Goethe felt the fresh literature of England and France stirring within him, and that especially Richardson's *Clarissa Harlowe* and Rousseau's *Nouvelle Heloise* brought their electric current to bear upon his kindling sensibility. *Werther*, *Clarissa*, *Julia* were three names that spoke the flaming protest against the reigning social tyranny. In *Julia*, Rousseau set forth his new religion of nature ; in *Clarissa*, Richardson recorded his scorn of the parental despotism that undertook to force a daughter to marry a churl whom she detested, and thus drove her to seek protection at the hands of a fascinating profligate whom she learned to abhor ; whilst *Werther* gathered into a burning point the restless tendencies of society at home and abroad, and in four weeks Goethe, a prophet without knowing it, dashed off the romance that made him the lion of the day and gave him a name in literature which he has kept till now. Erich Schmidt has given his very elaborate and instructive volume to the mutual influence of these writers upon each other, and he has undertaken to set forth their power over the new romance of the age, alike in the intense personality of the epistolary style which the three follow, and in the worth that is assigned to common life and familiar enjoyments in contrast with the temper of the reigning aristocratic society. The power and sacredness of love as a sentiment is recognized by them all, whilst Rousseau and Goethe are seen to agree especially in their estimate of the charms of nature and rural life, the attractions of country people and the fascination of children, to

say nothing of the disposition to disparage books and scholastic learning. Woman is the ruling genius with them all, and Goethe in 1774, after his intimacy with Charlotte Buffe and Kestner, her husband, and his acquaintance with the suicide Jerusalem, at that point of his own life which is said to bring full manhood, the age of twenty-five, added to his own fire the flame which the English bookseller Richardson had kept burning since 1749, and which Rousseau, the son of the Genevan watchmaker, had kindled in 1759. Werther may be called an epoch-making book, since it gave the author his fame and opened his path as the poet and the romancer of love in our modern society.

Look first at the bearings of this book upon the thought of modern society. Love itself is, of course, as we have said, no new thing, and it is not wise to say that any of the main types of the love sentiment is peculiar to any age or any person. No judicious thinker will affirm that Goethe knew more of the human heart than Shakespeare, or that the author of Werther and Faust has discovered any realms of emotion that were unknown to the author of Hamlet. Yet it is quite certain that Goethe lived in a new and peculiar time, and loved and thought and suffered and wrote under the power of peculiar intellectual tendencies. He was a modern man, as Shakespeare was not wholly, and he carried into his work the revolutionary spirit that quarreled with the old ages, both secular and ecclesiastical, whilst he was moved to a great degree by the modern passion for reconstructing society upon the new basis of freedom and justice, humanity and truth. There is a certain tendency in his great works, which speaks out in the anguish of Werther, and rises from conflict and darkness to light and victory in Faust and Wilhelm Meister. It may be, that the claim which is made by Moritz Carriere and others for him, that he is superior to Shakespeare in putting so much thought into his characters, as in making Faust so much more philosophical than Hamlet, is a dangerous claim, since what is gained in philosophy may be, and generally is, a loss in poetry. Yet it can not be justly said that Goethe loses poetical fire and beauty by his philosophical mind, and if Faust sometimes is in a strait between many opinions, Margaret, who is the heart of the poem, is not troubled by any philosophy, but she is as simple and charming a piece of nature as is to be found in the whole realm of letters or of life. There is as little bookishness or *tendenz* about her as in Rosalind or Miranda or Ophelia, and less than in either of Shakespeare's Portias, to say nothing of her being vastly less book-

ish than Dante's Beatrice. But it is nevertheless true that even Margaret is made to bring out the problem in the author's mind, and her pious heart and confiding love and charming naturalness upset the philosophy of Faust, and give at first to Mephistopheles his triumph by her weakness, and finally his defeat by her sanctity. She is the *yes* of Nature and of God to the devil with his damnable *no*. In Werther there is not so much intellectual stir as in Faust, and it is a certain sentiment rather than any problem of thought that moves him to his passion and his end. He makes us feel, however, that the new age is fermenting within him, and his mind needs only to run clear in order to flow and sparkle with the wine of Lessing and Herder and the new Illuminists, who were heralds of the life and light of our time.

Without trying to go into any nice definitions of Werther's psychological condition, a subject which has just been treated in a learned lecture by a German physician, it is enough to say that in his character we may see the concentration of the then rising protest against the old social and theological caste and a desperate call for emancipation in the empire of the affections. That there was need of this protest, however extravagant and absurd it was in form, we are not compelled to prove by quotations from the revolutionary writers or orators of that day; for honest, old-fashioned Samuel Richardson equals Goethe in denouncing the ruling household tyranny, and perhaps even surpasses him in pathos in portraying its results. Miss Yonge, the High School novelist and moralist, allows that in old England, until a century ago, marriage was a business transaction, and that what we call the days of romance were most devoid of it in marriage. "Perhaps Richardson," she says, "did the most to overthrow the whole system by bringing a tyrant father into detestation in one novel, and in another giving what was at the time taken as a picture of noble and respectful mutual love." There was no such parental tyranny exercised over the Charlotte whom Werther could not win, and Albert, her husband, was an intelligent and worthy man, if not a romantic lover. Charlotte was more the occasion than the cause of Werther's melancholy, and as a witty Frenchwoman has said, he would have blown out his brains for something or somebody else if not for her. The woman whom he first saw in her girlhood dealing out bread and butter to her little brothers and sisters, and whose engagement to Albert he first learned after he had held her in his arms in the inebriating rounds of the waltz, brought to the burning point all

the enthusiasm of his nature and the discord of his position and drove him mad. That the book made so much sensation proves that its readers were almost as crazy as the hero was, and that his quarrel was part and parcel of the rising quarrel and the coming revolution. Yet we must not lose sight of the real worth of that flaming protest in behalf of ideal love against customary routine, family thrift, theological dogma, state policy, and ecclesiastical despotism. It was time to have it distinctly understood that a woman is something more than a fine piece of goods or even a precious jewel to be bartered for money or for place, and that she is a priceless good in herself and entitled to use her own mind and heart in the choice of her husband. It was time to declare with all the force of the imagination and the charm of beautiful art, that love is a serious interest of life, and not merely a play of fancy or a device of diplomacy. Of modern love, in its positive traits and serious worth, we are to treat in a second and closing paper.

THE COUNT OF THE ELECTORAL VOTE FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT.

THE question of the proper mode of making the count of the electoral votes, in the election of President and Vice-President of the United States, now excites more interest and elicits inquiry more generally than at any previous period in the history of the United States. Newspaper articles as well as able and elaborate arguments in the Reviews, and even volumes, have recently been written or compiled upon the subject.

Soon after the meeting of the present Forty-fifth Congress, at their called or extra session, the subject was taken up by both Houses of Congress. In the Senate, on the 22d of October, 1877, seven days after the session opened, the following "Resolution" was adopted :

"Resolved, That a select Committee consisting of seven Senators be appointed, whose duty it shall be to take into consideration the state of the law respecting the ascertaining and declaration of the result of the elections for President and Vice-President of the United States ; that said Committee have power to report by bill or otherwise ; and that said Committee have power to confer and act with any Committee of the House of Representatives that may be charged with the same subject."

This "Resolution" of the Senate was promptly responded to by the House. Their "Resolution" was in these words :

"Resolved, That a Committee consisting of eleven members be appointed, whose duty it shall be to take into consideration the state of the law respecting the ascertainment and declaration of the result of the elections for President and Vice-President of the United States ; and that said Committee have power to report by bill or otherwise ; and confer and act with the Committee appointed on the part of the Senate charged with the same subject."

The Senate Committee consists of the following members of that body, namely, Edmunds, of Vermont ; Conkling, of New York ; Howe, of Wisconsin ; McMillan, of Minnesota ; Teller, of Colorado ; Davis, of Illinois ; Bayard, of Delaware ; Thurman, of Ohio ; and Morgan, of Alabama.

The House Committee consists of the following members of

that body, namely, Southard, of Ohio; Hunton, of Virginia; Potter, of New York; House, of Tennessee; Bicknell, of Indiana; Herbert, of Alabama; Carlisle, of Kentucky; Butler, of Massachusetts; Browne, of Indiana; Brogden, of North Carolina; and Sampson, of Iowa.

From this it appears that this whole subject, in its entire scope and comprehension, is now under consideration by what may be styled a "Joint Committee" of the two Houses of Congress, comprising several of the most eminent members of each house respectively. The action of this "Joint Committee" will be looked to with intense interest throughout the country.

Besides the raising of this "Joint Committee," several bills have been introduced by individual members providing for an amendment to the Constitution covering the subject; and one or two propositions for the passage of a law regulating the same have been submitted; all of which will come under the review of the "Joint Committee" so raised.

The cause of this general interest in the subject, and the early action of the present Congress upon it, was the feeling and excitement produced throughout the country by the result and the attending incidents of the last Presidential election.

On this point it may here be stated, that at that election it was conceded generally that the Democratic ticket had, without question, one hundred and eighty-four electoral votes—within one of an undisputed constitutional majority of the electoral votes necessary for the choice of a President and Vice-President; while it was in like manner conceded, that the Republican ticket had one hundred and seventy-two electoral votes; leaving the eight electoral votes of Louisiana, the four electoral votes of Florida, and one electoral vote of Oregon, disputed.

It was claimed by the Democratic side that gross and outrageous frauds were committed by the "Returning Boards" of Louisiana and Florida, and that it was competent for Congress to go behind the certificate of the executives and inquire who were the properly appointed Presidential Electors of those States under the laws; while it was claimed on the other side that the certificate of the executives of the State should control the count, and that it was the duty of the President of the Senate to make the count himself and proclaim the result.

This was the first disputed Presidential election in our history. The alarming condition in which the country was thrown at the

election of 1800 did not grow out of a dispute as to who were the duly appointed electors in any one or more of the several States, nor as to the constitutional qualifications of any of the chosen electors, but from a tie between the then sixteen States of the Union, in the House, on deciding the tie in the Electoral College between Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr for the Presidency. Factious partisanship alone was the cause of that trouble. There was no dispute as to the validity of any electoral vote or the mode of making the count. After that perilous crisis was happily passed, an amendment to the Constitution was proposed and adopted, which it was supposed would prevent a similar occurrence: this amendment, however, did not touch the matter of the mode of making the count.

The question now is, whether the Constitution, as it at present stands amended, is in itself defective; and secondly, whether it is in the power of Congress to remedy the evils attending the last Presidential election, short of another constitutional amendment.

Many eminent statesmen hold that the Constitution as it now stands is defective, and that the only remedy for such evils is in a further constitutional amendment.

It is proposed in this article to examine these two questions in the order in which they have been stated. In doing this, it is proper that the Constitution as it now stands should be clearly understood. It is in these words:

"Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in Congress: But no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

"The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list thus voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the Pre-

sident. But in choosing the President, the vote shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the 4th day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

“The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.”

From the words of the text thus produced, it clearly appears that when the returns shall be received and deposited with the President of the Senate, as thereby provided, the certificates shall be opened by the President of the Senate, in the presence of both Houses, and the votes shall then be counted. The great question then arises upon the proper construction and the true meaning of the words as to how, and by whom, the count is to be made. Who is to make the count, and who is to determine all the matters relating to the validity of the election, or the qualifications of any elector? Is it to be made by the President of the Senate, and is he to judge and determine what electors have been duly appointed; and is his announcement of the judgment so rendered to control and settle all disputes involved in the matter? Are the two Houses of Congress only to be witnesses of this proceeding? Most clearly not, as it appears to the writer of this article. The Constitution could not, as it seems to him, have intended so useless if not farcical a ceremony.

The usual course in our history has been for both Houses, by concurrent resolution, to agree beforehand as to how this count shall be made. In no instance has it ever been agreed that the count should be made by the President of the Senate. The last settled, fixed rule by concurrent action of the two Houses, previous to the count, is the celebrated joint rule passed in 1865, which is in the following words:

“The two Houses shall assemble in the hall of the House of Representatives, at the hour of one o'clock P.M., on the second Wednesday in February next succeeding the meeting of the electors of President and Vice-President of the United States, and the President of the Senate shall be their presiding officer. One teller

shall be appointed on the part of the Senate, and two on the part of the House of Representatives, to whom shall be handed, as they are opened by the President of the Senate, the certificates of the electoral votes; and said tellers having read the same in the presence and hearing of the two Houses thus assembled, shall make a list of the votes as they shall appear from the said certificates; and the votes having been counted, the result of the same shall be delivered to the President of the Senate, who shall thereupon announce the state of the vote and the names of the persons, if any elected, which announcement shall be deemed a sufficient declaration of the persons elected President and Vice-President of the United States, and, together with a list of the votes, be entered on the journals of the two Houses.

“If, upon the reading of any such certificate by the tellers, any question shall arise in regard to counting the votes therein certified, the same having been stated by the presiding officer, the Senate shall thereupon withdraw, and said question shall be submitted to that body for its decision; and the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall, in like manner, submit said question to the House of Representatives for its decision. And no question shall be decided affirmatively, and no vote objected to shall be counted, except by the concurrent votes of the two Houses; which being obtained, the two Houses shall immediately reassemble, and the presiding officer shall then announce the decision of the question submitted; and upon any such question there shall be no debate in either House. And any other question pertinent to the object for which the two Houses are assembled, may be submitted and determined in like manner.

“At such joint meeting of the two Houses seats shall be provided as follows: for the President of the Senate, the ‘Speaker’s Chair;’ for the Speaker, a chair immediately upon his left; for the Senators, in the body of the hall upon the right of the presiding officer; for the Representatives, in the body of the hall not occupied by the Senators; for the Tellers, Secretary of the Senate, and Clerk of the House of Representatives, at the Clerk’s desk; for the other officers of the two Houses, in front of the Clerk’s desk and upon either side of the Speaker’s platform.

“Such joint meeting shall not be dissolved until the electoral votes are all counted and the result declared, and no recess shall be taken, unless a question shall have arisen in regard to counting any of such votes, in which case it shall be competent for either house, acting separately in the manner hereinbefore provided, to direct a recess not beyond the next day, at the hour of one o’clock P.M.”

The elections in 1868 and 1872 were conducted under this rule; but in 1876 the Senate refused to recognize its validity, and would not allow the joint resolution of 1865 to control the matter. Hence arose the great conflict between the two Houses at the last election, which came near ending in civil war.

The first point which will now be inquired into is as to the correctness of the joint rule referred to—that is, whether the rejection by either house of an electoral vote should prevail. From reason it appears to the writer of this article it should not. The language of the Constitution is, that “The President of the Senate shall, in

the presence of the Senate and the House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted."

Does not this language clearly imply that the count, that is, the understanding as to what votes shall be counted, shall be by the two Houses in joint assembly? How can this be except by a joint count?

A count, how? By the respective bodies separately? Most clearly not, but by the joint assembly *per capita*. It is said that there is no instance in which the two Houses have ever, in joint assembly, united in joint action upon any subject. But suppose that there never has been such a case. Is that any argument against it, if any case requiring it should ever occur? The great question here is, whether it was not the intention of the Constitution that the count should be so made; and whether such mode of settling disputes of this kind would be violative of any principle familiar to American constitutional construction? To the writer, it seems clear that such was the plain intention, and that it does not violate any principle of American constitutional construction. In our State legislatures, what is more common than for both houses of the legislature of any State to act in concert by a *per capita* vote? This is the case, as is well known, in all elections for United States Senators, where the vote in joint convention of the two houses is taken *per capita*. What violation of principle is it for the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in this particular case to act in the same way?

Would it not be in the direct line of the general objects of the Constitution in such cases, as clearly appears from the history of this clause of the Constitution, providing for Presidential elections? The first proposition in the Federal Convention of 1787, touching the office and election of the President and Vice-President, was that the executive power of the United States should be vested in a single person; that his style should be the President of the United States of America; that he should be elected by ballot by the Congress, and that he should hold his office during the term of seven years, but should not be elected a second time. This was the first manifestation on the subject in the embryo existence of the Constitution in the Federal Convention of 1787 that framed it. This was on the 6th of August. From this it will appear that no reference at this early stage of the proceedings was made to a Vice-President.

The next development in the formative process appears in a modified report of a committee on the fourth of September follow-

ing. In this the term of office was changed from seven to four years, and the ineligibility feature left out ; provision was also made for the election of a Vice-President, whose term of office was to be the same as that of the President ; provision was further made for the election of President and Vice-President by Electoral Colleges in the several States on the present basis, thus introducing the popular element, recognized in the House of Representatives, with the equality of the States as represented by the Senators, in the choice of President and Vice-President ; but in case no one voted for as President should be duly elected according to the provisions of the "Report," then the Senate was to choose the President by ballot, and in case no one should be duly elected Vice-President, the Senate in like manner was to choose the Vice-President ; this feature was changed by striking out "the Senate" and inserting "the House of Representatives," as to the President, leaving it just as it now stands. On this motion to strike out and insert, the vote stood ten States for it and one against it. The last form assumed in the Convention was that set forth in the Constitution as finally adopted.

The great leading object, as this history shows, entertained by that Convention was not, as maintained by the late able and distinguished Senator Morton, whose recent death has produced so profound a sensation throughout the country, to deprive the people of any State of any participation in the election of the President, or prevent them from exercising their choice in the selection. It was not from a "profound distrust of the people" on the part of our fathers in regard to the Electoral Colleges. It originated from no aristocratic or monarchical leaning on the part of the founders of our matchless system of free government under a federal union of States ; nor from any opposition of these founders to allowing the legislatures to permit the people of their respective States to vote for the electors ; but it had its origin in the fixed purpose of these Fathers of the Republic to preserve the federative feature in that system of government for States united which they were framing. It was to preserve the individuality of the States, as the integral and equal members of the Government. They were forming a constitution for a number of States united in a federal union, and not for a homogeneous mass of people, constituting a single state, commonwealth, or nation.

Their chief object was to secure to the State legislatures the right to provide for the elections in any way they might, under their reserved sovereign powers, direct. It was with this view that the

proposition to choose electors by the direct vote of the people was voted down, time and again, in the Convention, and the mode of election was thus left to the legislatures.

This is very apparent from the next immediate provision of the Constitution, which declares that, in case it should be found that no one has a majority of all the electoral votes, under the count as it should be made by both Houses, then the election shall be made by the House of Representatives voting as States, each State having one vote only, giving the control in the last resort, of the election for a chief magistrate, to the several States of the Union.

The true rule, then, would seem, from the language of the Constitution, if adhered to in good faith, to be, that all matters appertaining to the count, involving questions of disputed votes, and all matters relating to the validity or invalidity of the returns furnished the President of the Senate, as well as all questions touching the constitutional qualifications of electors, shall be determined by both Houses in joint convention. Had it been the intention that these questions should be determined by each house separately, not acting in concert with the other, why was it not so expressly said? Why was the power of counting conferred upon both Houses, if both Houses in joint action were not to determine the question; and how could both Houses in joint action determine such a question in any other way, as the Constitution stands, than by a *per capita* vote? This would seem to be the legitimate construction—violating no principle and jeopardizing no rights or interests. Looking to the character of objects had in view in the Constitution in regulating the choice of President and Vice-President, is there therefore any necessity for any measure to remedy existing evils, and especially those which were so glaring and threatening at the last election, except the adoption of a joint rule by the two Houses, providing that the validity of the returns and the constitutional qualifications of electors shall be determined and settled by the members of the two Houses in joint convention, as above stated, that is, by a *per capita* vote? It seems to the writer of this article that there is not. So much then as to the first question involved in this discussion. If there be no defect in the train of the argument so far presented, there is clearly no defect in the Constitution as it now stands upon the subject, and all that is necessary to avoid any anticipated evils on the subject is the adoption of a joint rule by both Houses of Congress or the passage of a law providing that the count should be made as above maintained.

But in the absence of such a joint rule or law, was it competent for Congress, as they did at the last session, to raise a commission or a tribunal to decide all matters in dispute? In the judgment of the present writer, most clearly it was; though, in his view, this was not the best mode of attaining the end.

This leads us to the second inquiry in the order stated, that is, the constitutionality of such proceedings. In the opinion of many eminent men, the position has been assumed, and defended with a good deal of ability, that Congress has no power to provide by law for the settlement of any dispute concerning the choice of the duly chosen electors. Indeed, it is asserted that no such power has been delegated by the Constitution, and that therefore it can not be exercised without usurpation. Let us examine this. The Constitution has most clearly declared that there shall be an election for President and Vice-President of the United States, and has declared the mode and manner in which this shall be conducted. Suppose there was not any provision as to the manner in which the count should be made; is it not perfectly consistent with the uniform construction of the Constitution, as well as its known language, that all powers, necessary for the execution of the enumerated powers, are expressly delegated?

The last expressly delegated power of Congress is the one "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers; and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof." The Constitution having expressly provided for the election of a President and Vice-President, has not Congress, by this clause, the power to pass all laws necessary for carrying this provision into effect?

This seems to be clear. On this point it will be conceded by all that the first and profoundest statesmen of the country, men who lived in the age in which the Constitution was made, and some who participated in its adoption, clearly held that Congress did have such a power. Hence as early as the session of Congress of 1799-1800, a bill was introduced into the Senate, providing a remedy for the difficulties likely to arise in regard to counting the electoral vote.

It is useless to set forth the details of this bill. It was a long one. The only object in referring to it here is to show that at that early day, the most eminent of the fathers of the Republic did not doubt the power of Congress to pass such a law. It passed the

Senate in March, 1800, and the House adopted the bill the 2d of May, 1800, with an amendment, by a vote of fifty-two to thirty-seven.

Among those voting yea are to be found the names of James N. Bayard, John Marshall, John Rutledge, and Thomas Pinckney, and other very distinguished patriots of that day. This bill failed to become a law, from a disagreement between the two Houses, upon the amendment, which was upon unimportant points. The great power was fully and clearly sanctioned by both. Even Mr. Jefferson, who was recognized as the head of the strict constructionists, so-called, of that day, and while he was Vice-President, drew up an amendment to a bill of this character, which has lately been brought to light in his own handwriting, by his great-granddaughter, Miss Sarah Nicholas Randolph, and reproduced in *fac-simile* in the New-York *World* of the 15th of August last, which is in these words:

“Whereas, on an election of President or V. President of the U. S. questions may arise whether an elector has been appointed in such manner as the legislature of his State may have directed? whether the time at which he was chosen, and the day on which he gave his vote were those determined by Congress? whether he were not at the time, a Senator or Representative of the U. S., or held an office of trust or profit under the U. S.? whether one at least of the persons he has voted for is an inhabitant of a State other than his own? whether the electors voted by ballot, and have signed, certified and transmitted to the President of the Senate a list of all the parties voted for, and of the number of votes for each?

“Whether the persons voted for are natural born citizens, or were citizens of the U. S. at the time of the adoption of the constitution, were 35 years old and had been 14 years resident of the U. S.?”

“And the Constitution of the U. S. having directed that ‘the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and H. of Representatives, open all the certificates, and that the votes shall then be counted,’ from which is most reasonably inferred that they are to be counted by the members composing the said Houses and brought there for that office, no other being assigned them, and inferred the more reasonably, as thereby the constitutional right of each State in the election of these high officers is exactly preserved in the tribunal which is to judge of its validity, the number of Senators and Representatives from each State composing the said tribunal being exactly that of the electors of the same State; be it therefore enacted, etc.”

“Here,” the draft says, “insert the former clause.” What that clause was we do not know, as it is not known to what bill this suggested amendment was intended to apply.

In this draft Mr. Jefferson added an additional section, declaring,

"That whenever the vote of one or more of the electors of any State shall for any cause whatever be adjudged invalid, it shall be lawful for the Senators and Representatives of the said State either in the presence of the two Houses or separately and withdrawn from them, to decide by their own votes to which of the persons voted for by any of the electors of their State [or to what person], the invalid vote or votes shall be given, for which purpose they shall be allowed a term of [one hour] and no longer, during which no other certificate shall be opened or proceeded on."

This shows clearly that Mr. Jefferson did not doubt the power of Congress to provide a remedy and define by law how the question as to the validity of an election was to be decided. His plan it will, moreover, be noted was, that where one unsuitable as an elector or without the qualifications of an elector was chosen, it should be determined, not by the Senate and House by a *per capita* vote in joint session, but by the Senators and Representatives of that State in which the dispute arose. This is cited merely to show that the power in question was not disputed by this great apostle of strict constructionists. As to whether his mode was the better one for settling such disputes, is now a fair subject for inquiry and discussion. In the opinion of the writer, it certainly would not be the better way for the Senators and Representatives of any State, as, for instance, the one from which the President or Vice-President was chosen, to settle disputes of this character arising in their own States; for it is a matter in which all the States are equally interested; nor does it seem to this writer that it would be exactly just or in conformity with the general symmetry of the government, that any one State should determine questions growing out of the validity of the election returns or the qualifications of any elector from any particular State.

These are matters in which all the States are equally interested since the chief magistracy may depend upon them. Then, in conformity with the general symmetry of the government, looking to the origin of this provision, and the great principles met with throughout, does it not seem clear that the best mode would be to leave it to the Senate and House of Representatives to determine all questions that can possibly arise in the election of a President and Vice-President by the joint vote *per capita* of both Houses in the joint convention?

Inasmuch as the Senate and House of Representatives have lately disagreed in the adoption of any joint rule upon the subject, the writer of this article is clearly of the opinion, that for the peace

and harmony of the country, and to provide for future cases that may arise, Congress ought to pass a law—not a joint rule, but a law—to meet such cases.

While it is true that perilous crises in the history of countries, like great comets which threaten disaster, for the time producing consternation among the peoples and nations of the earth, with their fiery trains auguring war, pestilence, and famine, seldom return during the life of the same generation, yet it is also true that history but repeats itself, though at great intervals; and looking to the quiet, stability, prosperity, and progress of the country in the distant future, every consideration urges the duty of settling this question fully and at once.

If there is any one distinctive trait which marks the American character, as it is developing, more strongly than another, it is devotion to law and order. To whatever person who bears the fasces or insignia of authority in the magisterial position, whether in the executive, the judicial, or any other branch or department of the government, from the highest to the lowest grade, the American feeling, to its honor be it said, bows in obedience, though it may doubt the legality of the chosen instrument.

Hence, at the last election, though a large minority of the people of the United States did not believe in the legality of the electoral tribunal established by Congress, and a large majority regarded their decision utterly wrong, and inconsistent with the facts submitted to them for their decision, yet, when it was rendered, they yielded their unqualified obedience to what they considered the majesty of the law, and civil commotions were averted.

ART IN EUROPE.

THE condition of the French provincial museums is beginning to attract some attention, and they would have a good chance of being considerably improved if politics did not cause so much anxiety in France that every thing outside of politics is postponed till a better time. Almost every French town of any importance has its museum, consisting generally of a gallery of pictures, and a collection of natural history and antiquities. Towns which have a museum have generally a public library also. As these provincial museums are mere chance agglomerations of gifts from the government and private individuals, without the remotest approach to any proportion in the assignment of space to one sort of art or another, the consequence is that foreigners who travel in France are likely to underrate them; but if all their contents could be seen together, we should be surprised at the quantity of good things to be found in them. The authorities at *Châlon-sur-Saône* are determined to improve the museum in that town by large additions, or reconstruction of buildings, so they invited architects to send in designs a few months ago. There was rather a brisk competition, as architects always like to get hold of a public building when they can, and I am happy to inform you that the first prize was won by a contributor of yours, M. Gindriez, who wrote the reviews of the *Salon* for the INTERNATIONAL REVIEW. I say nothing about the merits of the design, for I have not seen it yet; but I know that it will be well adapted to its purposes, as M. Gindriez unites a severe and cultivated classical taste in matters of art to a strong sense of practical utility and convenience in architecture. The establishment of provincial galleries of art is beginning seriously to attract the attention of the great English towns. Liverpool has opened hers, and Manchester is now scheming and planning something on a large scale, with more educational utility than is common in such institutions. To tell you the plain truth, I am a little apprehensive that the Manchester people may go rather too far, from all I hear, in the direction of the didactic. It is said that in their desire to teach the people by the eye, they mean to admit copies and oleographs or chromo-lithographs; and if this is the case, I need scarcely remark that an exceedingly rigorous censorship must be exercised by the executive committee, or else the results will be something fearful to contemplate. When M. Thiers was in power in France, he allowed himself to be so far misguided by some of his friends as to set agoing what was to have become a great museum of copies. Some not incompetent artists were employed in copying works in foreign galleries, but others were also employed because

they had a little influence, and were not in very prosperous circumstances. The consequence was that the projected gallery fell to the ground from the sheer badness of the contributions, which are now all rolled up in some of the government garrets, I forget where. If the Manchester people want copies, they could, no doubt, get that lot very cheap, but I should not recommend the purchase. There are some men in the world who can copy *some* artists with marvelous exactness. There is Mr. Ward, for instance, who has given fifteen years, under Mr. Ruskin's direction, to the study of Turner, and the consequence is that, as Mr. Ward is a man of extraordinary skill, intelligence, and patience, he has succeeded in training himself so thoroughly as a disciple of Turner that he can copy his water-colors with the accuracy that photography might have if it could color, and color truly.¹ On the other hand, I remember a most distinguished artist, a Royal Academician, whom I will not mention by name. He was a most able painter, so able that he could paint a head entirely in a couple of hours, and the head would keep its place in the picture—well, this Academician once had a fancy for copying Raphael, and he produced such copies as no public gallery ought to accept. Again, about chromo-lithographs, artists who have been trained in the practice of oil painting can rarely endure a chromo-lithograph at all, yet it may have a certain utility as a memorandum of the chromatic arrangement in a picture, like the colored illustrations which accompanied that admirable essay of Burnet's on color. When the thing to be copied is not really in full color, but only in two or three tints, as, for example, Mulready's drawings in three chalks from the nude, it may be very well reproduced by chromo-lithography, and the illuminations in mediæval manuscripts are splendidly copied by the same process.

We shall see many attempts in the multiplication of colored art, if we go to the great Exhibition at Paris next year, but people are beginning to think that it may possibly not be realized. The political situation will be clearer by the time this letter appears in the *INTERNATIONAL*; just now, on this 12th of November, it is any thing but clear. You will know all the facts as well as we do, but it is possible that you may not be quite so well acquainted with the social causes which underlie the facts, and are constantly producing them. The struggle now in France is really a war of classes, a war between aristocracy, headed by MacMahon, and democracy, headed by Grévy and Gambetta, and the question is whether aristocracy or democracy is to rule France. The Marshal has the birth and the instincts of an aristocrat: he was born in one of the most magnificent old châteaux of France, Sully, a place I know very well, and he will not brook the idea of giving way to men of comparatively humble birth like the Republican leaders. The nobility and country squires, with few exceptions, and the clergy and the magistracy, are ready to support the Marshal in any measure, however tyrannical, which may repress

¹ It is just possible that some of your readers might like to possess a reliable copy of some water-color by Turner, so I will give this artist's address. It is 2 Church Terrace, Richmond, near London.

the democracy, and they don't care in the least about legality or justice. On the other hand, the democracy, which includes a great part of the middle classes, and much of the wealth, and nearly all the cultivated intellect of France, knows that it has the majority on its side (plainly proved by the elections), and the law too, and is not disposed to submit to aristocratic and military dictation. Nobody likes to speak of civil war, but it is in all men's minds. The aristocracy is master at the Presidential palace and in the Senate; the democracy is master in the Chamber of Deputies, and the contest which exists all over the country is concentrated into a focus of dangerous intensity at Versailles. Under these circumstances, it may well be doubted whether the people of Paris will not have something else than a great exhibition to occupy their attention in 1878. What makes the present crisis so serious is that the minority feels it to be its last chance. Once let the republican majority get the executive and the Senate fairly into its hands, and there will be an end of military government by minorities for many a long year.

Mr. E. L. Montefiore has just finished a series of twenty-five etchings from drawings by Eugène Fromentin, of whom I wrote a few months ago in your REVIEW, apropos of his book on the Dutch and Flemish schools. The etchings are done in few lines, for Fromentin was economical of labor in his sketches, the purpose of which was to fix ideas, or note facts, as rapidly as possible *for himself*, and not for the public. By practice he acquired the valuable art of making very rapid memoranda, and the sketches which Mr. Montefiore has translated into etching are really very little more than memoranda, either of groups that Fromentin had seen or else of ideas for pictorial compositions. Nearly all the subjects are from Algeria, and the Arab horses are almost as important in them as their riders. The sketches vary in the use of outline and shading; some of them, as, for instance, that for the subject of Falconry, of which he afterward made a picture, are in simple outline; others are shaded on the horses or figures, but there are no pictorial arrangements of chiaroscuro. Mr. Montefiore has done his work very conscientiously and very well, it has been a labor of love for him; and no one knows who has not tried what a toil it is to copy dashing rapid work with accuracy. The etchings are accompanied by twenty-three pages of text by Mr. Burty, including about twenty smaller sketches by Fromentin, reproduced in what is called fac-simile by a photo-typographic process. I have not much faith in any kind of phototype, but these illustrations are interesting, and seem fairly good reproductions. The text by Mr. Burty is interesting also, and contains some curious notes about Fromentin, as, for example, this: He said to the painter whilst sitting next him at dinner, "You must have brought back from your expeditions a quantity of pocket-books and portfolios full of sketches." Fromentin answered: "What I did most was to write to my friends. My recollections have always been of more use than sketches in my pictures. When on my travels *I did not work, I looked.*" This reminds Mr. Burty of the strong contrast between Fromentin and Delacroix in this respect. Delacroix brought back from a short residence in Morocco thousands of sketches, including

water-colors. The difference between artists in the production of sketches is very remarkable. I know one eminent painter, who once invited me to accompany him for a few weeks on a tour along the Cornice between Nice and Genoa. Unluckily, I could not go, so he went by himself, and spent two months quietly exploring the coast between those two places, the result being a wonderfully large collection of sketches, which, after being touched up a little in the studio, filled a whole exhibition-room in England, and most of them were sold at very high prices. There are men who in such an excursion would not take more than half a dozen sketches; and I have been told that Nazon, the French landscape painter, never sketches from nature at all, but simply *looks* and then paints absolutely from memory. Adrien Guignet, instead of sketching materials, used to take a pipe and some tobacco, and smoke, and gaze, and dream. Some of his most poetical impressions were received in that state of abstraction. But to return to Fromentin. He had terrible contests with the difficulties of painting when a young man, for he only began to paint at twenty-three. Sometimes he would roll on the floor of the *atelier* and weep bitter tears; sometimes he would not touch a palette for weeks together. He had always great difficulties with some of his pictures, especially with rather large figures and the nude. He worked terribly at times, as much as his strength could bear, so much, indeed, that he said he felt like an idiot when the day's work was done. In 1852, when painting from nature near Nice, he declared he had every thing to learn, that he was shaky at all the foundations of art, drawing, color, truth of tone, but that the nature he had before him was giving him lessons in all these. In another passage he speaks of the extreme difficulty he finds in remembering the proportions of the horse. The secret for every animal painter is to have a *type* in the memory and note afterward the variations from that. Fromentin's type was the Arab, which at length he learned by heart. Mr. Montefiore's etchings show how earnestly Fromentin tried to put the Arab horse in *motion*. His sketches are seldom accurate as to form, but they have movement and life. He corrected the forms afterward very carefully in his pictures.

P. G. HAMERTON.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

RECENT AMERICAN BOOKS.

DALE'S LECTURES ON PREACHING.¹—Dr. Dale has spent half his life, or twenty-four years, as a preacher, and for much of that time he has filled the pulpit of a man whose personal worth and pastoral earnestness gave him a foremost place among English Congregationalists, and no mean place among British Christians generally. Dr. Dale has done more than sustain the interest of a historic pulpit. He has been a close observer of social and political movements, and of that busy general life of which Birmingham presents a suggestive specimen. He is a preacher—and more; a writer, a reformer, a philanthropist, and a literary man.

The expectations raised by a knowledge of these facts as to his lectures (on the Lyman Beecher foundation at Yale) are not disappointed by the volume. Of course the lecturer is not able to forget that he is from another land with its own ways, and he occasionally takes an apologetic tone without reason. Such an Englishman as Dr. Dale could not be a stranger in New England, even if he tried. His lectures, we observe, traverse ground over which some of his predecessors had travelled with more or less rapidity; but a reader of the entire series would not be apt to notice the circumstance. His introductory note of warning, "Perils of Young Preachers," is well fitted to enlist attention. He deprecates in vigorous language the tendency to disparage dogmatic theology, and vehemently reproves the folly of men writing sermons (which they inflict on the congregation), for the sake of "clearing their own minds." He makes in the second lecture a clear statement of the place of the intellect in preaching, and demands for the sermon fair and forcible argument, vivid fancy, and all the mental power which diligent preparation can make available within the limits which the nature of a sermon fixes. Two lectures on "Reading," inclusive of the methods by which a minister can keep his mental furniture in sufficient quantity, and in adequate order, lead up to "Preparation of Sermons," to a just and discriminating lecture on extemporaneous preaching and style, and to the two kinds of sermon—evangelistic and pastoral. The concluding lecture is devoted to the conduct of public worship, and in it, perhaps more than any other lecture, the traces are apparent of that deep, broad sympathy with general life, and that disregard

¹ "Nine Lectures on Preaching." Delivered at Yale College, New Haven, Conn. By R. W. Dale, D.D., Birmingham. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co.

of traditions, unless they have inherent value, which constitute the strength and make much of the usefulness of Congregationalism in England.

Regarding the book as a whole, it is eminently readable, instructive, and stimulating. If, in a few instances, it is slightly *quotatious*, one is grateful for the apt and judicious way in which the words of authors, some of them little read as a whole, are subsidized for our benefit. Students who are learning to preach will feel that they breathe a fresh and invigorating atmosphere as they read the volume, and many a minister will be stronger because this sympathetic, able, and withal thoroughly human preacher has talked with him by the way. Dr. Dale's predecessor, Mr. James, produced a good and useful book, "An Earnest Ministry the Want of the Times." His successor—with a quite different order of gifts—has added a vigorous plea in addition for a ministry able, educated, manly, and patriotic.

SCHAFF'S HARMONY OF THE REFORMED CONFESSIONS.¹—We call attention to the full title of this *brochure*, because it enables the reader to comprehend the practical purpose of the writer. Dr. Schaff did not aim simply to argue that there is substantial agreement among the Reformed Confessions, but to prove also that, however scientific, social, or metaphysical inquiries may affect the current of theological thinking, it nevertheless flows within the lines of the Confessions. The author recognizes, in common with the greatest of the Reformers, the abstract desirableness of formal unity of creed and polity in Protestant Christendom, is willing to believe that the diversities have been overruled for good, but does not think that circumstance a warrant for abandoning the effort after closer harmony.

Dr. Schaff divides the creeds into three classes, the first of them being only temporary and preparatory (under the auspices of Zwinglius), the second being Calvinistic, and the third or post-Calvinistic arising out of internal divisions among the elements of the Reformed Churches. He notes the fact that Romanism, which was busily engaged in making its creed, concurrently with the formulating of the Augsburg Confession, has resumed the work as late as our own time in the Vatican Council, is committed to all past findings, and has the door still open for new dogmas, without allowing—as Protestantism does—for "larger freedom to private judgment and theological progress." An enumeration of the Reformed Symbols of the sixteenth century leads to the Westminster Confession and Catechism (1647), which naturally received special attention in the Edinburgh Presbyterian Council, to which this review was presented, and which symbols the author characterizes as presenting the "ablest, the clearest, and the fullest statement of the Calvinistic system of doctrine." They are also, he thinks, the most important and influential of the Reformed symbols, having—though set aside in Westminster—became the corner-stone of the church of Scotland, and of churches beyond

¹ "The Harmony of the Reformed Confessions, as related to the Present State of Evangelical Religion." By Philip Schaff. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company.

the Atlantic and Pacific, and having shaped the doctrine, with one or two modifications, of Congregationalists, and Regular or Calvinistic Baptists throughout the world. Under the inspiration of their doctrines heroic races have fought for freedom, and Huguenots, Burghers, Puritans, Pilgrims, and Covenanters have waged their victorious battle for civil and religious liberty.

"The Reformed Confessions are Protestant in bibliology, œcumenical or old Catholic in theology and Christology, Augustinian in anthropology and the doctrine of predestination, Evangelical in soteriology, Calvinistic in ecclesiology and sacramentology, and anti-papal in eschatology."

The author shows that they agree touching the rule of faith, the way of life, the nature of the church, the doctrine of the sacraments, and indicates the divergences of the Lutheran and Episcopal systems.

A thoughtful review of the revolution in the religious thinking of Europe in the last century, and the Evangelical revival of the present prepares for the examination of the relation of modern Evangelical theology to the Reformed Confessions. "Every age," says our author, "must produce its own theology adapted to its peculiar condition and wants." This sentence, taken by itself, and apart from its connection, might raise alarm, as if intended to make theology a product of human inventiveness, and a quantity of constant variation. But the most cursory examination of the entire production shows that no such idea was present to the author's mind, though with that "fine nose for heresy," by which some excellent Scotchmen are marked, some members of the Alliance detected danger, as they thought, in it. Every age has its pet virtues, its besetting sins, its forms of "enmity against God," and "the truth of which theology is the human statement and expression must turn toward each that side of itself which the exigencies demand." This it is capable of doing in the methods of the Reformed Confessions. The points that "stuck out" in the controversies of Reformation times, and of later disputes in Holland, have ceased to be prominent, and other issues are raised, to the scrutiny of which, however, there is no necessary barrier in the churches or their symbols. The Episcopal Church and the Presbyterian Church in America found no difficulty in adapting the thirty-nine articles and the Westminster standards to the freer political condition of this land. Nor is there any thing to be expected in the future that is not similarly manageable.

On the whole, we can not withhold our tribute of admiration of the learning which here brings so much of ecclesiastical history into brief space; of the candor which appears in the treatment of the questions raised; and of the broad, comprehensive, healthy, and hopeful spirit with which the future is regarded. Dr. Schaff's little book is fitted to further enlightened catholicity.

From the appendix we learn that, in accordance with Dr. Schaff's suggestion in the body of his paper, an able committee was appointed to gather further information as to creed and subscriptions with a view to future action. For any movement looking to greater brevity and simplicity of creed, success must be heartily desired.

COOK'S BIOLOGY.¹—The "genesis" of this book—for its theme tempts one into the current scientific phraseology—is full of interest. From a small to a larger, and from that again to a yet larger building, Mr. Cook and his audience migrated in the winters of 1875-'76, and '77, and the lectures which drew these growing crowds of cultivated persons found their way, in corrected reports, to a wide circle of readers. Mr. Cook seems to have reminded his audience, before several lectures, that we are not all "transcendental" and merely speculative, by brief preliminary and somewhat oracular deliverances, on topics of public and present interest, such as the "Presidential election." These are the "preludes," one of which, on "Sunday," is singularly spirited, and well worth consideration. They occupy in all only a few pages. The rest of the book consists of lectures selected from the entire course, on account of their common bearing on the subject of biology.

The most appreciative friends of Boston culture will be ready to admit that the utterances of her "thinkers" have sometimes been pronounced rather than exact, and that occasional obscurity has been found in them. It is to the credit of Boston that she has had faith in her men of genius; has been willing to believe where she did not always perfectly comprehend; nay, even to admit that forward minds must sometimes go in advance, and even out of sight, of average human intellect. It is an interesting fact that the man who it is claimed speaks for, and at the same time teaches, new and orthodox Boston, has some of the peculiarities of old Boston's leaders of thought. Theodore Parker had not a more marked individuality, nor a more emphatic style of assertion than his courageous critic, Mr. Cook; and, if the latter can summon to his aid a most vigorous imagination, he may allege that the same is true in a high degree of Emerson, in whom a vivid illustration often carries over the assent of the gratified mind as to a proved proposition. Mr. Cook would have Boston "put herself into the attitude of a telescope focused on the sun of religious truth, and ready, therefore, to cause an image of the sun to spring up in the chambers of the instrument." For, "once adjusted, even poor human lenses, by fixed natural law, may draw down a star or a sun into the soul; and although the light is from above, the adjustment is our own." And if Boston authorities in a bygone time assumed a supercilious tone toward various orthodoxies, Mr. Cook tramples on the modern despisers with yet greater contempt. To him they are "dolorous and accursed skepticisms which flutter, not through the Boston noon, but through the Boston dusk, and endeavor yet to build homes for themselves in last year's bird's nests, like Paine's forgotten books and small philosophy, and free religion and materialism. (Applause.)" (P. 275.)

And this sentence attracts attention to another feature of the book. The lecture-form is retained, and the implied comments of the audience, as given by the reporters, are furnished us—a feature which will strike readers favor-

¹ "Biology, with Preludes on Current Events." By Joseph Cook. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co.

ably or otherwise, as their ideas are more or less severe on the composition and make-up of a book. For our part, we like this feature. When a speaker is making his points, we like to glance around and see how far the audience "takes" them. This book affords us this kind of satisfaction in an eminent degree. It is gratifying and reassuring to non-Boston readers when they are about, mentally, to clap hands over one of Mr. Cook's sharp, ringing shots, that appear to hit the bull's eye (one catches a passion for figures in the reading of this volume), to find the "ministers, teachers, and other educated men" of Boston similarly affected. As to the strictly argumentative part of Mr. Cook's lectures, we think his work well done as far as it goes. "As far as it goes," for no clear and absolute victory can be gained while the war has its present irregular guerrilla character. There is no definite army in position on the opposite side. There are numbers of vexatious mounted parties, each on its own account apparently, any number of which may be routed in detail, and yet the friends of "philosophical unbelief" feel under no obligation to confess a defeat. "You have shown up Tyndall—have you? Ah! but he only speaks for himself." "Darwin has no proof, only approaches to proof." "Ah! it is no matter; he is not every one. Even Huxley says Mr. Darwin has not established a theory, only framed an hypothesis." And so all through this discussion. Professor Bain may be upset; but Tyndall is on hand with a definition of matter on which your criticisms on Bain have little power. All that can be done against troops that never present a front and never "give battle" Mr. Cook has done. He has shown up the inconsistencies with themselves and with one another, of men who are prominent as leaders of no-belief, if not eminent as constructors of orderly thought. He has awakened thought in many minds. His arguments may be found at a later time to be of various degrees of force; but the reason, it will be candidly admitted, probably lay in the peculiarities of that which he antagonized. He makes many clear discriminations, as between "Evolution" as represented by Dana, and Evolution as taught by Hückel. His eloquence has all the power of holding attention, and his earnestness is undoubted. His learning is adequate to the task of examining the theories of the physicists when they pass into the region of metaphysics, and, declaring on the one hand that all outside the material is unknowable, on the other dogmatize recklessly in the department of the spiritual. It is not needful, even if it were easy, to form a definite estimate, at this stage of the discussion, of every position taken by such a reasoner as Mr. Cook; but it is due to him and to truth to say, that his courage, enthusiasm, and brilliant "sorties," dispel the vague fear with which the pretentious and swift-footed skirmishers in front of the Christian host have been sometimes regarded.

MONDAY-CHATS.¹—These charming papers of Sainte-Beuve, which are taken from the Monday-Chats or Talks, which he kept up in the *Constitutionnel*

¹ "Monday-Chats," by C. A. Sainte-Beuve, of the French Academy. Selected and translated from the "Causeries du Lundi," with an Introductory Essay on the Life and Writings of Sainte-Beuve. By William Mathews, LL.D., author of "Getting on in the World," etc. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1877.

and the *Moniteur* for twenty years, from 1849 to 1869, are not gossip, but lay sermons of the most careful thought, industrious study, and deliberate composition. Each paper seems to have taken a week's work, and the description of the author's preparation for his weekly task may be a serious lesson to preachers in the pulpit. In fact, such lay preaching is greatly modifying the standard of public opinion among religious people, and the thoughtful and sometimes kindling essays and reviews that are printed for Sunday and Monday reading are often a severe rebuke upon the too frequent crude thinking and slipshod composition of preachers. Sainte-Beuve does not, however, seek to invade the province of the preacher by discussing the great questions of ethics, religion, or theology. He is a critic rather than a moralist or philosopher, and he aims to set forth the place of his characteristic personages in the world of culture rather than in the kingdom of ideas or the Church of Faith and Conscience. He is, as he says, a botanist, a naturalist among the growths of the mind, a fancier of trees and flowers, we may add, rather than a bold planter or a watchful forester.

He shows this tendency in the eleven essays which are given in this attractive volume. Even in dealing with such men of action as Louis XIV. and Frederick the Great, he treats them more as men of letters and society than as men of affairs, and he measures them rather by the standard of culture than by the code of the court and the camp, or the laws of ethics or jurisprudence. He likes them both for their great good sense, and what he says of them comes home to any man who can honor balanced dignity like that of the Grand Monarch of Versailles, or dashing penetration like that of the Great Captain of Potsdam. Such masters of composition as Rousseau and Fénelon, such masters as Bossuet and Massillon, he brings before the school of art and letters rather than before the seat of divine judgment; and whilst he is by no means unmindful of what is essential to moral character and religious purity, the æsthetic element takes the lead of the ethical and the philosophical; and Rousseau is rebuked more for his indelicacy than his immorality, and the great preachers are regarded more as masters of rhetoric than as models of spirituality.

This tendency illustrates the author's strength and also his weakness. He is alike charming and unsatisfactory. His fine distinctions and graceful descriptions delight us, yet they do not make up for the lack of strong convictions. Taste is important, but in dealing with men who figured in the great movements of civilization, we want more conscience, and far more faith than this Monday lay preacher brings to us. He deals more adequately with portraits of women, where personal character of necessity includes higher considerations, and vivid talk about them compels the talker to enter somewhat into their enthusiasm, and often to carry the devotions of the sanctuary into the chat of the *salon*.

The introductory essay is instructive and discriminating. It presents the author in the various stages of his growth and his final and reluctant acceptance of his lot as a critic rather than as a poet. It ascribes to him originality,

a reverence for the past, with a cordial interest in the present, impartial judgment, readiness to learn more, a certain self-distrust, absence of positive conviction, psychological penetration, sympathy with his age and associates, many-sidedness, French feeling with a considerable element of English serenity and sense, which he inherited on his mother's side. If not a great man, he was an encourager of greatness, and he may inspire greater works than he produced.

We add in conclusion, that the translation is smooth and in the main correct. Once in a while, however, an idiom is incorrectly rendered, as for instance the word *on*, as in *on dit*, which is translated *one says*, when it means *they say* or *people say*.

NEW YORK.

RECENT ENGLISH BOOKS.

MR. BROWNING'S *ÆSCHYLUS*.¹—Admirers of Mr. Browning have long been aware of his profound intimacy with Greek literature. He here gives practical proof of it to the world at large in a translation executed with great spirit and energy. It appears that the suggestion of this task is due to Thomas Carlyle, with whose "dear and noble name" Mr. Browning connects his translation. *Æschylus* is not only a difficult author to deal with where even Greek authors come, but "over and above the purposed ambiguity of the chorus, the text is sadly corrupt, probably interpolated, and certainly mutilated; and no unlearned person enjoys the scholar's privilege of trying his fancy upon each obstacle whenever he comes to a stoppage, and effectually clearing the way by suppressing what seems to lie in it." Making allowances for the exigencies of verse, it will be found that Mr. Browning's translation is remarkably faithful and literal, and in some passages it is charged with all the eloquence and vigor of the original. Especially would we point to the scene on the walls of the city where Klutaimnestra makes known the news of the capture of Troy, and the scene where *Kassandra* appears before the murder of *Agamemnon*. The passages allotted to the chorus are most effective. Altogether it will be conceded that Mr. Browning has achieved a real triumph by this translation, notwithstanding the two drawbacks of his somewhat involved style and his persistent clinging to the old forms of the Greek names. We can condone these faults, however, when a poet of Mr. Browning's calibre will so occupy himself for the public benefit as to translate for us one of the masterpieces of *Æschylus*.

CAPTAIN BURNABY'S NEW WORK.²—Captain Burnaby is a hard rider and a picturesque writer—qualities which will fully account for the extraordinary

¹ "The *Agamemnon* of *Æschylus*." Transcribed by Robert Browning. Smith, Elder & Co.

² "On Horseback through Asia Minor." By Captain Fred. Burnaby, author of "A Ride to Khiva." Sampson Low & Co.

popularity of his books. The present work seems destined to rival "A Ride to Khiva" in the public favor, and last year the latter volume was undoubtedly the book of the season. The author now gives us an account of a journey he made on horseback through Asia Minor. He was five months in the country, and traversed upward of two thousand miles. This journey was taken just before the war broke out between Russia and Turkey, and though some of the Captain's observations have been anticipated, this does not affect in the slightest degree the value of the book, whose charm consists in its being a varied, spirited, and interesting record of travel. The author held many conversations with the Armenian subjects of the Porte, and, as might almost be expected, the people with whom he conversed unanimously condemned the policy of Russia. One influential Armenian informed Captain Burnaby that they had no wish to become Russian subjects. "What we require," he said, "is similar treatment for all sects, and that the word of a Christian when given in a court of law should be looked upon as evidence, and in the same light as a Mohammedan's statement. If the Caimacans (Deputy Governors) and Cadis of the different towns in the interior were only compelled to do us justice in this respect, we should not have much cause to grumble. However, if the Russians were to go to war, our fellow-countrymen would be ten times worse off than they are at present." Stories of Russian intrigues and incitements to revolt were very prevalent, and the traveler was assured that on several occasions the Russians had been guilty of atrocities quite as terrible as those committed by the Turks. This work must be read for its general interest and information, and not from a polemical point of view. It is written with remarkable vivacity, and is full of racy anecdotes and passages exhibiting a keen observation on the part of the author.

MR. BLACKMORE'S NEW NOVEL.¹—Though not quite in his usual vein, this new novel by Mr. Blackmore will fully sustain his reputation. The heroine and her story are alike of a very original type, and the narrative is worked out with great skill. Mr. Blackmore always gives utterance to novel and beautiful thoughts, and these are not lacking here, while the descriptions of Californian scenery are most vivid and full of an obvious local color. The author is rapidly developing into one of our chief living novelists.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.²—Mr. Ewald pleads the cause of the great Whig statesman with considerable ability; but no complete apology will ever be offered, I should imagine, for one upon whose memory there will remain certain everlasting stains. No doubt his enemies have ever been too ready to condemn him in terms which require some qualification; but when every allowance has been made, Walpole's career is not one that can be looked back upon with satisfaction. While paying tribute to his undoubted powers

¹ "Erema; or, My Father's Sin." By R. D. Blackmore, author of "Lorna Doone," etc. Smith, Elder & Co.

² "Sir Robert Walpole. A Political Biography." 1676-1745. By Alex. C. Ewald, F.S.A., author of the "Life of Prince Charles Stuart." Chapman & Hall.

of statesmanship, Hallam and Macaulay, with other historians, have been compelled to place the finger upon unsound places in his reputation. It is incontrovertible that Walpole bribed, that he paid for the service of certain political writers, and that he recommended to his queen the shameless policy of openly recognizing the king's mistress at court. But we are told in justification that government in England was impossible under any other conditions in Walpole's period. Such a justification can never be accepted, however, in mitigation of judgment. Mr. Ewald says that "on the proud roll of English ministers there stand the names of men far more worthy of reverence than he who guided the councils of the Second George, yet few who more skillfully and judiciously led on a nation to progress and prosperity, making her name great without invoking the power of the sword." Accepting this eulogy *cum grano*, I will only add of Mr. Ewald's work generally that it appears to me to be most entertaining, and it certainly gives a full history of Walpole's political life.

HISTORY OF FRENCH LITERATURE.¹—Mr. Van Laun has now completed his task. Opinions will differ as to the thoroughness with which he has executed this very important undertaking; but his work has the advantage of being the first endeavor to present to English readers a clear and succinct account of the literature of a great people. In the present volume, the pages devoted to Le Sage, Turgot, Victor Hugo, and others, will seem meagre and inadequate, but this can not be said to be the case as regards Voltaire and Rousseau. The author shows a true appreciation of the influence wielded by these celebrated French writers upon their own generation; and he also traces very clearly the causes of the reaction after the reign of Louis XIV., and the predisposing causes of the great Revolution. Altogether Mr. Van Laun gives a lucid and most agreeable account of the various periods of brilliancy and decline in French literature. In that literature there are no names to compare with those of Shakespeare, Bacon, or Milton in the literature of England; but what French literature has lost in majesty and solidity, it has gained in fervor and wit. Mr. Van Laun is not a profound critic, nor is it perhaps essential that he should be in giving the *history* of a literature; but his work is excellently conceived, arranged, and elaborated. It will supply a want long felt by those who have hitherto desired in vain an adequate knowledge of all the leading French authors from the earliest times down to the reign of Louis Philippe.

LIFE OF MOZART.²—The world is always correcting its judgments. Mozart, that strange child of genius, was one of those who have been allowed to perish in contumely and neglect; but where is the man now, in many a

¹ "History of French Literature." By Henri Van Laun. Vol III. From the end of the Reign of Louis XIV. till the end of the Reign of Louis Philippe. London: Smith, Elder & Co. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

² "The Life of Mozart." Translated from the German work of Dr. Ludwig Nohl. By Lady Wallace. Longmans, Green & Co.

nationality, who would not have run to do the great composer honor? His heart-stirring melodies move the heart of every one who can be touched at all with the stirrings of a divine nature; and yet during his lifetime Mozart was buffeted and despised. The Prince Archbishop of Salzburg, who—as Lady Wallace points out—was responsible for much of the misery of his life—regarded him as an inferior being, relegated him to the company of his menials, found fault with his music, and at length, when Mozart's spirit was utterly broken, and he desired to be released from his engagement, literally had him kicked from the room! It is true that fate has since intervened, and this infamous conduct of the Archbishop's is his principal claim to the remembrance of posterity, while the name of Mozart gathers daily increasing honor in all lands. But if potentates were thus scornful toward the composer, there can be little wonder that he should fail to meet with recognition elsewhere. At the age of thirty-five Mozart died, and was buried in a pauper's grave, and no man at this day can point to the place of his sepulture. But Mozart as a vivifying power in music lives on, and will continue to do so so long as humanity is not utterly dead to whatever is noble and beautiful in musical inspiration. These volumes present us with an admirable picture of the man and his work, with his sufferings, his trials, his miserable death, and his ultimate triumph over prejudice.

MR. FORMAN'S "SHELLEY."¹—In many respects, this edition of Shelley's poems is by far the finest which has yet been issued. Mr. Forman might almost be described as a Shelleyphobist, and he would certainly put himself to enormous inconvenience in recovering the slightest fact in connection with the poet, or in deciding authoritatively what was the time and exact reading of any line of his works. Mr. Forman is careful and scrupulous to a nicety—hence the value of his edition. In some quarters, however, he will not escape censure for substituting "Laon and Cythna" for "The Revolt of Islam." As this poem originally stood—"Laon and Cythna"—it would have borne with it a stigma upon Shelley's name through all generations. But Lady Shelley tells us in her recent memorials of the poet that Shelley was convinced by his friends of the propriety of making radical alterations in it. Now, as these alterations were effected, and the "Revolt of Islam" was never really published by Shelley in its original form of "Laon and Cythna," it seems a pity that Mr. Forman should have revived a very unpleasant subject by printing in the most prominent fashion the original poem with its cancelled passages. This is a great blot upon an edition of Shelley which would otherwise have been perfect, and which the poet's admirers would have welcomed with avidity. The material aspect of these volumes is most esthetic.

A DEFENSE OF RUSSIA.²—Sir Tollemache Sinclair is a Scotch member of

¹ "The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley." Edited by Harry Buxton Forman. Reeves & Turner.

² "A Defense of Russia and the Christians of Turkey." By Sir Tollemache Sinclair, Bart., M.P. Chapman & Hall.

Parliament possessing considerable ability, but he has lately been much wounded in spirit because his cleverness is not universally recognized. Mr. Gladstone treated him very badly, others followed suit, and the only sort of recognition he could obtain was from the heads of the Tory party, with whom he has no political sentiments in common. Unable to deliver himself in the House of Commons, as he wished, at length upon the Eastern Question, he has issued two bulky pamphlets upon the subject. I am bound to say that, after considering these works, I largely agree with Sir Tollemache. He undoubtedly proves his case to a very great extent, and he is really worth listening to.

THOREAU.¹—Mr. Page's sketch is by far the best thing which has yet appeared in connection with that singular man of genius, Henry David Thoreau. In England, indeed, Thoreau has hitherto been little more than a name. The author shows by excellent contributions, drawn from a variety of sources, what kind of man Thoreau was, and disproves the assertion that he was merely a morbid hermit, who shut himself up from a species which he hated. His intense love of nature, his hatred of slavery, and his love of humanity are all enlarged upon, and we rise from a perusal of Mr. Page's work with our admiration for Thoreau considerably heightened. This little work is full of interest, and deserves to be most cordially welcomed.

CYRIL TOURNEUR.²—Mr. Collins has performed a real service to literature in giving us his edition of Tourneur; for while that Elizabethan dramatist was not of the first rank in talent, there is yet much of his work that should not be allowed to sink into neglect. There is a power manifest in "The Atheist's Tragedie" which might naturally have led us to expect other superior work from the same hand. Mr. Collins's editorial office has not been a sinecure one, for the text of Tourneur has become sadly degenerated and corrupt. He will now take his place, as he ought to do, amongst the other old dramatists of the Elizabethan age.

SERVICE IN SERVIA.³—This is a chatty account of the experiences of two English ladies under the Red Cross. Certain passages will be found very amusing, where the authors make those naïve remarks which could only come from ladies; but of course the simply interesting in this volume is mixed with sterner stuff. Service with the Red Cross under disadvantageous conditions is by no means equivalent to leading a rose-water existence, and Miss Pearson and Miss M'Laughlin had their share of hardships and vexations to undergo. Readers will find much entertainment in this lively diary.

¹ "Thoreau: His Life and Aims." By H. A. Page, author of "Life of Thomas de Quincey," etc. Chatto & Windus.

² "The Plays and Poems of Cyril Tourneur." Edited by John Charton Collins. Chatto & Windus.

³ "Service in Serbia under the Red Cross." By E. M. Pearson and L. E. M'Laughlin. Tinsley Brothers.

LIFE IN THE CLOISTER.¹—There is really little in this work which has to do with the Cloister or the Papal Court. It is chiefly concerned with Signor Campanella's life in exile, and is a continuation of the earlier part of his career, as narrated some time ago. Campanella has seen many vicissitudes. Brought up in the Romish Church, he was speedily disgusted with the conduct of the priests. Having a fine voice, he was appointed to a position in the Pope's own choir; but imbibing liberal sentiments, he was banished from the Vatican. The present volume is occupied with the story of his life since that period. The Signor appears to have met with harsh treatment in Athens and several other cities, and on more than one occasion his efforts to become engaged at the Opera as a performer were frustrated by his enemies. In London he fell into deep poverty, but was fortunate enough subsequently to meet with sympathizing friends. His account of his adventures is interesting enough, but I can not say much for Signor Campanella's literary style. He also dwells at too great length upon incidents, trivial in themselves, but which he doubtless magnified into events of considerable importance. It would have been well if the author had prevailed upon some English friend to go through his MSS., or to revise his proof-sheets, deleting such matter as we could well have done without.

A RIDE THROUGH ISLAM.²—Captain Marsh appears to have seen a good deal that was worth noting on his ride, but he does not write with the facile pen of Captain Burnaby. His book, however, is interesting enough, and we are treated to anecdotes of the Shah, a description of life at Khorassan, and many other matters which must be to a large extent fresh and new to the vast body of readers.

A NEW DRAMA.³—Mr. Noel has in years gone by written many fine poems. His "Red Flag" excited the admiration of all classes of critics. His present venture is of a more formidable and ambitious type. While we can not honestly say that he exhibits a very striking dramatic faculty, there are certainly passages in this play of a superior order of poetry. The drama is fixed early in the fifteenth century, and is divided into three parts—"Sigismund," "Ralph," and "Bertha." The most noticeable passages in the drama are the purely descriptive and poetical.

LONDON.

GEORGE BARNETT SMITH.

¹ "Life in the Cloister, in the Papal Court, and in Exile." An Autobiography. By Giuseppe Maria Campanella. Richard Bentley & Son.

² "A Ride through Islam, being a Journey through Afghanistan to India." By Hippisley Cunliffe Marsh, Captain of the 18th Bengal Cavalry. Tinsley Brothers.

³ "The House of Ravensburg. A Drama." By the Hon. Roden Noel. Daldy & Isbister.

RECENT GERMAN BOOKS.

THE little work of Dr. Levysohn¹ is in form a mere collection of fugitive essays, but it contains a great deal of historical matter, none the less valuable for being put in a readable form. The writer was for many years, and until the late war, a newspaper correspondent in Paris. During the siege of Paris, he was attached to the German head-quarters, and for a time issued a little French daily, the *Nouvelliste de Versailles*, until he came into conflict with Prince Bismarck and was forced to leave. That he was not the only German journalist who had that experience appears from a strange and touching incident related in the book. A colleague at Versailles, Friedrich Hoff, had published some disagreeable facts in a paper for which he corresponded, and the article came under the eyes of the all-powerful Bismarck. Hoff received a mysterious summons before the commandant, who questioned him about the authorship of the article. He made no secret of his responsibility, and was ordered to return to Germany. This was an open disgrace, and would have put an end to his literary career, for poor Hoff was an intense patriot as well as a keenly sensitive man. On the morning for which his departure had been ordered he was found in his room dead. He had committed suicide rather than bear the indignity which was to be put upon him; and Dr. Levysohn hints that history will know where to fix the guilt of his death. Undoubtedly, if history ever takes the trouble; but she is a fastidious goddess, and when marching with giants seldom deigns to notice the complaints of humbler persons. The other papers making up Herr Levysohn's volume may be unreservedly commended as fresh, vivid, and realistic pictures of French life and war scenes. In one of them our ambitious countryman, Mr. O'Sullivan, appears. This volunteer diplomatist, ex-minister to Portugal, was at Versailles, whither he had come from Paris with Mr. Washburne's safe-conduct, and where he undertook to make peace between France and Germany. Bismarck steadily refused to see him; but had the misfortune once to be his neighbor at the Crown-Prince's table. O'Sullivan used the occasion industriously, and bored his friend for two hours with his plans of mediation and peace. The next day, by Bismarck's orders, he was escorted out of Versailles by a military guard. Levysohn's stories thus complement in many cases those of Colonel Hoffman. In such incidents as that of O'Sullivan, for instance, what Colonel Hoffman describes from the Paris side, Levysohn takes up and continues after the scene has been transferred to Versailles and the German camp.

Dr. Wiss's sketch of the social and intellectual history of Florence² might almost be placed under American literature if it were not written in German. The author was for many years a resident and citizen of the United States,

¹ "Aus einer Kaiserzeit." By Arthur Levysohn. Grüneberg: W. Levysohn. 1878.

² "Aus der Kulturgeschichte von Florenz." By Dr. Eduard Wiss. Berlin: Verlag von F. A. Herbig. 1877.

and if his book shows the thoroughness and method of German scholarship, it also shows in style and arrangement the influence of English literary models. As the modest title indicates, it is not a history of Florence but rather a series of generalizations, of social pictures, taken out of the long and intricate course of events. Thus it makes little pretension to original research; but drawing its facts chiefly from the standard history of Capponi, which has recently been translated into German, it attempts to supply for the reader a series of running commentaries and interpretations, showing the influence of special events on a general development. I should have said, also, the influence of historical individuals. Not the least useful and least interesting parts of the volume are the graphic personal portraits, not only of the Medicis, but also of Dante, whose genius is worthily honored, of Savonarola, whose demonstration is made to appear more distinctly Protestant than it has hitherto seemed, of the multitude of scholars, poets, philosophers, wits, who ornamented the city of the Arno. Such treatises as this are unhappily peculiar to German literature. Until they become domiciled in our own language, we must be content to look to Germany for them; and as an unpretending attempt of that sort, Dr. Wiss's monograph may be commended alike for the wealth and accuracy of its learning, the gravity of its style, and the justness of its historical generalizations.

Dr. Wiss is also the editor, and Herr Herbig is the publisher, of the quarterly organ of the Association for Political Economy,¹ one of the ablest publications of the kind in the world. Regular contributors are such men as Professor von Holtzendorff, Dr. Carl Braun, Michaelis, Bauer, Block, and many other specialists in its peculiar class of subjects. The "Volkswirthschaftlicher Verein" is a pronounced free-trade body, and represents the principle of direct taxation, and, in general, the views of the Manchester school—views the popularity of which has been much shaken in Germany during the past few years, and which may now be said to be on the defensive. Adopted for the most part in legislation, they have not produced the millennium, and there is a cry to discard them. Hence, at this crisis, the importance of such a periodical as the "Vierteljahrsschrift." In the present number Otto Wolff exposes some sophisms of the protectionists on the subject of competition, and shows how unlimited freedom to build and run railways may be impossible, and that free competition between two grocers, or between an importer and a manufacturer, may not only be possible but also salutary. The unsoundness of the tax on grist and on slaughtered meat, which Prince Bismarck can never forgive himself for abolishing, is once more conclusively shown. The number also contains a long, learned, and exhaustive article on the international grain traffic, various papers of a more general interest, besides a copious and valuable correspondence on the financial and economical movements at the different European capitals.

BERLIN.

HERBERT TUTTLE.

¹ "Vierteljahrsschrift für Volkswirtschaft, Politik und Culturgeschichte," No. 55. Berlin: F. A. Herbig. 1877.

DURING the last few months, no one of the five great nations has enjoyed such an unruffled life as Germany, and this circumstance is naturally reflected in her literature. England writes upon Turkey and upon Russia: France, in leader, in pamphlet, and in volume, is striving to force an idea into the somewhat dense crania of the servants of the priests. Germany, quietly smoking a cigar and sipping at a glass of beer, Gallio-like cares for none of these things, and though it discusses philosophically the chances of Turk and Russian, of Grévy and of MacMahon, its book-market treats chiefly of the ordinary topics.

In the present article, at the risk of repetition, we shall refer briefly to a few of the earlier as well as of the later books of this year. Böhmer's "Records of the Archbishops of Mainz," the first volume of which extends to the year 1160, forms a suitable companion to Mülverstedt's "Records of the Archbishopric of Magdeburg," the first volume of which, bearing the date of 1876, reaches as late as 1192. Of similar works the chief is L. Janauschek's "Origines Cisterciensium," Vol. I. This book, an imperial quarto of nearly five hundred pages in all, is of interest internally, it may be, only to the scientific historian. Yet every one will be able to appreciate to a certain degree the value of the work for history, both civil and religious. The religious orders in their rise, their spread, and their influence are so interwoven with the history of Europe, that the detailed discussion of their fortunes can not but throw much light upon, and as well store away material for further researches into, the history of the various countries in which they have flourished. Moreover, the volume before us, the first installment from twenty years of labor, will recall to the polite reader the works of former days, upon which men wrought and re-wrought, considering rather the conscientious attainment of an ideal than the need of supplying the public with ephemeral novelties.

The lover of church history, especially if he has a preference for the distant regions thereof which are so delightful in their vague possibilities, will turn gladly to Germann's "Church of the Thomas Christians."¹ Striving to clear up the account of St. Thomas's preaching in India, the author brings the history down to the mission rivalries of the present. If St. Thomas had only said what denomination he would prefer for India! A tendency to find truth in fable really affects but little the interest and the value of the book.

Professor Friedrich's first volume on the "History of the Vatican Council,"² gives us the preliminary history relating the rise of Ultramontanism in France, Belgium, and Germany, its factors and its leaders; the miracle-loving character of Pius IX.; the preparation for 'infallibility' made in catechisms and theological works; and finally the steps and method of summon-

¹ "Die Kirche der Thomaschristen. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der orientalischen Kirchen." Mit einer Karte und fünf Holzschnitten, von W. Germann. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann. 1877. (x. (1), 792 pp. 8vo.) 15 Marks or \$3.75.

² "Geschichte des Vatikanischen Concils," von I. Friedrich. Bd. I. Bonn: Neusser. 1877. (xli. 840 pp. large 8vo.) 18 Marks or \$4.50.

ing the Council. As an antidote to this, Manning's "true" history of said Council has been translated into German.

Two new editions call for the attention of the theological reader. The Dorpat professors Mühlau and Volck are issuing a new and improved edition of Gesenius' "Hebrew Lexicon." The first volume has already been published. We are told that the proof-sheets are also revised by one of the more celebrated Old Testament professors. And Herzog's "Encyclopædia for Theology" is appearing at a rapid rate in a revised edition. The second volume is nearly done, the last number issued closing with the word Brorson. There is a great advantage in this issue by numbers; instead of having a volume of eight hundred pages thrown upon your hands at once, you receive eighty or one hundred and sixty pages, and cut, read, and pencil them with the freshness and zest attaching to the latest review. He who buys and reads his Herzog in this way will find the bound volumes hereafter more valuable in every way.

L. Ziegler, gymnasium professor at Munich, printed early in the year a pamphlet of sixty pages upon some fragments of Latin manuscripts.¹ Peculiar interest attaches to it from the fact that part of the words of one manuscript, which manuscript had been entirely destroyed, were recovered again by reading them backward from the paste with which the fragments had been attached to the binding of another codex. Professor Ziegler has spent much of the summer holiday in a tour among the libraries on the Main and Rhein, and writes privately that he hopes to be able to present in due time further interesting material for scholars.

Sermon-readers will find two new volumes from Professors Luthardt and Kahnis, of Leipzig.²

As we leave theology, we may refer to two books which pertain at once to theology and respectively to law and history. Von Schulte has issued the second volume of his "History of the Sources and Literature of Canon Law from Gratian to the Present,"³ which leads us from Gregory IX. to the Council of Trent. And Brugsch-Bey has now issued a more complete "History of Egypt under the Pharaohs."⁴ It will be remembered that he published, almost twenty years ago, a fragment of this in French. Now he presents the Ger-

¹ "Bruchstücke einer Vorhieronimianischen Uebersetzung der Petrusbriefe," von L. Ziegler. München. 1877.

² "Das Wort des Lebens. Predigten in der Universitätskirche zu Leipzig gehalten," von Chph. E. Luthardt. Leipzig: Dörffling & Francke. 1877. (iv. 231 pp. large 8vo.) 2 Marks or 50 cents.

"Predigten. 3. Sammlung," von K. F. A. Kahnis. [Same publisher.] (iv. 231 pp. large 8vo.) 3.60 Marks or 90 cents.

³ "Die Geschichte u. s. w.," von J. F. v. Schulte. Bd. II. Stuttgart: Enke. 1877. (xviii. 582 pp. large 8vo.) 20 Marks or \$5.

⁴ "Geschichte Aegyptens unter den Pharaonen," von H. Brugsch-Bey. Nach den Denkmälern bearbeitet. Erste deutsche Ausgabe. Mit zwei (chromolith.) Karten von Unter- und Ober-Aegypten und vier genealogischen Tafeln. Leipzig: Hinrichs. 1877. (xiii. 818 pp. large 8vo.) Unbound, 18 Marks or \$4.50; bound, 20 Marks or \$5.

man edition of the whole, and has transferred to another the labor of rendering it into French. The work needs no praise. With all its faults, it is an instructive and, for students of Egypt, an indispensable book.

It will be remembered that Professor Eduard Zeller, of Berlin, collected into one volume certain essays confined to topics in the history of religion and philosophy. He now comes forward with a second collection¹ of a somewhat wider range, including besides the above-named classes of topics, essays upon the philosophy of religion, the philosophy of law and politics, and philosophy simple. Among others we may name the following essays: "The Origin and Essence of Religion," "Religion and Philosophy among the Romans," "The Trial of Galileo," "Politics in their Relation to Law," "Nationality and Humanity," and "The Present Position and Task of German Philosophy." The veteran philosopher is as ever attractive. The volume is in large Roman type and on good paper.

The fifth volume of Leopold von Ranke's "Memorabilia of Chancellor Prince von Hardenberg," has appeared.²

Perhaps the lives of few men were so thoroughly incorporated with their day and place as was the life of Herder. A man warm in heart, fertile in imagination, ready with his pen, he was well fitted to shine in the select circle at Weimar. Moreover, devoted as he was to the Bible, witness his "Spirit of the Hebrew Poetry," and his "The Son of God, the Saviour of the World," a book upon the Fourth Gospel, he nevertheless evinced a liberality in thought which was alike disagreeable to the severely orthodox and acceptable to the freer thinkers of the day. Hence Haym's book,³ "Herder described in his Life and Works," will command general attention with its detailed account of the Weimar Superintendent. Thus far only the first half of the first volume is before us, but it suffices to assure us of the writer's desire to be full in his narrative, and of the interest of the subject for us. This part of the work brings us to what may be marked as a turning-point in his life, his leaving Riga in 1769.

Ludwig von Sybel, in his "Mythology of the Iliad,"⁴ offers a treasury of learning upon the subject, both original and compiled.

Gustav Gilbert supplies the Greek historian with a valuable work, entitled "Contributions to the Internal History of Athens in the Age of the Pelopon-

¹ "Vorträge und Abhandlungen," von E. Zeller. Zweite Sammlung. Leipzig: Fues. 1877. (vi. (2) 550 pp. 8vo.) 9 Marks or \$2.25.

² "Denkwürdigkeiten des Staatskanzlers Fürsten von Hardenberg," von L. v. Ranke. Bd. V. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot. 1877. (670 pp. large 8vo.) 16 Marks or \$4.

³ "Herder nach seinem Leben und seinen Werken dargestellt," von R. Haym. I. Bd. I. Hälfte. Leipzig: R. Gaertner. 1877. (x. 310 pp. large 8vo.) 6 Marks or \$1.50.

⁴ "Die Mythologie der Ilias," von L. v. Sybel. Marburg: N. G. Elwert. 1877. (vi. (1), 317 pp. 8vo.) 7.20 Marks or \$1.80.

nesian War." ¹ We really receive more than is promised, for the work opens with a valuable general sketch of Athenian antiquities, wherein the author, using much new material, gives an independent production. Then he proceeds to relate the history of Athens, and the course of her internal politics at the period mentioned.

Julius Lehr's "Protection and Free-Trade" ² points out various errors connected with protection, and calls for a furthering of trade on the part of the State, but it will not affect sound views upon protection.

We may call the attention of the mathematician to the "Treatises upon the History of Mathematics." ³ The publishers are inclined to continue these numbers if the public show the interest that has been promised. The present number contains two essays. One, by Prof. Treutlein, in Karlsruhe, is entitled "Calculating in the Sixteenth Century." In touching the first printed mathematical work, Treutlein began with Prosdocimo, "De Algorithmo" of 1483, but Cantor, of Heidelberg, has since reminded him of an anonymous arithmetic issued at Treviso in 1478. The second essay is a translation of Schiapparelli's treatise on the homocentric spheres of Eudoxus, Kallipus, and Aristotle.

LEIPZIG.

CASPAR RENÉ GREGORY.

RECENT FRENCH BOOKS.

INTELLECTUAL work rather languishes in France just at present. This is easily explained. Public attention is turned in another direction. People are awaiting with a lively anxiety the solution of the great governmental problem. Shall we awake some fine morning under Henri V., under such a republic as M. Thiers would have given, or under that of Gambetta?

This cruel uncertainty, which leaves so many public and private interests in suspense, does not afford authors much encouragement for writing. The public, on the other hand, has something else to occupy it than reading and studying. Journalism, which has enormously developed lately, amply suffices for its intellectual needs. But this is only a passing state of things. The French are passionately fond of new publications, which in ordinary times are

¹ "Beiträge zur inneren Geschichte Athens im Zeitalter des Peloponnesischen Krieges," von G. Gilbert. Leipzig: Teubner. 1877. (vi. (1), 399 pp. 8vo.) 9.20 Marks or \$2.35.

² "Schutzzoll und Freihandel," von J. Lehr. Berlin: J. Springer. 1877. (viii. 199 pp. 8vo.) 3.60 Marks or 90 cents.

³ "Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Mathematik." Heft 1. Mit zwei lithographirten Tafeln. [Supplement zur historisch-literarischen Abtheilung des xxii. Jahrganges der "Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik."] Leipzig: Teubner. 1877. (3), 198 pp. 8vo.) 8 Marks or \$2.

even too abundant. So, once the storm is past, authors and readers will set themselves to work again.

Happily, the few weeks which preceded the great political crisis were very rich in literary and scientific harvest.

We wish now to present to the readers of the REVIEW the most recent and important of these publications. To be complete, we should need more space than is placed at our disposal. We are, therefore, obliged to make a choice, and we shall only speak here of works which have sufficient importance. For that matter, even supposing that our articles were not limited, there is a quantity of productions of which we would only give the titles. We have too much respect for the public whom we address to engage its attention at length over that low literature which here forms the habitual nourishment for grocers and cabmen. Have we not ourselves lately seen an English savant devote a front shelf in his library to the novels of Paul de Kock, assuring us that he delighted in their perusal? Is not "La fille Eliza," that work judged among us unhealthy and without literary value, placed on the table of many aristocratic *salons* of St. Petersburg? Were we not lately informed that M. de Bismarck found a great charm in the *feuilleton* novels of Xavier de Montépin? Hence foreign judgments are frequently erroneous as to the manners, wit, and literary movements in France.

It must also be said that many of our reviews and journals contribute daily to give a false idea of French contemporary literature. Vast systems of editorial notices are organized here, especially on behalf of mediocre works, and the critics, charged with the duty of enlightening public opinion, too often have the feebleness of allowing themselves to be influenced by personal sympathies, by the wish to encourage such and such a beginner, or by other motives. It is thus that the "Voyage au pays des Milliards" has created an immense sensation, especially abroad, although the book is of a character to furnish the most incorrect view of Germany and the Germans. We could cite a great number of publications which have been given the proportions of real literary events, but which next year will be no longer read.

We have been astonished to see even the *Revue des deux Mondes* occasionally contribute, by means of its bibliographical review, to push forward certain novels which are far below mediocrity both in manner and matter. As for us, our line of conduct is clearly traced, and no influence can make us deviate from it. Our heartfelt desire is to furnish here the most exact information as to the intellectual movement in France, mentioning and criticising with the most entire independence such literary and scientific works as have at least some value, as soon as they make their appearance; and it is just because we wish to present to our readers a bibliographical review, both useful and serious, that it may chance that we shall not always be in accord in our judgments with other literary critics, that it will even happen that we shall not mention certain works whose value has appeared to us absolutely null.

After these explanations, given once for all, but which seemed to us indispensable at the beginning, we enter upon our task.

RENAN'S SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.¹—Many years ago M. Renan undertook the "History of the Origin of Christianity." He has now reached the history of the writing of the synoptic Gospels and that of the second Christian period. This volume, therefore, aims at narrating and explaining how the acts and teachings of Jesus Christ have been transmitted to us by written methods.

While seeking to answer that question, the author unfolds to us the facts which occurred at the time of the writing the Gospels, some of which must have exerted a certain influence thereon. Thus, "the relations between Christianity and the Roman Empire; the first heresies; the disappearance of the immediate disciples of Jesus; the gradual separation of the church and the synagogue; the development of the ecclesiastical hierarchy; the substitution of the presbytery for the primitive community; the first beginnings of the episcopate, and the advent, under Trajan, of a kind of Golden Age for civil society." The sixth and last volume of this great work will soon appear, entitled "The Church." To pronounce an equitable judgment upon the volume which we announce, as well as upon the four which have preceded it, it is necessary to distinguish in M. Renan the writer, the scholar, and the theologian. As writer, we may say, without fear of being charged with exaggeration, that he has attained perfection. No one knows better than he how to unite sobriety to color of style; no one knows as well as he how to condense his thought into a sentence at once short and full, or into a striking image. A single word often suffices him to draw a picture. M. Renan is always clear; he abounds in new expressions, often very happily created by himself, while not ceasing to be correct. Even when he is treating of the driest subjects he is always interesting, and can be followed without the least effort. This is no slight quality.

M. Renan is a writer truly French. He has carried to the highest degree the qualities of a language which in its essence is clear, logical, and of lively attraction. As scholar, M. Renan must be placed in the first rank, especially in whatever concerns sacred criticism. This study had never been pursued in France before him, except by members of the Protestant clergy. M. Renan has given an honorable place before the great public to that science which exacts most varied knowledge and a penetrating judgment. Now the celebrated member of the Institute is thoroughly conversant with the Semitic languages, is at the same time an excellent Hellenist, and has particularly made a special study of the works which Germany has produced upon all the questions relating to the history of the books of the New Testament. Thus M. Renan moves with a marvelous ease in the midst of diverse texts, manuscripts, and readings. All this immense material is classified and docketed in his mind. He therefore possesses all the instruments with which the scholar should be furnished to treat of questions as intricate as those which relate to the writing and authenticity of the Sacred Code of Christians.

¹ "Les Evangiles et la seconde génération chrétienne." Par Ernest Renan. Lévy. 1877.

It will be seen that we do not stint our admiration of M. Renan as writer and scholar. But if we judge him as a theologian, we are forced to withdraw our sympathies from him. He belongs in theology to that school which by its bold attacks and its audacious negations has undertaken to remove all supernatural character and all divine origin from Christianity. Accordingly, although M. Renan often affects to apply the epithet "divine" to the work and person of Christ, still for him our gospels are only the result of a selection made among a multitude of parcels of legends by hands more or less adroit, and by men more or less inclined to pious frauds. For him, Jesus is "a young Jew at once mild and terrible, keen and imperious, simple and profound." Let us hasten to say that he nevertheless allows him the honor "of having really and truly existed." He even declares that in his preaching Jesus "surpassed Bouddha *himself*."

We need not say that these generous concessions are far from satisfying our Christian sentiment. To M. Renan "the Gospels constitute the most revolutionary and dangerous of books." We can only indicate here the theological tendencies of M. Renan. To refute him, step by step, would require a volume. We are therefore obliged to limit ourselves to putting this simple question to every right conscience: If the Gospels are only a collection of legends gleaned here and there, if the Saviour is only a Jew at once simple and profound, how can you explain that without the direct intervention of Divine Power they have brought, and still in our own days are bringing, among the nations, regeneration, light, and life?

In conclusion, let us call attention to a very curious fact. M. Renan belongs to the theological school of boldness and negation, and yet, after having judged Jesus and the Gospels as we have just seen, he affirms that St. Peter was in Rome; that the worship of Mary had its birth in the first century; that papacy also made its appearance at that epoch; that Jesus had neither brothers nor sisters. It is known how much stress the Romish Church lays upon supporting itself on these facts, which historically are untenable. If M. Renan is not Christian, he has remained Roman Catholic! In spite of his subversive criticism, he can not manage to free himself from the first influences of the seminary. Notwithstanding that M. Renan is a free-thinker, we are convinced that something within him would suffer if his country should break the heavy chain which binds her to Rome to embrace the religion of liberty—that is to say, evangelical Protestantism. But can we take a theologian in earnest who offers the spectacle of such contradictions were he, as is here the case, the purest writer and the most consummate scholar? And nevertheless the influence of M. Renan is most powerful. This influence is disastrous. He is culpable who is always overthrowing and never building. Ruins are but a poor refuge; at least, let not the learned professor consider as a refuge destined to shelter suffering souls the "reveries" whose publication preceded the "Gospels."

RECLUS'S GEOGRAPHY.¹—M. O. Reclus is the brother of M. Elisée Reclus, the learned author of the universal geography in course of publication. M. O. Reclus, as the very title of his work announces, only aims to give us a rapid glance at the continents and masses of water which make up our planet, and at the inhabitants who people it. But this glance is not so rapid that we may not obtain from it the most exact notions as to the configuration, ethnography, political and economical situation of each country. This fine work contains the last word spoken up to date by each of the geographical sciences, with which the author is thoroughly conversant. What is especially remarkable in "La terre à vol d'oiseau" is the style. In this respect the author seems to us superior even to his brother, who writes so well. For the first time in France, geographical studies lose their dryness, thanks to M. O. Reclus's talent for explanation, which is so new, so original, and so dramatic. Under his pen, mountains, rivers, etc., become animated and clothed with a real individuality. Americans have too practical and too liberal a spirit, they are a people too intelligent and too powerful, not to profit from the criticisms to which they may be exposed. Accordingly we call their attention to the chapter entitled "Are the Americans of the North in Decadence?"²

CHERBULIEZ'S SAMUEL BROHL & Co.³—M. Cherbuliez continues, as ever, to be very amusing and very witty. This is doubtless much, but in our opinion it is not enough. In reading him you will never experience a sincere emotion, you will never be invited to reflection. That is a great failing in a novelist. Therefore we much prefer to him M. André Theuriot, who joins to wit and free humor a profound sentiment and exquisite poetry.

VILBORT'S NOUVELLES CHAMPINOISES.⁴—These charming little stories ought not to pass unobserved. They breathe a country fragrance which delicate connoisseurs will know how to appreciate fully. The author has a great fineness of touch and a remarkable flexibility of talent. "Les dunes" and "Les amours du bonhomme Jef." are the two prettiest stories of this charming collection.

A. NONGARÈDE.

PARIS.

RECENT ITALIAN BOOKS.

SOME annotations to Livy were published for the first time by Thomas Hearne of Oxford in the last century. In the *Testimonia* prefixed to his edition of Livy's history, he mentions them as standing without the name of their

¹ "Géographie la terre à vol d'oiseau," par Onésime Reclus. Hachette. 1877.
2 vols.

² 2d vol. p. 325.

³ "Samuel Brohl et Cie." Par Victor Cherbuliez. Hachette. 1877.

⁴ "Nouvelles Champinoises," par I. Vilbort. Charpentier. 1877.

author in an Oxford manuscript. He considered them to be anonymous, and they are so cited by all the biographers of the historian, among them M. Weingarten, whose work "*De Titi Livii Vita*" appeared at Berlin in the year 1852. They are attributed to Giovanni Boccaccio in a codex at the Laurentian Library, which contains the ten books on the second Punic war as narrated by Livy. The manuscript was written on parchment in the fifteenth century by Giovan Francesco Marzio of San Grimignano. Doctor Attilio Hortis,¹ the young and very capable librarian of Triest, who has already gained a high name in science by his critical work respecting both Petrarch and Boccaccio, publishes a little work of much erudition to prove that the notes are really from the pen of Boccaccio himself. They are of slight importance indeed, but the author enters into an interesting examination of the changes of the name, and of the vicissitudes of the books of Livy in the period of the middle ages. He shows the esteem in which the Roman historian was held by the two famous Italians, and finds himself led by a course of reasoning by analogy to the conviction that the brief Latin manuscript of the Laurentian Library was written by no less a person than the author of the Certaldo. While the little work of the Triestine critic is highly instructive, from the mass of learned notes it contains, we are still more disposed to admire the penetration and foresight of the author. Though a young man, he never allows himself to be deceived, and still less to be overcome, by mere appearances, and he is always aiming to reach a result consistent with critical exactness. Qualities like these are unhappily rare among our writers, who are too easily carried away by their imagination and often given to fondness for rhetorical display. Doctor Hortis is, we think, for this reason entitled to exceptional praise.

The rumors of the literary dispute started by Scheffer-Boichorst have, we doubt not, already reached America. The writer above mentioned published his "*Florentiner Studien*" three years ago. It is well known that they contained a monograph intended to prove that the "*Cronaca Fiorentina*" attributed to Dino Compagni was not his, nor yet a contemporary's, but that, on the other hand, it was a counterfeit of the sixteenth century. In Germany this opinion immediately found an adversary in Karl Hegel, who, in 1875, came out with a book entitled "*Die Cronik des Dino Compagni, Versuch einer Rettung.*" This vindication of the authenticity of the Chronicle as the work of Dino admitted, however, that in the sixteenth century some one had perhaps retouched and corrupted the original text. Scheffer renewed his arguments the present year, and maintained the ingenious hypothesis that members of the old Accademia della Crusca might be the ones guilty of the manipulation. In Germany, Teodor Wüstenfeld, Otto Hartwig, Alfred de Reumont, and Wilhelm Bernhardt have also written well on the whole question. In Italy, Professor Giusto Grion of Verona at once attributed the Chronicle

¹ "Cenni di Giovanni Boccacci intorno a Tito Livio commentati da Attilio Hortis." Trieste: Tip. del Lloyd-Hongarico. 1877.

to Antonfranceso Doni, a name wherein he saw the anagram of Dino. Pietro Fanfani, prefect of the Marucellian Library, having examined the language and sentiments as exhibited in the Chronicle, concluded that it could not belong to the thirteenth century, and became so fierce in his pursuit of Dino Compagni that apparently those who would not accept the new oracle were looked upon as his own private enemies. The lamented Marquis Gino Capponi could not yield to all the clamor raised against the Cronaca, which, in his History of the Florentine Republic, he accepts as a very good source. He is perhaps more wary than the Frenchman Perrens, who, in his very recent History of Florence, treats as mere imbeciles all who accept the Chronicle as authentic. Defenders of its authenticity are Cesare Paolo, Francesco Linguiti, Paolo Tedesci, F. Tromboni, G. Roberti. Dino Compagni¹ has a powerful and authoritative vindicator in Isidoro del Lungo of the Accademia della Crusca, who gives us a complete work on the question. In the course of his book he lays claim to the priority of a discovery made by him. In the *Historische Zeitschrift* of the present year Scheffer publishes eight new pages on the controversy, and points out that certain passages of the Chronicle coincide with others in a comment on Dante by an anonymous Florentine. These notes are doubtless of the fourteenth century, and were published by Signor Fanfani in his work of three volumes of the year 1866. The German scholar shows a resemblance between them and the so-called counterfeit of the fourteenth century. Now Signor Del Lungo points out that he himself three years ago recognized the similarity of the passages, which similarity he considered his strongest argument for the authorship of Dino Compagni.¹ We have strong hopes that the very meritorious professor will at last set at rest a controversy which has already begun to enter the tiresome stage. We expect that he will restore to our literature a fine work of the fourteenth century, and to our Florentine history one of its most precious documents.

In the month of August last, the Milanese public was invited to be present at a double literary debate before the courts. Two authors, Felice Cavallotti of Milan and Torelli Viollier of Naples, while engaged in a literary controversy, allowed themselves to insult each other personally. Complaints on both sides were brought before the tribunal, and the principals appeared at the same time. The spectacle was not precisely edifying, and it is indeed deplorable that two excellent writers could be so blinded by their self-love as to waste in vituperation time which they might have employed with good results in literary production. Cavallotti is a dramatist and his accuser a poet. The tribunal did well in condemning them both. If the cultivation of what our older writers called *literæ humaniores* serves to excite rancor among authors, the name is undeserved. The decision of the court coincides with the opinion of the public. The Milanese tribunal has also evinced commendable skill in its manner of settling a case brought before it by two academicians, Cesare

¹ "La Critica Italiana dinanziagli Stranieri e all' Italia nella questione su Dino Compagni," Cenni di Isidoro del Lungo. Firenze: Sansoni. 1877.

Guasti and Giovanni Torti, who cited Professor Alfonso Cerquetti¹ to reply to the charge of having judged with bad faith some writings relative to the *Vocabolario della Crusca*. Apparently an entire book of Tortoli's intended to vindicate the academy might have sufficed as a justification. But Cerquetti rejoined and insisted upon his former charges, taking aim specially at the two academicians. The court, perhaps as tender of the dignity of the *Accademia della Crusca* as are its two over-susceptible members, held that Cerquetti had not been guilty of a calumny, but that their sharp words had provoked him to the use of somewhat offensive language. Hence it condemned him to pay each of the complainants in the suits the fine of two francs. We hope the latter are now convinced of their own excessive touchiness and that they are conscious of having brought a scandal on the country. For several years Cerquetti has been annoying the academy with his very small censures of its dictionary, and he has surprised a number of periods and commas off their posts, or found them among the missing. Signor Cerquetti hoped to be made an academician; he was not, and at once fired up and began a series of impertinent remarks, so little, frivolous, and meaningless as not to merit being reported. The honorable members of the academy should be unwilling to be excited in any manner. Over the door of the academy runs its ancient motto, "Il piu fior ne coglie." Under this ought now to be written another sentence, "Noli me tangere."

Signor Villari,² the distinguished author of the monograph on Savonarola, is the principal champion in Italy of the positive method applied to history. He is professor of modern history in the institute of the higher studies at Florence. His new work on Machiavel has been for a long time awaited by an interested public. For above twelve years he has been directing his labors in the same direction, and perhaps two or three years more will elapse ere he can complete them. The new manuscripts, which he was the first to find and collate, will be of great use in a period when so much time is given to the study of Machiavel. Of late years three new volumes have appeared, one by Gioda, a second by Nitti, and a third by Tommasini, which last also received a prize from the city government of Florence. Professor Villari has thought best to publish without further delay a first and very large volume, in the preface of which he tells us the motive of his own labors. The introduction is a learned work relating to the literature of the Renaissance, and forms a vestibule of almost too large proportions to the edifice erected by the author in memory of Machiavel. This introductory essay with its three hundred pages might well stand as an independent work. The documents occupying a hundred and twenty-seven pages, leave only about two hundred for an account of Machiavel's life. This portion contains the narrative of his birth and education, his nomination to the secretaryship of the Ten, his embassy to Forli, his

¹ "Alle Accuse di Alfonso Cerquetti riposta di Giovanni Tortoli." Firenze. 1877.

² "Niccolo Machiavelli e i suoi Tempi illustrati con nuovi documenti," di Pasquale Villari. Firenze: Successori Le Monnier. Un vol. 8vo.

"Discourse on the Affairs of Pisa," his mission to Pisa, first embassy to France, and missions to Pistoia. Besides these, an account is given of several of his works, among them the memorial on the "Right Treatment of the Rebels of Chiana" and his Decennale. His embassies to Perugia and Siena and to Julius II., as well as his establishment of a Florentine army, come within the compass of the volume. The author of the *Prince* does not yet appear. Still Professor Villari with wonted penetration surprises him already in a state of formation. Machiavel betrays himself by his conduct in his earliest embassies, by his reports, and by the conclusions he draws from his experience of life. Villari displays a deep acquaintance with the human heart in the sketches he draws of the personages who appear in the present volume. With a full knowledge of the material, he controls and treats it in the manner of a master. His pages are full of dignity. Had there been a little more proportion observed in distributing the materials, we should hardly have had one fault to find with the writer. The illustrious author's constant effort to present to us Machiavel as he was, without accusing or excusing him, will seem a defect to those who insist that the historian must be a moralizer. The work as it stands is a precious example of a history by a positivist, such as Villari claims to be.

Nicomede Bianchi, superintendent of the Piedmontese archives, is the founder of the excellent series of investigations relating to what is termed subalpine history.¹ In this last installment we especially note a very good study in biography by Bianchi on the historian of the Piedmontese revolution of 1822, Count Santorre di Santa Rosa, who was also a martyr to the cause of Greek independence. The editor communicates some hitherto unpublished letters of great interest. The other contribution is by Ercole Ricotti, professor of modern history in the University of Turin, and recounts the life of Count Carlo Baudi, who died this year. He was the first to edit the Longobard laws, and also wrote a history of property in the middle ages in Italy. Count Baudi was very well versed in the earlier Italian literature.

On the completion of his famous *Universal History*, Cesare Cantu,² treading in the footsteps of Muratori and of Scipione Maffei, turned to the treatment of the difficult question of the origin of the present language of Italy. He shows how, in the language of ancient Italy, some constructions are to be found which are perfectly modern. The ancient writers belonged to various provinces, and their writing showed traces of provincialisms. In Cicero, particularly, Cantu points out a number of idioms, the property of the Italian no less than of the Latin. These idioms betray Cicero's place of birth, a southern province. Now the distinguished author resumes with greater fullness the same argument in reply to questions proposed by the *Accademia Pontaniana* of Naples: What are we to think of the opinion that Latin is

¹ "Curiosità e Ricerche di Storia Subalpina puntata IX." Un vol. en 8vo. Torino: Fratelli Bocca.

² *Vicendi dei Parlari d'Italia dissertazione estratta della Storia degli Italiane*, di Cesare Cantu, Accademico della Crusca. Torino.

nothing else than corrupt Italian? There is an intrinsic difference between the two languages, and unless the Italian is a degenerated Latin, how has it been so far transformed? Finally, what is the value of the other view according to which Italian was spoken at Rome while Latin was still a living language? These questions, thoroughly sifted, settle the origin of Italian; and, if it is the exclusive property of one province of the peninsula, we come to see what rights to the language the other southern provinces can claim. The dissertation of Cantu, while it won the prize, can not be said to have found the key to the problem, as many points still present *lacunæ* which are inevitable. Though it has not attained the solution so much desired, it contains a multitude of facts which will help compose a history of the language. Cantu himself seems favorable to the solution which would have it that the living Italian dialects are but a slight transformation of the ancient vulgar tongue. The speech of Rome seems to have been the most important, and contains numbers of forms current in classic Latin, in St. Jerome's Bible, in the Longobard laws, and in divers Italian legal acts of a date anterior to the eleventh century, which are apparently of the ancient, but really in their substance of the modern, language. While the author takes due account of the comparative grammar of Bopp and of the labors of Diez in the Romance languages, he clearly writes of philology more in the manner of a dilettant than of a specialist. For all that, we rightly estimate his work in giving it a high value, and think that the materials and proofs it contains form a basis for the labors of some future scholar more learned in linguistic science.

Dr. Cecchi¹ has just given us his second volume on Tasso. His first, on Tasso and Italian life in the sixteenth century, contained a lively and characteristic biography of the great poet and glimpses of his residence at court. Cecchi is a historian of the school of Villari. Hence he makes it a foremost aim to get a view of the life and character of his hero in connection with the time when he lived. This is very well, if the critic does not exaggerate the influence of contemporary history on the lives of great men. They, instead of being the subjects, are rather the masters of things taking place in their time. The present volume gives a description of the condition of letters in Italy during the sixteenth century, and examines minutely the genius of the Sorrentine poet. His worth, in a philosophical point of view, shows itself, according to our critic, in his dialogues and in some parts of his famous poem. The reader will not perhaps see a great psychologist in Tasso, nor always assent to some of Cecchi's observations, which betray more ingenuity than soundness. But we must express our admiration of the spirit and correctness of the sketches of literary life in the *cinquecento*. The young Florentine author has had a long and familiar acquaintance with the writers of that interesting time.

FLORENCE.

A. DE GUBERNATIS.

¹ "Torquato Tasso, il Pensiero e le Belle-Lettere Italiane nel Secolo XVI.," di Pier Leopoldo Cecchi. Firenze: Successori Le Monnier.

THE
INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.

MARCH, 1878.

REMINISCENCES OF ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS *vs.* THOSE OF GENERAL RICHARD TAYLOR.

THE January number of the *North American Review* for the present year contains an article by General Richard Taylor, of the Confederate Army, giving his reminiscences of incidents, occurrences, and events in the late lamentable war between the Northern and Southern States of the Union, which, the writer of this article thinks, ought not to be permitted to pass unnoticed by contemporaries, and especially by himself.

Reminiscences of this kind are usually interesting to the reading public, and when written with care and accuracy, are exceedingly useful to all who desire to be rightly informed in relation to those points upon which turn the fortunes of individuals as well as of states. Minutest incidents and details concerning individuals, their sayings or doings, whether in council or action, when thus presented, are footlights which greatly aid in bringing out in clear and distinct view the real characters of the respective parties on the stage, and in exhibiting the attending and surrounding scenes so as to present a full display of all the essential materials that constitute true history.

For the accomplishment of this end, however, it is essential that these incidents, minute as they may be, should be strictly accurate. To all students of history, the truth should be the leading object.

Whatever contributions, therefore, of this character, may be made to the literature of the country should be considered valuable only to the extent of their rigid conformity to the exactions of this requirement, in all the matters, events, and incidents narrated.

The establishment and maintenance of unadulterated truth in details, as well as in general results, both as relates to individuals who may take part in passing events, as well as in the final issue of affairs, whether successful or disastrous, should be the chief object. In this way alone can those who come after judge rightly of the merits or demerits of those who may figure on the stage in those great dramas which mark the annals of mankind.

The late war between the States of this Union was certainly one of these great dramas. It was the most gigantic conflict of arms in the present era. "The din of this conflict," says Mr. Lossing, a Northern historian, "was heard all over the world, and the people of all nations were spectators of the scene."

As to the origin, rightfulness, or general conduct of this war, on one side or on the other, it is not the purpose of the writer on the present occasion to say any thing. The object now in hand is simply to correct some errors and inaccuracies in "The Reminiscences" of General Taylor, lest those who may desire to form a just judgment upon the matters referred to might be misled thereby in arriving at correct conclusions.

In the first place, then, it is deemed proper to call the attention of the reader to what General Taylor says about the opposition or resistance of the Confederate Government at Montgomery to raising troops for a longer term of service than one year. His language is in these words: "The Confederate Government—then sitting at Montgomery—resisted the enlistment of regiments for the war, preferring to engage them for twelve months."

This statement is certainly not historically accurate. By whom the enlistment mentioned was resisted, it is true, is not distinctly stated. Nor is it clear upon whom or upon which branch of the government, or whether upon both, Congressional and Executive, this implied censure was intended to be cast. But in either or every aspect of the matter the statement is inaccurate. This the record abundantly shows. Bare assertions, in however elegant language they may be made, can not stand against facts. The truth in this case is, that amongst the first acts passed by the Confederate Congress upon their reassembling at Montgomery upon the call of the President, after the first collision of arms at Charleston, S. C., were

two providing for enlistments for the war. The first was in these words :

“AN ACT

“To raise an additional Military Force to serve during the War.

“SECTION 1.—*The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact :* That, in addition to the volunteer force authorized to be raised under existing laws, the President be and he is hereby authorized to accept the services of volunteers who may offer their services, without regard to the place of enlistment, either as cavalry, mounted riflemen, artillery, or infantry, in such proportion of these several arms as he may deem expedient, to serve for and during the existing war, unless sooner discharged.

“SEC. 2. That the volunteers so offering their services may be accepted by the President in companies, to be organized by him into squadrons, battalions, or regiments. The President shall appoint all field and staff officers ; but the company officers shall be elected by the men composing the company, and, if accepted, the officers so elected shall be commissioned by the President.

“SEC. 3. That any vacancies occurring in the ranks of the several companies mustered into service under the provisions of this act may be filled by volunteers accepted under the rules of such companies ; and any vacancies occurring in the officers of such companies shall be filled by elections, in accordance with the same rules.

“SEC. 4. Except as herein differently provided, the volunteer forces hereby authorized to be raised shall in all regards be subject to and organized in accordance with the provisions of ‘An act to provide for the public defense,’ and all other acts for the government of the armies of the Confederate States.

“APPROVED May 8th, 1861.”

The second of these acts is in these words :

“AN ACT

“To make further provision for the public defence.

“WHEREAS, War exists between the United States and the Confederate States ; and whereas the public welfare may require the reception of volunteer forces into the service of the Confederate States without the formality and delay of a call upon the respective States ;

“SECTION 1. *The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact :* That the President be authorized to receive into service such companies, battalions, or regiments, either mounted or on foot, as may tender themselves, and he may require, without the delay of a formal call upon the respective States, to serve for such time as he may prescribe.

“SEC. 2. Such volunteer forces who may be accepted under this act, except as herein differently provided, shall be organized in accordance with and subject to all the provisions of the act entitled ‘An act to provide for the public defense,’ and be entitled to all the allowances provided therein ; and when mustered into service, may be attached to such divisions, brigades, or regiments as the President may

direct, or ordered upon such independent or detached service as the President may deem expedient; provided, however, that battalions and regiments may be enlisted from States not of the Confederacy, and the President may appoint all or any of the field officers thereof.

"SEC. 3. The President shall be authorized to commission all officers entitled to commissions, of such volunteer forces as may be received under the provisions of this act. And upon the request of the officer commanding such volunteer regiment, battalion, or company, the President may attach a supernumerary officer to each company, detailed from the regular army for that purpose, and for such time as the President may direct.

"APPROVED May 11th, 1861."

It has been deemed proper to reproduce both of these acts in full for the important bearing they have upon other portions of the "Reminiscences," which will hereafter be noted, in regard to the state and condition of the army in Virginia in the early part of the year 1862. These public records are not mere footlights. They are mid-dome chandeliers, which fully illuminate some of the matters set forth by General Taylor in obscurity, if not in darkness. They certainly show that there was no resistance, on the part either of Congress or the President, to the enlistment of men for a longer term than twelve months. They were approved by the President as well as passed by the Congress. The Confederate Government, therefore, at Montgomery, as soon as possible after the outbreak of the war, made provision for the enlistment of forces for the war to an extent limited only by the discretion of the President.

The writer of this article, who was then at Montgomery, has no recollection whatever of the slightest resistance from any quarter to the enlistment of men in such kind of service and for such periods of time as might be desired and determined by the President. It was well known that he was in favor of a term of service longer than twelve months.

Moreover, it may here be stated that, according to the remembrance of the writer of this article (he not now having access to the records giving the exact figures), there were in the field in the early spring of 1862 not less than one hundred thousand men so enlisted for the war. There were at least forty regiments so in service from Georgia alone, if the writer of this be not mistaken in his recollection, a large majority of which forces were in Virginia.

The acts of the Confederate Congress, at Montgomery, which provided for raising forces for twelve months, or a less term, were passed before the outbreak of the war; and while it is true that a

considerable force so raised was in the field, as stated by General Taylor, yet it is also true, according to the recollection of this writer, that much the larger number of those then in the service were in for the war.

This item of General Taylor's "Reminiscences" has been thus particularly and fully noted in the outset, because, as before said, it has a very direct and important bearing upon another portion of his contribution to history, which will now be reproduced at large and without abridgment, that readers may more clearly appreciate the comments which will then be made upon it as a whole. It is in these words :

"As the year 1862 opened, and the time for active movements drew near, weighty cares attended the commander of the Army of Northern Virginia. The folly of accepting forces for the short period of twelve months, to which allusion has already been made, was now apparent. Taking service in the spring of 1861, the time of most of the troops would expire just as the Federal host in their front might be expected to advance. A large majority of the men were willing and anxious to re-enlist, provided they could first go home to arrange private affairs. Fortunately, the fearful condition of the country permitted the granting of furloughs on a large scale. Excepting on a few pikes, movements were impossible, and an army could no more have marched across-country than across New York Bay. Closet warriors, in cozy studies, with smooth McAdam roadways before their doors, sneer at the idea of military movements being arrested by mud. I apprehend these gentlemen have never served in a bad country during the rainy season, and are ignorant of the fact that in his Russian campaign the elements proved too strong for the genius of Napoleon. General Johnston met the difficulties of his position with great coolness, tact, and judgment, but his burden was by no means lightened by the interference of certain politicians at Richmond. These gentlemen were perhaps inflamed by the success that had attended the tactical efforts of their Washington peers. At all events, they now threw themselves upon military questions with much ardor. The leader was Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, Vice-President of the Confederacy, who is entitled to a place by himself. Like the celebrated John Randolph, of Roanoke, he has an acute intellect attached to a frail and meagre body. As was said by the witty Dean of St. Paul's of Francis Jeffrey, his mind is in a state of indecent exposure. A trained and skillful politician, he was for many years before the war returned to the United States House of Representatives from the district in which he resides, and his 'device' seems always to have been '*Fiat justitia, ruat cælum.*'

"When, in December, 1849, the Congress of the United States assembled there was a Whig Administration, and the same party had a very small majority in the Lower House. Mr. Stephens was an ardent Whig, and a member of the House; but he could not see his way to support his party candidate for Speaker, and this inability to find a road—plain, mayhap, to weaker organs—secured the control of the House to his political rivals. During the excited period just preceding 'secession,' Mr. Stephens held and avowed wise and moderate opinions; but, swept along

by the resistless torrent surrounding him, he discovered and proclaimed the fact that 'slavery was the corner-stone of the Confederacy.' Granting the truth of this, which is by no means admitted here, it was, in the strong vernacular of the West, 'rather piling the agony' on the humanitarians, whose sympathies were not much quickened toward us thereby. As the struggle progressed, Mr. Stephens, with all the impartiality of an equity judge, marked many of the virtues of the government north of the Potomac, and all the vices of that on his own side of the stream. Regarding the military questions in hand, he entertained, and publicly expressed, original opinions, which I will attempt to convey as accurately as possible. The war was for principles and rights. It was in the defense of these and of their property that the people had taken up arms. They could always be relied upon when a battle was imminent; but when there was no fighting to be done, they had best be at home attending to their families and interests. As their intelligence was equal to their patriotism, they were as capable of judging of the necessity of their presence with the 'colors' as the commanders of armies, who were but professional soldiers, fighting for rank and pay—most of them without property in the South. It may be observed that such opinions are more comfortably cherished by political gentlemen two hundred miles away, than by commanders immediately in front of an enemy.

"At the close of the great war, in July, 1865, I visited Washington, in the sole hope of effecting some change in the condition of Jefferson Davis, then ill and a prisoner at Fortress Monroe. Mr. Stephens happened to visit Washington at the same time, and was the object of much attention on the part of people controlling the Congress and the country. Desiring his coöperation, I sought and found him sitting near a fire, for he is of a chilly nature, smoking his pipe. He heard me in severe politeness, and, without unnecessary expenditure of enthusiasm, promised his assistance. Since the war, Mr. Stephens has again been, and is now, a representative in Congress. He has the satisfaction to know that, unlike the 'rebel brigadiers,' his presence is not a rock of offense to the loyal mind."

On this extended extract, in addition to what has already been said, the following comments will now be made:

First. The statements that Mr. Stephens was the leader of any number of politicians at Richmond, who took in hand military questions or interfered in any way with the organization of the army of General Johnston, or knew of any other politicians at Richmond doing so; or that Mr. Stephens ever, on any occasion in his life, uttered the opinions privately or publicly that the people could "always be relied upon when a battle was imminent, but when there was no fighting to be done they had best be at home attending to their families and interests;" that "as their intelligence was equal to their patriotism, they were as capable of judging of the necessity of their presence with the 'colors' as the commanders of armies, who were but professional soldiers, fighting for rank and pay, most of them without property in the South"—are utterly unfounded from the beginning to the end. They are but the figments of a

disordered imagination, without the shade of a shadow of fact to rest upon. No such opinions, sentiments, or reckless assertions were ever uttered by him.

Could he possibly have proclaimed to the South, referring to the thirty-three major-generals then in the service, including Lee, the Johnstons (Joseph E. and Albert Sidney), Beauregard, Twiggs, Polk, Early, and Stonewall Jackson, to say nothing of others in the distinguished host, that they were men "fighting only for rank and pay, most of them without property in the South"? The idea is preposterous. So far as concerns the implied intimation here made, that Mr. Stephens asserted that most of the generals were Northern born, or at least had no identification with Southern interests, it may be proper here to say he could not possibly have given any such intimation with any regard to truth, for the fact was, that of these thirty-three major-generals two only were born at the North; but this fact, in Mr. Stephens' opinion, detracted nothing then or now from their integrity, or honor, or chivalry. Further, could he have said of the one hundred and twenty-six brigadier-generals then in the field, including Ransom, Lawton, Walker, Toombs, Zollicoffer, Wise, the Georgia Jacksons, Wright, Gardner, McLews, and the brothers Cobb, to say nothing of the hundred and odd others upon this long list, that they "were men fighting only for rank and pay, most of them without property in the South"? It may be noted here, also, that only seven of these hundred and twenty-six brigadier-generals were born at the North. May it not be repeated, the very idea is preposterous! Such reckless, inconsiderate expressions were never uttered by Mr. Stephens. Whether General Taylor, by thus most grossly misrepresenting Mr. Stephens, in attributing to him sentiments and opinions which he never entertained or uttered, has made an exhibition of his own "mind in a state of indecent exposure," will be left for others to determine.

Second. It was very seldom that Mr. Stephens ventured to express his opinions upon any matter connected with military organizations or operations during the fall of 1861 or the opening of the year 1862, and when he did, it was always first to the President, and never in any factious or opposing spirit. One occasion of this sort was in relation to the position of General Albert Sidney Johnston at Bowling Green, in Kentucky. This was at the earnest request of General Humphrey Marshall, who was a thoroughly-educated and well-trained officer. Another was at the instance of Colonel Peyton Colquitt and General Howell Cobb, of Georgia, in relation to

the then state of affairs at Norfolk. The most important of these occasions, however, was one at the instance of the President himself. This was on the 6th day of November, 1861, soon after the fall of Port Royal, S. C. On this occasion, Mr. Stephens was sent for by the President to advise as to the proper officer to be appointed to take charge of the Southern coast, particularly the South Carolina and Georgia coast. He found in the Executive Room Mr. Benjamin, Secretary of War, and General Lee. The latter was then in command of an army in the mountains of Virginia, but was in Richmond for a few days on temporary leave, as Mr. Stephens understood. When the question was submitted to Mr. Stephens, who in his judgment would be a proper officer to send to the coast of South Carolina and Georgia, he promptly replied General Beauregard, who was then at Manassas. Mr. Stephens was surprised at learning for the first time that there was some estrangement between General Beauregard and the President, which rendered his appointment out of the question. He then mentioned General Joe Johnston. With deep regret he then also learned for the first time that a similar impediment existed to his appointment, growing out of that estrangement, which General Taylor in another place says became "the spring of woes unnumbered." Mr. Stephens then suggested the name of General Lee. To this the President replied by simply saying, "General, what do you say to that?" General Lee blushed deeply and reddened to the crown of his head, with a very strong protest on his part, giving many reasons why he thought he ought not to be sent. The question was argued at some length—for two or more hours, perhaps—the result of which was that General Lee was assigned to this important duty, and was off to Charleston by the next train of cars. Save these occasions, Mr. Stephens has no recollection of expressing his opinions upon military affairs to the President during the period stated by General Taylor, nor did he on any occasion during the same period say or do any thing, to or with any others, with a view to thwart the indicated policy of the President.

Third. What General Taylor says of the so-called "corner-stone" speech of Mr. Stephens is calculated to create an erroneous impression, whether it was intended so or not. The inference from his account of it is, that the idea of "corner-stone" in this connection originated with Mr. Stephens, or was "discovered" by him. The truth is, Mr. Stephens, in his speech referred to, was explaining to a popular audience the changes which had been made in the new

constitution framed at Montgomery from the old one framed at Philadelphia, upon the subject of the "peculiar institution" at the South known as slavery. He stated that there was no essential change, in the new from the old, on this subject, except to settle all controversies and questions in relation to the power of Congress over it. In the "corner-stone" metaphor, he but repeated what Judge Baldwin, of the Supreme Court of the United States, had many years before said of this "institution" under the Federal Government. In the case of Johnson against Thompson, in the United States Circuit Court for Pennsylvania, this eminent judge had declared that "the foundations of this government are laid and rest on the rights of property in slaves, and the whole fabric must fall by disturbing the 'corner-stone.'"

It was also the effort of Mr. Stephens, in the speech referred to, to show that in this country there was no such thing as "slavery," in the proper sense of that word. The relation of the races at the South was but a legal subordination of the admitted inferior to the superior; that this right of property in persons who owed service for life, under this legal subordination, did not differ essentially in principles from the like rights of property in those who owe service for a term of years in perhaps all civilized states. The difference consisted chiefly in the period of service owed under the law, so far as the rights of property in such service were concerned. Slavery, as defined by the Justinian code, had no existence in this country. Slavery, in the abstract, or as treated in public law, Mr. Stephens never defended, much less advocated. In one of the earliest speeches ever made by him in Congress—the one on the annexation of Texas, in February, 1845—these sentiments were expressed and avowed by him. They were often proclaimed by him in public speeches before the people in his State, long before secession. In those speeches he ever maintained, that if the "Institution," or this legal subordination of the colored to the white race, was not the best, or could not be made the best, for both races, morally, intellectually, and politically, it was wrong, and ought to be abolished. In politics he ever held, and now holds, no such *dogma* as that of "the greatest good to the greatest number." His position is that all systems of government should be based upon such principles as will best secure "the greatest good to all, without injury to any." No ninety-nine of any one hundred persons in any community have the right to promote their own joint welfare by the sacrifice of that of the remaining one, nor in any other proportion.

But to proceed. If the announcement of the *truth* that there was no essential change in the *new* constitution from the *old*, in this particular, was "piling on the agony" a little too strong for the "humanitarians," then the cause of the *agony* must have been the old constitution, and not what Mr. Stephens said of the new one.

Fourth. What General Taylor says of his visit to Washington in July, 1865, and his interview with Mr. Stephens on that occasion, and the "severe politeness" he received from his "chilly nature," when the sufferings of Mr. Davis were mentioned, deserves only a passing notice in conclusion. The fittest comment upon it is, that a more perfect Munchausenism was never served up for the entertainment of gullible readers. No fact is more incontrovertibly fixed in the history of this country than that Mr. Stephens was, at the time stated, closely confined himself in Fort Warren, where he was suffering, perhaps, quite as much as Mr. Davis; for it was in the damp underground casemate room in which he was then immured that he contracted that severe rheumatic affliction from which he has as yet only partially recovered.

But apart from the great, indisputable fact referred to, which utterly sets at naught the story of General Taylor's interview with Mr. Stephens in Washington, July, 1865, it might have been perhaps better for him, in the play of his fancy and imagination, while conjuring up something in disparagement of Mr. Stephens, to have kept probability in view; for, whatever may be his real faults, defects, imperfections, or infirmities, never before perhaps was heard an intimation, from any quarter, of his want of proper sympathy for human suffering in any and every shape and form in which it was manifested, whether from "man's inhumanity to man," or from the inscrutable dispensations of God.

ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL WEALTH.

II.

ANNUAL VALUE OF NATIONAL PRODUCT.

THE question of the amount of capital—the results mainly of the accumulation of their own labor—available to the people of the United States, as an instrumentality for the attainment of material abundance, in comparison with the amount of capital similarly accumulated in other countries, leads to a discussion of the comparative wealth of different nations; the value of their annual product; their annual net gain over all expenditures that is available for use as new capital in the work of reproduction, and the *per capita* of national wealth in different countries, supposing an equal distribution of wealth could be effected. The subject is one of great interest, and leads to many important conclusions; but the data accessible for its discussion are extremely imperfect, and the estimates by the best authorities can be regarded as but little more than approximately accurate.

The results of his own investigations, coupled with those instituted by MM. Reclus, Maurice Block, and Elisée, of France; M. Buschen, of Russia; and Neumann, of Austria, led the late Mr. Dudley Baxter, of England, to the conclusion¹ that during the period from 1868 to 1870 the probable annual incomes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain (England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales), of France, the German Empire, Austria, and of Russia were as follows:

Great Britain.....	\$4,300,000,000
France	4,000,000,000
German Empire.....	3,625,000,000
Austria.....	3,000,000,000
Russia.....	2,500,000,000

¹ "National Income of the United Kingdom." By R. Dudley Baxter, M.A. London, 1868.

"National Debts." By R. Dudley Baxter, M.A. London, 1871.

For the year 1875-6 the assessments and receipts on account of the income-tax indicate, as will be shown hereafter, the annual income of Great Britain to have been about *six thousand* millions of dollars or 1200 million pounds sterling.

These figures or estimates, it should be here noted, represent the *gross* annual incomes of these several nations. Their *net* annual incomes, or original earnings, out of which the nation provides food and clothing, pays all taxes and expenses, and saves for new capital, is considerably less; probably to the extent of one fourth.

Doubtless these estimates—especially those for Great Britain—seem small; but it must be remembered in judging of them that a very large proportion of the income of every nation does not represent services directly productive, but, in other words, is a second-hand or dependent income, paid out of the nation's original earnings, and unless properly allowed for, gives to any estimate of national income a magnitude that is unwarranted and deceptive.¹

¹ "Occupations have been classed by political economists in two categories: the productive, such as agriculture or manufactures; and the non-productive, such as the army or domestic service. But many occupations partake of both these characters. The occupation of conveyance by land or water is one of this kind. A very large portion of its functions are non-productive, in conveying persons or things for pleasure, or for mere change from one place to another. In another portion conveyance acts simply as a retailer, by carrying goods from the depot, when they are complete and at their standard price, to the customer or sub-customer. In the third portion alone is it quasi-productive, by enabling articles to reach the general market. Another instance is the class of tradesmen or dealers. To a certain extent they produce, but to a very great extent they simply retail; and for so doing reimburse themselves by a tax beyond the standard value of their wares, and so impose a burden on the community. Production appears to me to cease at the moment when it has lodged the product in the hands of the wholesale dealer. The product has then contributed its maximum addition to the wealth of the nation, and is so much currency, capable of realizing a certain value, whether sent abroad or retained for home consumption. But after that point, every additional agent or retailer diminishes its power of supplying the national wants. The retail dealer is in the nature of a servant who is paid to fetch and distribute the articles of which there is need."

"For these reasons I suggest an intermediate class for occupations of a mixed character, and which, from the aid it often lends to production, I should call the auxiliary class. I should place in this class the income derived from houses, which are, for the most part, connected but indirectly with production."

"The classification into productive and non-productive is, in reality, of a superficial character and inaccurate, because every class contributes something toward production. The soldier who guards industry, the maid-servant who sets free her master for productive labor, as truly aid in production as the laborer himself. The physician who heals, the lawyer who arranges disputes, the clergyman whose secular office is to promote virtue and morality, each fulfill an important function, without which the machinery of work would be impeded or stopped. It would be more

But correct or not, the estimates given are the results of the only investigations that have been made on the subject, and by men whose ability to arrive at correct opinions can not be questioned.

HOW MUCH OF NATIONAL ANNUAL PRODUCT IS SAVED?

How much of these annual incomes is annually saved, and made available for use as new capital, is also variously estimated; but it is a current opinion among economists that the Frenchman, considered nationally, saves more out of his income comparatively than an Englishman, and that, as a whole, the British people are more economical than the Americans. As far back as 1841, Sir Robert Peel, in discussing the comparative wealth of England and France, remarked to a French statesman, as the result of his observations, that in England, one person in five spends all his income or his earnings: but in France, there is scarcely one in forty who does the same, and the other *thirty-nine* make savings; and Victor Bonnet, from whom the anecdote is derived, adds that subsequent investigations went far to sustain the correctness of Sir Robert Peel's statement.

On the other hand, nothing is more certain than that the efficiency of the labor employed upon the great staples of production is very much greater in England than in France; and if the Eng-

accurate to classify the different occupations into the two heads of productive and auxiliary, and to drop the term non-productive."

"But for the purpose of distinguishing the income that is an original and fresh contribution to the common stock from that which is merely derived from the first, the three terms afford a useful distinction. By income of the productive classes, I mean income that is the earnings of production—the money received in exchange for the material products of the nation's toil—and which is generally a new acquisition to the nation's property. By income of the non-productive classes, I mean income paid out of the first income for services not directly productive, and which appears twice over in the total income of the two classes. By income of the auxiliary classes, I mean income which in some instances belongs to the first of these classes, and in others to the second, and which sometimes receives first-hand, and sometimes second-hand, or derived income. The nation produces say £500,000,000 worth of cloth, machinery, corn, and other goods, the twelvemonths' yield of her industry, which is for the most part credited to the producers as income, and out of which all her population have to live. They exchange amongst each other, eat part, are clothed with part, sell to other nations and get cash for part, and store up savings and capital. But the auxiliary and non-productive have for the most part to be fed out of this income fund, and so far their income is credited over again in the national balance-sheet." ("National Income." By R. Dudley Baxter, M.A. London, 1868, pp. 67-72.)

lishman expends more comparatively than the Frenchman, he can plead in justification that he is able to do so, inasmuch as he earns more through his labor. Thus, there is no department of statistical inquiry the results of which can be accepted with such entire confidence as the exhibits that are annually made of the comparative agricultural production of the United Kingdom and of France; because it is of vital importance to the finance and business of the two countries, that their people should know every year the extent of their domestic supply of food and the probable price of bread; and an examination of these returns has long ago proved that the average product of an acre of wheat in Great Britain is at least equal to that of two acres in France. For with five times greater area of land annually devoted to the growing of wheat in France than in Great Britain, the average annual wheat product of France is generally but little more than twice the average annual wheat product of Great Britain; and with nearly double the extent of territory, France has also no more live-stock than Great Britain. In France there are some 5,500,000 employed in the management and cultivation of the soil. In the United Kingdom there are about 1,340,000, including both owners and occupiers. Commenting on this disparity of numbers engaged in agricultural work in the two countries, and on the disparity in agricultural results measured by certain annual staple products, Mr. James Caird, in a paper read before the British Social Science Association in 1877, says: "We" (in Great Britain) "concentrate the well-applied labor of one seventh of our people, directed by skill and economized by capital, on the full development of our agriculture, leaving free for other industries the power, intelligence, and capital of six sevenths. If, like the French, five sixths of the population were dependent on the land, each one providing from his small estate little more than his family consumed, we should, like them, long before this have been devising schemes for limiting our number within our means of feeding them: for that limitation is the natural consequence of the French system of land tenure; namely, a small number of great land-owners, and a large number of small owners who are also cultivators.

Annual Savings of France.—M. Victor Bonnet, of France, writing in 1873, considered it susceptible of proof that the annual savings of France were in excess of 2,000,000,000 francs (\$400,000,000), and possibly reached 3,000,000,000 (\$600,000,000), before the Franco-

Prussian War;¹ and that this annual saving has been kept up if not increased since the war. If the largest of these estimates be correct, then the ratio of annual savings to the annual gross national income of France, as estimated by Mr. Baxter for 1868-70, is fifteen per cent. That the annual savings of France, furthermore, are really very large, is proved by the circumstance that France actually did pay as ransom, and transfer to Germany in the short space of two years and a half (1871-1873-'74), a capital represented by gold, or its equivalent, of more than a thousand million dollars; and this, too, without disturbing in the slightest degree the industry or foreign commercial relations of the country, and without seriously impairing its stock of the precious metals.

¹ "It is difficult to say how much all the united savings of the nation (France) annually amount to. If we had an income-tax, as they have in England, reaching all branches of the public wealth, we might, by capitalizing the increase of income each year subject to taxation, estimate with some degree of accuracy the amount of annual saving; but this method is wanting to us, and we have nothing to take the place of it, so that we are reduced to the use of approximative data. Let us first consider the extraordinary expenses which have been incurred within a given period. If we can calculate these expenses, and show that they have not made us poorer, we shall have the right to conclude that the country has paid them out of its surplus, and that they represent not more than the amount of its savings. Now, during the period of the Second Empire, we borrowed, partially to cover deficiencies in the budget, and partially to satisfy extraordinary wants, as for the Crimean and Italian wars, about 4,500,000,000 francs (\$900,000,000); or nearly 250,000,000 francs (\$50,000,000) a year for nineteen years. We expended in extraordinary public works, railways and the like, at least 1,000,000,000 francs (\$200,000,000); we devoted to improvements of all sorts, which are represented by more comfortable habitations and richer interior appointments, a yearly sum equal, perhaps, to 500,000,000 francs (\$100,000,000); and the embellishments of the city of Paris alone absorbed more than 200,000,000 francs (\$40,000,000). If now we add to these our portion of the revenue derived from industrial enterprises in other countries, and from foreign loans, which must amount to 5,000,000,000 francs (\$1,000,000,000) more, or 260,000,000 francs (\$52,000,000) a year, we arrive at a round sum of 2,000,000,000 francs (\$400,000,000) of annual savings. And yet, in spite of this extraordinary use of capital, before the war of 1870, France was far from being exhausted; it sustained easily the burdens which an improvident government had imposed upon it, and had vast resources in reserve to meet unexpected necessities. This was clearly manifested during the war; and, what still better attests the fact, is the facility with which the country has risen from its reverses. It could only have found means of doing this in the resources previously accumulated. We may, therefore, assert that the sum of 2,000,000,000 francs (\$400,000,000) does not fully represent the annual savings of the country, which ought to be considerably larger." (*M. Victor Bonnet, on the Payment of the Indemnity*. American translation by George Walker. New York, Appleton, 1875.)

Annual Savings of Great Britain.—The opinions of recent writers in respect to the amount of the annual savings of Great Britain differ—as might naturally be expected, in the absence of wholly reliable data—very considerably. M. Bonnet, in his investigations into the annual savings of France (before referred to), alludes to them as approximating one thousand millions of dollars; and Mr. James Caird, the well-known English authority on the agricultural statistics of Great Britain, in the paper above quoted from, refers to the present savings of capital in England (The United Kingdom?) as “computed at £150,000,000 (\$750,000,000) annually.”

There are, however, certain elements in the case of Great Britain for forming an opinion respecting her annual income and savings which admit of no dispute, and which are, undoubtedly, superior to any similar data afforded by the records and experience of any other country. Great Britain has, and for many years has had, an annual income-tax,¹ which, with her comparatively limited territory, compact population, observance of law, and trained officials, is assessed and collected with as much of accuracy as any such tax ever, probably, can be. Let us now see what of information is afforded by the records of this tax-experience.

The annual income of Great Britain from interest, earnings, salaries, rents, etc., *chargeable with the income-tax*, and her annual income from the same sources, but paid to individuals in sums too small to be assessed for income, are believed to be about the same in amount. For the year 1867, Mr. Dudley Baxter found the income of Great Britain, assessable to the income-tax, to have been £408,000,000 (\$2,040,000,000), of which £374,000,000 (\$1,870,000,000) actually paid duty; and estimated, by methods of reasoning deemed correct by British economists and financiers, £407,000,000 (\$1,870,000,000) as the aggregate of British incomes for the same year, which, specifically, were below the limits of the income-tax; making the total annual income of the kingdom for 1867 £815,000,000 (or \$4,075,000,000). The average increase in incomes and earnings in Great Britain from 1867 to 1870 was also

¹ In 1870, the income-tax of Great Britain was 4*d.* in the pound on all incomes above £100 (\$500), with an abatement of £60 on all incomes under £200. In 1876-'7, the British income-tax was 2*d.* in the pound on earnings and salaries, in excess of £100, or four fifths of *one* per cent; 3*d.* on incomes from land and tenements; with an abatement of £120 on all incomes above £150 and under £400.

estimated by the same authority to have been at the rate of about £15,000,000 (\$75,000,000) per annum.¹

The *increase of income* from capital and profits chargeable with the income-tax in Great Britain, during the ten years from 1855 to 1865, was £62,000,000 (\$310,000,000), or at the rate of \$31,000,000 per annum. Supposing an equal amount of increase from earnings and savings in that portion of the national income which is not taxable, the average annual increase in the income of Great Britain, for the period under consideration, was \$62,000,000 (or £12,500,000), a somewhat smaller average annual gain than was estimated by Mr. Baxter for a portion of the years in the succeeding decade. The official figures of this next decade exhibit, however, the following remarkable results:

Thus, for the fiscal year 1865, the gross amount (exclusive of all exemptions) of income assessed to income-tax in Great Britain was £396,000,000 (\$1,980,000,000); and in 1875, the corresponding amount was £571,000,000 (\$2,855,000,000). Here, then, was a certain increase in the *gross taxable income* of the United Kingdom for the ten years specified of about 44 per cent; or, in the absolute, of £175,000,000 (\$875,000,000); or at the rate of £17,500,000 (\$87,500,000) per annum. The amount, exclusive of all exemptions, on which income-tax was actually paid was £349,000,000 (\$1,745,000,000) in 1865, and £498,000,000 (\$2,490,000,000) in 1875; showing an increase of 43 per cent.

Commenting on these comparative and official returns, the *London Times*, under date of November 18th, 1877, said:

“Taking into account the increase of exemptions and abatements from the income-tax, which has been a characteristic of our recent finance, we can well believe that the real increase of net income must have been more, and must have exceeded the proportionate increase of gross income. That the net incomes chargeable to income-tax, if the exemptions were the same now as in 1865, would considerably exceed 500 millions, there can be no doubt; and altogether, allowing as well for the incomes under Schedule D which escape assessment through incomplete returns, we can hardly err in placing the net incomes of the income-tax-paying classes at somewhere about 600 millions sterling. But the income thus arrived at does not include the large incomes in the aggregate of the wages-receiving classes, or the incomes of many in the upper and middle classes which are under the income-tax limits; and this remainder can hardly be taken as less than another 600 millions. What with the increase of population and the great rise of wages which has occurred since 1867, there is no reason to believe that the proportion of the aggregate

¹ “National Debts,” by R. Dudley Baxter, p. 17.

income of the country to what pays income-tax is less now than it was when Mr. Dudley Baxter wrote, and this proportion would give about 1200 millions sterling as the aggregate. There is thus some sanction beyond mere conjecture for putting the aggregate income of the country at the latter figure.”¹

Since the above article appeared in the *London Times*, the amount of incomes, profits, etc., assessed to income-tax for the fiscal year 1876 has been officially made public, and proves to be, as the *Times* surmised, in excess of 500 millions sterling; namely, £503,676,938 (\$2,518,384,690).

What amount of new capital earned and saved is represented by the annual increase in the national income of Great Britain, which the official figures prove to have occurred from 1865 to 1876, can only be conjectured; and any attempt to estimate it, assuming the most moderate percentage as the basis for calculation, leads to results that seem utterly incredible.

The following table shows the total gross amount of the annual value (income) of property and of profits assessed in Great Britain to the income-tax for the several years from 1861 to 1875, inclusive,

¹ In this same article the *London Times* estimates that out of Great Britain's total annual income (for 1876-77) of £1,200,000,000, “the probable *maximum* amount of *net income*” derived from all the exports of the United Kingdom is not in excess of £140,000,000 (\$700,000,000). “In addition,” it continues, “there are, no doubt, indirect benefits in the connection between our trade and shipping interests which are difficult to estimate, but no large sum important for such an inquiry as the present would fail to be added in that way to the amount. Comparing, then, £140,000,000 with £1,200,000,000, it is at once seen that the labor and capital engaged in foreign manufacturing is only a fraction of our whole industry. England might still be a great and prosperous country—not so great and prosperous as it is now, but still great and prosperous—even if the whole of that fraction were to be at once swept away. But even if we were to lose our entire foreign custom, the whole of the income from what we send to foreigners would not be lost. The machines and tools used in manufacturing and the laborers would remain, and some use could be made of them. Only the difference between what would be earned in that use and what we now get from abroad in return would be lost. The precise net loss would be difficult to state; but it would be something much less than £140,000,000, and perhaps not a tenth or a twelfth of the aggregate income of £1,200,000,000. It is evident that no such loss would be fatal to a great country. It would make us no worse, probably, than the reimposition of the taxes which have been remitted during the last 20 years, and would be a less calamity, in proportion, than the economic losses of the Franco-German war to France, which was much less fitted beforehand than we are to stand such a calamity. Probably it could all be made up by the community sacrificing only a portion of that additional leisure which it has acquired during the last 30 years, in addition to the increase of money, wages, and profits.” (*London Times*, Nov. 18th, 1877.)

with the absolute and percentage annual rate of increase; a pound sterling being assumed as the equivalent of five dollars:

YEARS.	Gross Assessed Income.	Annual Increase.	Annual Percentage Increase.
1861.....	\$1,678,270,000
1862.....	1,756,725,000	\$78,455,000	4.28 p. c.
1863.....	1,795,710,000	38,985,000	2.17 "
1864.....	1,855,510,000	59,800,000	3.22 "
1865.....	1,979,140,000	123,630,000	6.24 "
1866.....	2,065,525,000	86,385,000	4.18 "
1867.....	2,118,650,000	53,125,000	2.50 "
1868.....	2,151,840,000	33,190,000	1.50 "
1869.....	2,174,015,000	22,175,000	1.02 "
1870.....	2,224,570,000	50,555,000	2.27 "
1871.....	2,322,470,000	97,900,000	4.21 "
1872.....	2,411,690,000	89,220,000	3.69 "
1873.....	2,569,035,000	157,345,000	6.13 "
1874.....	2,715,125,000	146,090,000	5.38 "
1875.....	2,855,280,000	140,155,000	4.90 "

Some further light on this question of the annual income of Great Britain, and the amount of her annual savings from such income, may possibly be thrown by the curious statistics of the London investment market, which show the amount of bonds, stocks, and government loans offered for a series of years to the British public, and which offers have to a very large extent been actually accepted or taken up. Thus, in the year 1872, the aggregate of these offers amounted to the large sum of £303,749,000, or over \$1,500,000,000; and of this amount £57,358,000, or \$337,000,000, were known to have been paid up during the year on the total subscribed; the American loans, exclusive of Federal transactions, having been about \$82,000,000. For the year 1873, the total of new loans offered was 209,000,000 pounds sterling, or over \$1,000,000,000. The years 1872 and 1873 were, however, for Great Britain, years of great apparent prosperity; and one of the best recognized authorities on English finance, speaking on the subject in the summer of 1873, remarked to the writer, that the rapidity with which wealth appeared to be accumulating in Great Britain, and the amount of actual capital seeking investment, was something almost incredible, even to those most conversant with the situation, and that its ultimate result constituted a problem of the greatest interest. The existing commercial and industrial depression commenced in England in the fall of 1873; and its progressive effect is strikingly shown in the circumstance

that the aggregate of new investments offered in the London market ran down from £209,000,000, or \$1,045,000,000, in 1873, to £74,000,000, or \$373,000,000, in 1874; and to £35,441,000, or \$177,000,000, in 1875; or the amount offered in 1875 was only 18 per cent of the annual average of the *three* preceding years. Notwithstanding this, the fact that the amount of British national income, which British tax-officials could get hold of for assessment and taxation, increased *every* year from 1850 to 1876, inclusive, would seem to prove, beyond all question, that, whatever may have been the character of the times—good or bad—during the last quarter of a century, the aggregate of British wealth has been, during all this period, continually increasing, and at times with marvelous rapidity. And that the present disturbed condition of financial and industrial affairs has not yet materially affected the resources of the great bulk of the population of the United Kingdom, would appear to be further indicated by the following incidents of recent British revenue experience.

Great Britain, as a feature of her revenue system, imposes stamp-taxes on bills of exchange and (a penny stamp) on receipts, drafts, etc. From 1870 to 1874, the receipts from bill-stamps increased with great rapidity, or in the ratio of about 37 per cent, for the period named; but from 1874 to 1877, there has been an almost equally rapid decline in the revenue from this source—*i.e.*, from £985,000 in 1874, to £780,000 in 1877. On the other hand, the revenue from penny receipt-stamps exhibits no falling off, but continues to progressively and rapidly increase. The explanation of this financial phenomenon, according to the *London Economist*, is not, however, difficult. From 1870 to 1874, the trade of the United Kingdom was rapidly expanding, with prices continually rising, and “the bills created grew both in number and amount.” Since 1874, the decline in prices and the dullness of trade have reduced the amounts for which bills are drawn, and also the number of bills. But at the same time the increase in the British revenues from the penny receipt-stamps would indicate that the retail trade of the United Kingdom has been going on pretty much as usual. The conclusions of the *Economist* would, therefore, seem to be warranted; namely, that, while the great British manufacturing and wholesale business has been of late greatly disturbed, there has been, at the same time, “little change in the everyday requirements of the British people;” and that the continued growth in the revenue from the stamp-tax on receipts “shows the purchasing power

of the (British) masses to have remained comparatively untouched." The official returns of the savings-banks of the United Kingdom also show an increase in the deposits for the twelve months ending December, 1877, of £2,735,000 (\$13,675,000), which is a much better exhibit than the United States, with a much larger system of savings institutions, can make for the same period ;¹ and the Provident and Building Societies of Great Britain also report for the same period figures even more satisfactory and remarkable. While there is a present great and growing distress from suspension of production in all the large coal and iron districts of England, there has been of late years a continuous decrease in the number of persons receiving public relief (paupers) in the country generally; the number of paupers (exclusive of vagrants) receiving public relief in England and Wales having declined from 1,081,926 in 1871, to 815,587 in 1875, and 728,350 in 1877; in Scotland, from 128,976 in 1868, to 100,105 in 1876; and in Ireland, from 80,993 in 1875, to 78,528 in 1877.

The product of iron in the greatest iron-producing district of Great Britain—the Cleveland—was also larger for the calendar year 1877 than for any former like period in its history, namely, 2,100,000 tons—a quantity slightly in excess of the entire production of the United States for the year 1876 (namely, 2,093,236 tons). Of this amount, 1,800,000 tons went into consumption, being distributed over nearly all the countries of the world; a fact which indicates that, if the iron production of the United States has been largely diminished, it is not because foreign countries, not supplying themselves with iron, have ceased to purchase this commodity in large quantities in the open market. And although the *value* of the shipments (exports) of British and Irish produce show a recent large decline, £199,000,000 in 1877 as against £201,000,000 in 1876, and an average of £239,500,000 for the five years, 1871–75, the results of the exports for the year 1877 assume an entirely different aspect when quantities are taken as the basis of comparison in place of values. Thus the quantity of British manufactured cottons—yarns and piece-goods—exported during the year 1877 was in excess of any previous year's export; while in respect to woolen goods, the total export was 44,554,000 yards, in comparison with 42,058,000 yards exported in 1875. And in a recent contribution to

¹ Comparing equal periods, the deposits in the savings-banks of the United States fell from 891 millions in 1875–1876 to 866 millions in 1876–77, a reduction in twelve months of 25 millions.

the London *Economist* (December, 1877), by Mr. William Rathbone, M.P., of Liverpool, entitled "*Waste not, Want not*," and which has attracted no little attention in Great Britain, the author especially refers to this very noticeable and interesting fact, that there has been no such thing as a "*depression in trade*" in Great Britain during the last two years, in the sense in which this expression is ordinarily used. "Trade," he says, "may have been unprofitable, *but it has not been depressed*. Its volume has continued to increase, and the prices of merchandise have readily responded to any actual or prospective deficiency in supply. Excessive competition, *arising out of an excess of surplus capital*, has alone prevented merchants and other members of the wholesale distributing classes from benefiting by a state of things which, in the absence of such superabundant capital and excessive competition, would have resulted in fair, if not large profits."

In short, the recent rapid and enormous increase in the wealth of the British nation—an increase which, in spite of the now long-continued depression of business, does not seem to have been arrested—and which, for each and every year from 1870 to 1875, inclusive, appears to have been at least equivalent to an annual growth of one thousand millions of new capital (as estimated by the French economist, M. Victor Bonnet), constitutes one of the most wonderful of the many startling economic and social phenomena which are characterizing this latter half of the nineteenth century; and the full significance and meaning of which, it is evident, are not yet fully understood and appreciated.

The amount of value of certain foreign public securities, which are owned and held in Great Britain as permanent investments of capital, and pay interest regularly to their owners, mainly British citizens, may be approximately estimated as follows:

American securities—Federal, State, municipal, and corporate, six hundred millions of dollars (\$600,000,000), paying an average interest of *six* per cent.

Of government guaranteed investments in India, over nine hundred millions of dollars (\$900,000,000), paying an average interest of four and a half per cent.

Australian loans, two hundred millions of dollars (\$200,000,000), paying an average rate of interest of *five* per cent.

Of loans of the Dominion of Canada, one hundred millions of dollars (\$100,000,000), paying an average rate of interest of four and a half per cent.

Total, eighteen hundred millions, yielding an estimated revenue of over ninety millions per annum. In addition to these specified investments of accumulated British capital, it is probable that the British people own to-day a not inconsiderable share in the national debts of every country or state in the world other than those above specified; and are also stockholders, bondholders, or partners in numberless business enterprises or miscellaneous investments—land, plantations, buildings, railways, mines, shipping, fisheries, and the like—in every quarter of the globe; the annual income from all of which, even after making the largest allowance for defalcations, must be always very considerable. So much of the interest or returns of these enormous investments as are annually remitted to Great Britain in the form of merchandise or commodities (and such is the form in which a great part of such remittances always are made) appear in the official reports of the trade and commerce of Great Britain as imports of foreign merchandise, and to a great degree account for the constant large annual excess of British imports over British annual exports.

Recent Contributions of Foreign Capital to the United States.—A summary of information relative to the recent contributions of foreign (European) capital to the United States, is also here pertinent.

The amount of subscriptions made in London for a series of years prior to 1874, to American loans—other than Federal—appears, from the examination of a large amount of data, to have averaged about \$90,000,000 per annum, loans taken on the Continent conjointly with London being included. The amount of investments in American securities taken by or through Holland, mainly in the five years prior to 1875, has been estimated by the best authorities in Amsterdam as about \$125,000,000, of which sixty-four per cent in 1876 had defaulted on their interest.

The opinion of the writer, after a very careful examination of the subject, is that, from 1866 to 1875, the amount of European capital drawn to the United States for loan or investment, exclusive of all Federal transactions, has averaged about \$100,000,000 per annum; which estimate, if correct, would indicate an amount of *nominal* foreign indebtedness—including Federal loans—much in excess of the amount recently estimated by the officials at Washington. The people of the United States can not reasonably complain, therefore, that they have not had since the war large advantage from the use of foreign capital to assist in their material

development ; and also that they have not had it sufficiently cheap, inasmuch as they have thus far practically given nothing in return for a very large proportion of it, and probably never will. But in this respect, as will be hereafter shown, we have not had one rule for our neighbors and another for ourselves ; but have mulcted home people and strangers, who have had any thing of surplus capital to invest, with the greatest impartiality.

During the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1877, the balance of trade in favor of the United States was \$153,000,000 ; that is, our exports exceeded our imports by this sum. As nothing to represent this balance, of which the Custom-House could take cognizance, came back to us, our exports of coin and bullion for 1876-7 exceeding our imports of the same by \$2,332,000, it will be interesting, and to some extent illustrative of the questions above discussed, to briefly consider the use to which this large excess in value of our exports over our imports was made applicable. There are but four objects for which such a balance could have been used in 1876-7, to any extent ; namely, for the payment of interest on foreign-held obligations of indebtedness ; for freights on merchandise transported to or from the United States in foreign vessels ; for the traveling expenses of Americans traveling or residing abroad ; and for the purchase and return of bonds, or the liquidation of other evidences of indebtedness ; but data do not exist for accurately determining how much is annually appropriated for these several objects. An estimate having some claims to approximative accuracy would, however, be somewhat as follows : for interest, *sixty to seventy millions* ; for foreign freights, *thirty-five millions* (estimated by the Secretary of the Treasury in 1869 at *forty-seven millions*) ;¹ for expenditures of Americans in foreign countries, *thirty millions* ; return of bonds and payments of foreign indebtedness, *fifteen to twenty millions*,² over and above whatever of new capital was borrowed by the United States in Europe during the year, and remitted in the form of such evidences of debt as are internationally negotiable. During the recent previous years in which the balance of trade in favor of the United States has been small, or wholly or

¹ Freights in British bottoms have experienced a reduction, since 1874, of about one third.

² A larger amount of American securities owned abroad, than are here named, were undoubtedly returned to the United States during the last months of 1877 (fiscal year 1877-8), in consequence of the proposition in Congress to remonetize silver, and make it an unlimited legal tender for the settlement of past indebtedness

largely adverse (as was the case especially in 1869, 1872, and 1873), American indebtedness to Europe, occurring under the above specified heads, was almost wholly settled by the sale of bonds (obligations of indebtedness), Federal, State, and corporate; the principal and interest of no inconsiderable part of which, it is well known, has been suspended or wholly repudiated.

It is the opinion of those best qualified to judge from our recent experience in refunding, that of our present national funded indebtedness (amounting now to 1726 millions), only about 400 to 500 millions are now held in Europe, 425 to 450 millions being named as the approximate figures.

Annual Income and Savings of Germany, Austria, and Russia.—In the absence of all data, or data readily accessible, it is impossible to report any thing in detail respecting the annual incomes and annual savings of capital in Germany, Austria, or Russia. All that can be affirmed with accuracy is, that the power for the production of wealth, growing out of natural resources, accumulated capital, and the use of machinery, is less in these countries than in France, Great Britain, or the United States; and that they devote a vastly larger proportion of their annual product to unprofitable military expenditures than either of the two great English-speaking nations. Recent investigations made by the German Government at Berlin, with a view of collecting an income-tax, are reported to have showed that two thirds of the population of that city (population in 1871, 825,000) were not in the enjoyment of an annual assessable income of *one hundred dollars*.

THE MEXICO OF THE MEXICANS.

MEXICO, by virtue of her peculiar geographical and wonderful latent resources, is inevitably destined, in the progress of time, under one race or another, to attain a preëminently commanding rank in the affairs of the world. Dividing the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, stretching midway between Europe and Asia, and possessing the peculiar topographical conformation which Nature has given her, she holds a geographical position which may enable her to claim tribute from modern European civilization on the one hand, from ancient Asiatic civilization on the other. While on her eastern shores she may open her ports to the ceaseless activity of the overcrowded markets of Europe, on her western she has within easy reach the countless islands of the Pacific, Australia, Japan, China, and India. Northward she has the great republic, and southward the less favored Spanish Americas, all whose wants she may readily supply from the immense variety and boundless wealth of her natural productions. Within her own limits she surpasses every country in the world in the natural advantages of her climates, which range from the torrid to the equatorial, as also in her fertile soil, in her agricultural, pastoral, and mineral wealth—her valleys and mountains teeming with hidden treasures, which only await the call of industry to spring forth for the use of mankind.

So favorably situated, so bounteously endowed, Mexico thus has at her command more inherent elements than any other country ever possessed to build up a mighty, prosperous, and happy nation. And under a united people, her superior position and boundless wealth must necessarily give her great national development and stability, while her remarkable topographical conformation must necessarily give her a military advantage almost invulnerable.

But how is it, then, it will at once be asked, that the Mexicans have not made use of these magnificent favors which Nature has so lavishly conferred upon their privileged soil? Mexico has been

too much and too unfairly derided by the world for her misfortunes, and it has grown into a custom to paint her as writhing hopelessly under incurable political and social miseries, and to contrast her woes with our own happiness without studying their causes, without remembering that this struggling young republic of Mexico was born under circumstances essentially different from those which ushered this great republic of the north into national existence. While the latter was born under the advancing sun of modern civilization, the former was the child of that chaotic fifteenth-century darkness which, wafted westward in the track of Cortes, found its focus in the valley of Anahuac. While the heritage of the one was peace, liberty, and the suffrage, the heritage of the other was fratricidal war, political chaos, and the bigotry of a class. And to shake herself free from this terrible heritage, Mexico has struggled for more than half a century. To wrest liberty from this bigotry, to transform this chaos into order, to turn the horrors of fratricidal war into the peaceful pursuits of commerce, is the work of her fast-succeeding revolutions. To substitute a liberal constitution for the crushing sway of a perverted clergy, to curb political ambition within the limits of that constitution, to place individual liberty, personal security, and freedom of thought, as the foremost guarantees of the national code, have been the ultimate aim of the progressive portion of her people. The story of her sixty years of insurrectionary outbreaks is thus the story of a people struggling to free themselves from the incubus of a long, dark night of unprecedented misrule—the terrible ordeal through which they had to pass to attain political education, to arrive at the development of their great latent resources for national unity, national stability, and national happiness. The sanguinary revolutions which so long have devastated this land, so favored by Heaven, so desolated by man, have been necessary to the realization of her political and social liberty—necessary to her progress in civilization, necessary to her national regeneration. Each new revolt crushed a grievance, each new uprising eradicated a curse, engendered by the misrule of her conquerors. To conceive to their full extent the entailed woes and inherited evils from which the Mexicans have had to free their republic, from the first hour of its inception down to the last revolution—from the midnight hour of September, 1810, when Hidalgo proclaimed the first of the long succession of popular uprisings, to the last battle-field in November, 1876, when Diaz proclaimed the freedom of elections—one should study closely their colonial his-

tory, and observe minutely the scars inflicted upon the country by the rule of old Spain. And I venture the assertion that history nowhere presents another example of so much inherited misrule, of so many inveterate causes of political and social woes having been uprooted in so short a period of time as the six decades of Mexico's independence from her mother country. Want of space prevents the presentation here of a view of the early colonial history of Mexico.

When, in 1808, the news reached Mexico that the troops of Napoleon had invaded the mother country, deposed Ferdinand VII., and placed Joseph Bonaparte on the throne of Spain, the whole political organization of the country became unsettled, and the people—Spaniards, Creoles, mixed race, and Indians—conceived the wildest theories for their future government. Ferdinand VII. sent orders to transfer their allegiance to France. While old Spaniards vacillated, the clergy, remembering that the French had deposed the Church, and enthroned Reason in her place, ranged themselves at the head of the Creoles, upon whom many of the lower offices of the Church had been latterly bestowed; and these lower orders of the clergy coming in constant contact with the masses of their countrymen, swayed their minds in any desired direction. Instructed by the higher dignitaries of the Church, they exercised their priestly influence in favor of the policy of the clergy; and we find the clergy, the Creoles, and the mixed race strenuously opposing allegiance to France and supporting the mother country.

In the meantime the Indians rose suddenly in insurrection. In the night of the 16th September, 1810, Hidalgo raised the standard of revolt, and called upon the Creoles and mixed race to join—not to struggle for independence, but to free themselves from the physical and intellectual oppression of their masters in the colony. The prompt success of the movement depended upon the Creoles, who then formed a large part of the royalist troops. The insurgents soon met government forces, and attacked them. These happened to be Creoles. At the same time the Indians fell upon various towns, and massacred Spaniards and Creoles indiscriminately, who were thus impelled to union for mutual defense. A fearful war of castes raged with savage ferocity on both sides. The Church opposed the Indian insurgents, and excommunicated their whole force in a body. Hidalgo, captured and shot in 1811, was succeeded by Morelos, who continued the insurrection until, from mountain gorges beyond the reach of the royalist troops, he called a National

Congress, which, on the 22d of October, 1814, declared the independence of Mexico, and proclaimed her first constitution at Apatzingo.

As these events were occurring, the downfall of Napoleon restored Ferdinand to the throne of Spain. Throwing himself into the hands of the reactionary party, he refused to recognize the liberal constitution proclaimed by the Cortes, in March, 1812, which granted to the colonies one representative for every 70,000 inhabitants. The colonists remonstrated. The king refused to listen to any representations. The Creoles, then, in their turn, thought seriously of independence, and gradually manifested sympathies for the insurgent cause. In 1820, joined by the mixed race, they openly declared for Revolution and Independence. Thus it was that the uprising of the Indians under Hidalgo, in 1810, to free themselves from the oppression of their masters, became, in 1820, the struggle of the Creoles, the mixed race, and the Indians, for absolute independence.

It is curious and worthy of note, that, while the influence and wealth of the clergy were steadily directed to the perpetuation of the dominion of Spain over Mexico, it was a priest—the Cura Hidalgo, in whose veins flowed the “blue blood” of the proud conquerors, mingled with the American blood of the conquered Aztecs—who first raised the standard of insurrection; and on this standard was borne the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe, the patron saint of the Indians. As the perverted and ambitious clergy had been the main instrument in crushing the manhood of the Indian and the Creole, so it was a poor and simple priest of the mixed race who initiated the first of the long series of revolutionary struggles which, in 1857, broke the political power of the Church, restored its vast accumulations of wealth to the people, and banished the monks and nuns of one hundred and fifty convents from the republic—thus escaping from one extreme to fall into the other.

The determined struggle for independence may, as we have seen, be dated from 1820. The viceroy waged the war with relentless fury, shooting every insurgent that fell into his hands. The clergy for a while vacillated. When the political condition of Spain compelled Ferdinand, in March, 1820, to revert to the liberal constitution of 1812, all hope of maintaining their power by royal aid was lost; and then resolutely they threw the whole weight of their wealth and influence into the cause of the insurgents, but with the covert design of inviting Ferdinand to cross the Atlantic to become

Emperor of Mexico. Their instrument in this project was Agustin Yturvide, a fierce soldier of the royalist army, who, although a Creole, had been devoted to the clerical interests. At their instigation he declared for the insurgent cause; and, rapidly rallying the Creoles and mixed race under his standard, marched upon the capital. On his way, on the 24th February, 1821, he issued the "Plan of Iguala," which reiterated the declaration of independence, and proclaimed the equality of the people, the establishment of an empire, the invitation of Ferdinand to the throne of Mexico, and the formation of a national army for the support of religion, independence, and union, in virtue of which this pact received the name of "the Three Guarantees." The potent influence of the clergy is evident throughout this organization, whose sole object was to secure their power in every department of state, and thus virtually to rule the new empire.

By the treaty of Cordoba (24th August, 1821), Yturvide, aided by the clergy, drew from the Viceroy O'Donoju the recognition of Mexico's independence, and the acceptance of Mexico's throne for Ferdinand and his heirs, Yturvide himself being charged with the government until the arrival of the monarch. Thus, after eleven years of fierce struggle, the Creoles, the mixed race, and the Indians of Mexico won their independence from Spain, and made their first step toward political and social regeneration, without having acquired the education to prepare them for self-government, made careless of the present and reckless of the future by three hundred years of the severest exactions, accustomed to see the most sacred dignities of the Church perverted by immorality, and the highest offices of the state debased by profligacy.

But the lull in the political storm was of short duration. Conflicting interests rapidly developed into rival political parties, resulting in two grand political divisions--the Monarchists and the Republicans, each further divided into two sections. The former consisted of Bourbonists and Yturbidists; the latter of Centralists and Federalists. The Bourbonists adhered to the idea of bringing Ferdinand across the Atlantic, and, aided by the clergy, were the dominant party. The Yturbidists advocated the elevation of their hero to the throne, and the creation of a native dynasty; supported by the military, they were by no means weak. The Republicans, constituting the needy minority, merged their differences to give force to their project of a republic; their solitary hope centered in the brilliant success of republican institutions in the north. And now

came the haughty refusal of the Spanish Cortes to ratify the treaty of Cordoba, at once crushing the aspirations of the Bourbonists and the clergy. The action of the Yturbidists was rapid and decisive. In May, 1822, they proclaimed the Emperor Agustin I., and the clergy ranged themselves under his imperial banner, as the only remaining means to secure their wealth and power. Here we mark the second step of the Mexicans in their long struggle to recover from their inherited woes.

The maintenance of the new imperial dignity and a large army drained the resources of the country, bringing weakness to the empire and strength to the party of the republic, which soon became formidable enough to rouse their countrymen to arms. Generals Victoria and Santa Anna issued the first "pronunciamiento," and this second revolutionary outbreak of the Mexicans hurled the Emperor Agustin from his throne as rudely as a later one hurled the Emperor Maximilian from his, and, in 1823, gave the country a Representative Congress; in 1824, a Federal Constitution, with General Victoria as first President of the new republic. The clergy had foreseen this result. Unable to avert the shock, they attempted to moderate its blow. By their influence, a clause was inserted in the new Constitution, providing for a concordat with the Holy See, by which device the management of the Mexican Church was vested in the Roman Pontiff, thereby exempting themselves, their wealth, and their monopolies from the control of the government of the republic. With the establishment of the federal republic we have reached the third step in Mexico's struggle to build up a nation based on liberal institutions.

Under the operation of the Constitution of 1824 the people of Mexico became divided into two great, essentially antagonistic parties—the Conservatives clinging tenaciously to the Church and its reactionary system; the Liberals yearning for innovations and reforms. The first necessity of the Conservatives was to check the progress of the Liberals; the first necessity of the Liberals was to confine the influence of the clergy. And quickly Conservatives and Liberals appealed to the sword. In rapid succession the presidential power fell alternately into the hands of the one and then of the other. And for nine years the terrible struggle was continued, until in 1833 the successes of the Liberals emboldened Congress to decree the suppression of church tithes, which tax upon the agricultural products of the country had yielded a large revenue to the clergy. This we may mark as the fourth stage of the progress of the Mexi-

can struggle to plant the tree of liberty in the soil of the republic. And during this stage, in the year 1829, it was that this young republic abolished slavery—an act by which she put herself in the vanguard for the liberation of the negro.

The influence of the clergy was now concentrated to overthrow this last innovation. For the Conservatives it became the vital necessity to hurl every president from the palace as rapidly as possible, and, granting no rest to the country, to prevent the cohesion, the stability of the Liberals. And the aim of the Liberals became not simply the curtailment of church influence, but the absolute destruction of the Church as a political power. We find one party struggling to grasp the property of the Church, to free the country from its domination; the other waging fierce war to retain this property intact. And in 1834, Gomez Farias boldly proposed in Congress the confiscation of church property. Santa Anna, now chief of the clerical party, defeated the measure. Again, in 1835, the Liberals renewed the attempt, which resulted in another war. Gradually and surely the Liberals gained ground, until in 1847 Congress was strong enough to pass a law authorizing the sale of church property to the amount of fifteen millions of dollars, on the pretext of carrying on the war with the United States. Santa Anna parried the blow from the clergy by allowing the decree of Congress to become a dead letter. As an ultimate resort the clergy reverted to their old project of bringing from Europe a royal ruler, and in 1854 Santa Anna, at their instigation, commissioned Guiterrez Estrada "to negotiate in Europe for the establishment of a monarchy in Mexico." The project failed—probably the courts appealed to calculated the strength of the Monroe doctrine in the expanding republic just northward of Mexico. And its failure weakened the Conservatives and strengthened the Liberals. The great movement of the period, under the name of the "Plan of Ayutla," ranged the two parties face to face, the former under Santa Anna, the latter under Alvarez and Commonfort. In 1855 the defeated Santa Anna abandoned the country, and the victorious Alvarez, now Provisional President, called an election for deputies to a National Congress, which met in February, 1856. A new constitution was adopted and sworn to on the 3d of February, 1857, which has since been the organic law of the republic. It proclaims constitutional government, freedom of religion and education, liberty of the press, nationalization of church property, the subordination of the army to the civil power, and the encouragement of immigration. And this fatal blow

at the power of the Church marks the fifth stage in the history of the revolutionary ordeal through which it was necessary for Mexico to pass to free herself from inherited political infirmities and gain a constitutional education.

The promulgation of the liberal constitution of 1857 rather excited than dismayed the clergy. Its triumph would forever seal the fate of the church power. The grand struggle then was at hand, and their whole strength was exerted—sword, wealth, and intellect were thrown resolutely into the scale. They refused final absolution and sepulchral rites to those who purchased church property under the laws of the liberal government. For three years the terrible fratricidal war deluged the valleys of Mexico with blood. Juarez, now President by virtue of the constitution of 1857, established the constitutional government at Vera Cruz, while the Conservatives still held the capital. In 1859 the United States recognized the Liberal as against the Conservative government, and in the same year Juarez issued his famous decrees known as the "Laws of Reform." In January, 1861, Juarez entered the capital with his constitutional government, after the battle of Calpulalpam, and the "Reforms" were made an integral part of the constitution of 1857. Thus the terrible struggle from 1857 to 1860 resulted in the consolidation of the constitution, destined to be the death-blow to the power of the Church, and marks the sixth, and perhaps the most notable, step in the progress of the Mexican people to rid themselves of their baneful patrimony.

With the consolidation of the eminently liberal and enlightened constitution of 1857, after a fierce and almost continuous struggle of fifty years, the people sighed for peace, and hoped that the woes which had so long pressed upon them had at last been removed. All that was necessary for Mexico was to settle down to peaceful industries, while the vast natural resources of the country should give the means to restore the public finances to a healthful condition. But although the death-knell had sounded, the power of the Church was by no means lifeless. Unnerved for further efforts within the limits of their own land, the clergy worked secretly in foreign lands. They sent again their ablest emissaries to the courts of Europe to propagate the idea that Mexico was hopelessly given over to anarchy and political perdition. At the same time the constitutional government, forced by absolute inability to comply for the moment with the treaties with European governments, decreed the postponement of the payment of interest on all foreign debts

for two years. It is worthy of note that these very treaties were one of the direct means of Mexico's financial embarrassments; for of the revenues received upon French imports *eight per cent only* were available for the government, while of the duties upon British imports *twenty-five per cent only* went into the national treasury, the balance having been pledged by those treaties for payments to foreign bondholders. This postponement of payments, together with the insidious whispers and wily intrigues of the clerical emissaries, made the governments of Europe willing to believe that anarchy, and not great principles, had been the result of the long and dismal contests between progressive and obsolete ideas. And Europe pounced upon Mexico before she had time to breathe.

The story of the joint intervention of England, France, and Spain, then of Napoleon's idea of "resuscitating the Latin races," and ultimately of Maximilian's ephemeral empire, is too recent to require repetition. The intervention and the empire, brought to the country by the clergy for the sole object of upsetting the constitutional reforms of the Liberals, discovered that the principles of the Conservatives were totally incompatible with the wants of the people; and in 1865¹ Maximilian issued a decree confirming the Reform Laws of Juarez, and declaring religious toleration. The barbarous decree of 3d of October, 1865, dictated by Bazaine, signed by Maximilian, "to shoot down all Mexicans found under arms," is evidence not only of the sanguinary character of the struggle, but of the pertinacity with which the Liberals pressed the Imperialists. And that same decree was the cause of the shooting of Maximilian himself when his turn came to be "found under arms." And so in 1867 the empire fell, the clergy lost the last hope of restoration, and the Mexicans saved the republic. Here we note the seventh stage in the drama of Mexico's necessary revolutions and enter upon its last phase.

The republic was now firmly established, its liberal constitution restored, the power of the clergy broken, and the country at peace. Hitherto the rapidly succeeding presidential changes had been one of the evils brought on by the rapidly succeeding revolutions. Now, the leaders of progressive ideas found that the danger was the other way, and, for the first time in her history, a president had held the chief magistracy for fourteen years—a Mexican political phenomenon. This president was Juarez, who died during his fourth term. Protests against his last election had been without effect. A revolution arose to the cry of "no re-election." Juarez

died in the palace, and Vice-President Lerdo, acceding to the presidency, the chiefs of the revolution laid down their arms. In due course Lerdo was elected to the succeeding term, and as this drew to its end all the government influence was strained to secure his re-election—thus again calling public attention to the new abuse of power that had grown out of the constitution of 1857. The great majority of the people, and many of Lerdo's own personal friends, declared decidedly for the principle of "no re-election." Lerdo persisted. The people called Diaz to the leadership of the revolution which this persistence against public opinion and the attendant manipulation of the ballot rapidly created. The will of the people triumphed. Diaz, in virtue of this triumph of the popular will, became, in November, 1876, "Provisional Executive Chief" until the people should elect a president. And Diaz, elected to the chief magistracy, by the free popular vote of the nation, in 1877, promptly initiated the constitutional amendment, "no citizen shall be elected to two consecutive presidential terms." Thus, in 1877, this great principle was established, an incentive to undue ambition removed, a fruitful source of revolution destroyed, the eighth and last stage in Mexico's revolutionary ordeal accomplished.

We have thus traced step by step the exciting story of Mexico's revolutionary struggles, and have seen clearly how her colonial training had made this terrible ordeal inevitable in her progress in civilization, in political freedom, and social reform. While much in the way of political education yet remains for her people to learn, all the great principles of progress and enlightenment have been won, and are now firmly established in the land, daily taking deeper and deeper root. In six decades Mexico has shaken off the political darkness, the social chaos, the crushing sway of a perverted clergy, expunged from her body politic the deeply seated cancer inherited, with all its concurrent woes and miseries, from her old masters. She has established a liberal constitution, secured individual liberty, personal security, religious toleration. She has her schools and colleges, her free press, her national literature, her societies for the cultivation of the arts and sciences, her clergy of the Roman faith sharing the protection of the laws with the clergy of the Protestant creeds. She has her illustrious men, learned in law, in literature, in philosophy—men of intelligence, culture, taste, refinement. Liberal education, natural aptitude for acquirement, foreign travel, close observation, wide reading, have diffused as much general knowledge as may be found in corresponding

circles in any other land; and this has created new wants, new aspirations, new energy. And now it is, her political unity attained, that she is looking forward to the era of prosperity and stability which shall develop her unexampled natural resources for national greatness. And now it is, her internal rest secured, that she is manifesting her ability and willingness to fulfill scrupulously her international obligations, and preparing to take her natural place in the family of nations, as the second republic of the world in importance, wealth, and power. Now then, too, is the opportune moment for the nations at the front of civilization to hold out to her the hand of friendship and welcome her to their society. Above all is this the opportune moment for the one republic that is greater, happier, and more populous, to enter into close relations of amity and commerce with her younger and regenerated sister.

While passing through this terrible ordeal of sixty years of revolutionary struggles, the guiding star whose brightness ever glimmered through the enshrouding darkness when the shock of contending forces desolated the land, was the great republic of the north. The aspirations of the Mexicans were to win for themselves the institutions which made their neighbors so happy, so prosperous, so mighty. While they revered the name of Miguel Hidalgo, they revered the name of George Washington. While they fought to free themselves from old Spain, they sought to fraternize with the republic of the north by imitating her free institutions, adopting her liberal laws. The memory of the moral aid rendered by Abraham Lincoln and William Seward in the dark days of her desperate struggle against the empire of an European prince, backed by the legions of European monarchies, in other words, in her defense of the Monroe doctrine of America against the monarchical doctrines of Europe, made every Mexican look to the American people as to their friends. In the press, as in Congress, there was a majority ever ready to advocate American enterprises, prompted by friendly feelings toward their neighbors whose progress they longed to imitate. Contact with the north was the wish of every capitalist and laborer. It was enough that a project was shown to be American to win for it a favorable hearing and a respectable status. And it was common for Europeans, who had never seen even the bleakest rock on the American coast, to call themselves citizens of the United States, for they knew full well that to say "I am an American," commanded respect and security. Merchants and traders, importers and exporters, looked toward the north as the natural emporium of their

trade, the nearest market where to sell their produce to most advantage and buy their merchandise cheapest. In Mexico's most populous cities as well as in her Indian villages, in her refined society as among her toiling population, at the counters of her bankers as at the humbler stands of her itinerant venders, in her council halls as in her public resorts, the name of an American was respected, the friendship of the United States was courted, the honor of the republic of Washington was unimpeachable. Thus the Mexicans looked to the Americans until the middle of 1877. And hence we find that the first act of General Diaz, when the popular will placed him at the head of the republic, was to meet his treaty obligations with the United States. He found the national treasury emptied by his predecessor. Appealing to the commercial circles of the capital, the bankers—foreign as well as native—readily advanced the funds to make the first payment due by treaty to the American government. Freely elected to the chief magistracy, in the due form prescribed by the organic law of the land, promptly recognized by Germany, Italy, Switzerland, and Spain, President Diaz, at the head of the Mexican people, looked for recognition and friendship from Washington. But *there* Mexico found her overtures of international friendship rudely rebuffed, her compliance with treaty obligations brusquely derided. She was told that the United States government "waits before recognizing General Diaz as the President of Mexico until it shall be assured that his election is approved by the Mexican people, and that his administration is possessed of stability to endure, and of disposition to comply with the rules of international comity and the obligations of treaties." And the same dispatch (16th May, 1877) adds "that the United States government desires some guarantee of concerted action between the military commanders of the two countries on the frontier should be made the condition precedent to any recognition." We have here the conditions distinctly presented by the United States government, compliance with which would bring recognition of President Diaz and the renewal of official relations: *First*, the assurance that the election of President Diaz "is approved by the Mexican people"; *second*, the assurance that his administration possesses stability and the disposition to comply with international and treaty obligations; *third*, a guarantee for concerted action on the frontier. The first condition is fully met by the fact that General Diaz has occupied the presidential office in Mexico during sixteen months of peace and prosperity, with the national Congress in session, the constitu-

tion in full operation, and the laws everywhere duly administered. The second condition, as regards stability, is fully covered by the fact that tranquillity, contentment, and prosperity reign throughout the republic under the presidency of General Diaz, and as regards compliance with national obligations, the condition is competently satisfied by the facts that the Mexican government has fulfilled to the letter the treaty of July 4, 1868, by the punctual payment, on each successive annual pay-day, of the amounts due to the United States, and has exceeded its obligations under the extradition treaty by the voluntary rendition of Mexican citizens to American authorities. The third condition is amply met by the facts that the Mexican government has placed in the Department of the Rio Grande ten thousand well-armed, well-disciplined, well-paid troops, as "some guarantee for the concerted action of the military commanders of the two countries," as advised by President Diaz in papers laid before the cabinet by Mr. Evarts on 7th December last.

Thus, then, while the Mexican government on the one hand has given to the world the fullest proofs of its stability, friendliness, and co-operation, and thereby complied exactly with the conditions precedent arbitrarily laid down by the State Department at Washington, the government of the United States, on the other hand, has failed to reciprocate by the recognition of General Diaz as President of Mexico, and thereby has failed to comply with the obligations naturally accruing from the ready compliance by the other party to the conditions precedent proposed by that very United States government. Thus, then, while President Diaz has honorably complied with all the "rules of international comity," and more than complied with treaty obligations, Mr. Evarts has not only been trifling, evasive, and fantastic, with regard to his corresponding obligations as Secretary of State, but has aggravated his shortcomings by designedly infringing the obligations of the 21st article of the treaty of 1848, renewed in the 3d article of the treaty of 1854, by the issue of the order to General Ord to cross the border into Mexican territory with American troops. While at one moment pathetically telling President Diaz that he seeks to "pursue a generous and friendly course," and at another haughtily demanding proof of his "disposition to comply with the rules of international comity and the obligations of treaties," Mr. Secretary Evarts, reckless of the honor of the American people, heedless at once of diplomatic truthfulness and national justice, is himself the first to show his utter contempt for the "rules of inter-

national comity," and his defiant disregard of "treaty obligations." Let us ask Mr. Evarts—since we have shown that the act is a direct infringement of treaty obligations—in obedience to what "rule of international comity" does he order United States troops to invade the soil of a friendly power? If there exist the "rule of international comity" by which he is authorized to order the march of United States troops into the territory of friendly Mexico under pretext of pursuing raiding Indians, is it the same "rule" which halted the pursuit of the raider Sitting Bull when he crossed into the territory of friendly but powerful Canada? The unenviable plight into which Mr. Secretary Evarts has descended in the pursuit of his *energetic policy* toward a weaker republic, and his *discreet policy* toward a strong monarchy, is as evident as the noonday sun, and makes every other American blush as he contemplates the facts.

And what is the immediate result of this fantastic policy of Mr. Secretary Evarts? The distrust, on the part of the Mexicans, of every thing American—the prejudice of American rather than Mexican interests. It has rallied all parties around the President of Mexico, thus giving to his government still greater "stability to endure," still greater popularity for having maintained the dignity of the nation by refusing to be affected by the eccentricities of Mr. Evarts. Its effects, injurious to American commerce, recoil upon the citizens of the United States. While alienating the Mexicans from the Americans, it gives the opportunity to the agents of European merchants and manufacturers to improve the situation in their own interest, and, holding up to ridicule the "generous and friendly course" of the great statesman who to-day represents the diplomacy of the United States, make it the means to widen the breach marked by the line of the Rio Grande.

There is one policy and one only to guide the relations of the two republics to mutually happy and beneficent results. In the words of Colonel Brantz Mayer, it is the policy of "perfect independence of each other, accompanied by perfect alliance." We have two widely differing races, brought by the accidents of time and circumstance side by side as neighbors. The one numbers fifty millions, the other ten millions. Shall the one absorb the other? The force of arms may exterminate the Mexicans, but it will never Americanize them. International friendship, profitable commercial relations, rapid communications, perfect alliance, perfect inde-

pendence, will undoubtedly give that result, almost imperceptibly it may be, still surely and effectually.

It is not too late to retrieve the palpable errors of the fantastic Mexican policy of Mr. Evarts. There is yet time to regain the confidence and the respect of the Mexicans, to draw into new and near relations of amity two races, totally distinct by nature and origin, yet slowly assimilating under the influence of the same republican institutions. But to attain this end the PEOPLE of the great republic north of the Rio Grande must discard the fantasies of Mr. Secretary Evarts, and hold out the hand of honest friendship rather than wave the red-black banner of forcible annexation—the *government* of the United States must manifest loyalty, frankness, and sincerity rather than evasion, duplicity, and defiance in its diplomacy with the Aztec-Latins of Mexico.

LEARNED WOMEN OF BOLOGNA.

I.

IN the present backward state of general female education in Italy it is cheering, to all interested in the destinies of this beautiful land, to remember how many bright examples of female learning have flourished 'twixt the Alps and the sea, from the dark days of the early middle ages down to the early part of the present century. From these, brilliant auguries may, we think, be drawn for the future—that future for which Italy's best intellects are so earnestly laboring, when education shall be freed from all clerical influences.

But until that consummation shall be reached, there can be no level of good education among Italian women. In a land where the necessity of thorough intellectual training for *men* is not yet fully recognized, it would be idle to expect that the education of *women* should rise to even a mediocre standard. Of course it must be understood that we are now speaking of the *mass* of Italians. Learned men and great scholars there are in abundance, but they are a class apart; among the mass you find very few well-informed or reading men. It is hardly necessary to say how this state of things reacts upon female education. Ignorant, unintellectual men can not be expected to desire high cultivation in their wives and daughters, and those wives and daughters must be exceptionally gifted by nature to feel urged to soar above the deadening atmosphere of their daily life and surroundings. Moral courage they must have as well as ability, or their wings will speedily flag and droop. So, as a rule, Italian women are extremely ignorant; and although in the abstract clerical influence is the root of the evil, inasmuch as it inevitably depresses the standard of all education for both sexes—in the present day the church's hostility to female advancement is a patent fact—still it would be unjust to assert that in past times the Italian clergy showed any direct opposition to female development. Surely the roll-call of past iniquities really committed by

the Roman Church is long enough to allow one item to be scratched off without sensibly diminishing the weight of her sins!

One naturally comes to this conclusion, in glancing at the long list of women who attained eminence in science and letters in mediæval Italy.

They are far too numerous to be passed in review within the scanty limits of one or two magazine articles; many, too, have been treated by abler pens; so the present sketch will be devoted to those alone whom Bologna claims as daughters, and more particularly to those who were members of her university.

The atmosphere of that learned city, whose appropriate motto is *Bononia docet*, seems to have been peculiarly favorable to the development of female talent, while its university, unlike those of otherwise more favored lands, has freely and ungrudgingly bestowed its diplomas and professorships on all women who have proved themselves deserving of such distinction.¹

As far back as the thirteenth century, when the Bologna University was so deservedly celebrated that it was frequented by no less than ten thousand students, many of them from far-off England and Scotland, two women were numbered among its most distinguished professors, Accorsa Accorso and Bettisia Gozzadini.

The former was the daughter of the famous jurisconsult Accorso, author of a copious glossary of Roman law so much esteemed for its precision and clearness that for many years it was the text-book of all European tribunals. She filled the chair of philosophy at the university, but beyond that one fact—in itself a proof of her acquirements—history is silent about her.

Of Bettisia Gozzadini fuller mention is made. The historian Sigonio states that she was created Doctor of Law in 1236, and in the same year commenced her public lectures to the admiration of crowded audiences. She was a woman of immense erudition and powerful mind, and was for many years the ornament and pride of the university. So far Sigonio; and Ghirardacci, in his history of Bologna, tells us that she wrote on philosophy, law, and jurisprudence, and quotes a saying of hers to the effect that she loved her father as the author of her days, but that she loved and revered Doctor Odofreddo, the eminent jurisconsult, who had given her knowledge, esteeming herself highly favored to have been born in his time.

¹ To the present day, there is no law to prevent women from graduating at Italian universities, or presenting themselves as candidates for professorships.

Tiraboschi maintains that Bettisia Gozzadini was considerably overpraised by her contemporaries, and remarks that the University of Bologna counted too many brilliant luminaries to be obliged to exaggerate the merits of those whose fame was not supported by the highest authorities.

In the fourteenth century we find but one lady professor at Bologna; one, too, who held her post by favor rather than by right. This was the learned and lovely Novella, daughter of Giovanni d'Andrea, renowned as the best jurisconsult of his day, and for a special aptitude in explaining the *Decretales*. Being thoroughly versed in the law, Novella frequently took her father's place in the professorial chair, but hidden behind a curtain, to prevent her beauty from distracting her hearers' minds. Probably the poet Petrarch, for three years a pupil of Giovanni d'Andrea, may have been one of these hearers, but there is no record of the fact; and whatever his sentiments towards the daughter, he had but small friendship for the father, with whom in later times he carried on a long and ironical controversy on literary matters, in which Giovanni d'Andrea was thoroughly worsted.

Another fourteenth-century name is that of Cristina Pizzani, a distinguished authoress in her own day; but as, although of Bolognese birth, nearly all her life was passed in France and all her works were composed in French, we must content ourselves with a very brief notice of her in the present article. She wrote numerous ballads, love-songs, and romances of chivalry. "The Vision of Christine," a semi-religious, semi-biographical work in many volumes, and "The Life of Charles the Wise," undertaken at the instance of Philip of Burgundy, were her principal prose compositions. She was a great favorite at the French court. Her fame was widely spread among her contemporaries: the Duke of Milan tried in vain to attract her to his court; the unfortunate Earl of Salisbury was one of her patrons, and brought her eldest son over to England, to be educated with his own.

In the fifteenth, the century in which classical learning reached so high a development throughout Italy, the annals of Bologna only mention two distinguished women, both members of the Pepoli family. Of the former of these, Caterina Pepoli, the historian Orlandi says that she was so well versed in letters, besides being an excellent artist, that she well merited the laureate. To this honor, however, she never attained, and no production either of her pen or brush remains in existence. The other literary lady of the Pepoli

family was Isabella, mother of Cardinal Alexander Riario. She was a poetess, but, to judge by the few neat and elegant verses from her pen still extant, her talent rose but little above that smooth level of facile versification so abundant in all ages throughout the Peninsula.

In the sixteenth century, the age of Vittoria Colonna, a more interesting figure arrests our attention—that of Samaritana de' Samaritani, a woman of wide and varied attainments, greatly admired and esteemed by her contemporaries, and whose feebleness of constitution seems alone to have prevented her from aspiring to public honors. Of Samaritana we read that, at an early age, she had studied Greek and Latin so thoroughly that not only could she converse with learned doctors in those tongues, but also wrote them in a masterly manner. We are further told that “her philosophical studies enabled her, while yet in her teens, to sustain philosophical discussions worthy of the most refined Peripatetics of the Divine Academy.” Of course these discussions must have been of the most sterile description, a mere mass of syllogisms and sophisms, illustrated in the scholastic language (*i.e.*, pedantic jargon) of the day. Still Samaritana's powers must have been great, to enable her to excel in this learned fencing. We read, too, that the depth of her historical studies caused her to be much consulted and admired by various celebrated writers.

Unsated by these studies, she next plunged into theology, and was soon able to hold her own in lengthy disputations with learned doctors.

It is pleasant to know that amid all these difficult pursuits she found time to study painting, under the guidance of Prospero Fontana.

But in seeking information respecting these chosen women who in past times dedicated their lives to learning, one is naturally anxious to glean some idea of their inner life, to know them as women as well as in the character of students, and the chariness of Italian writers in giving such particulars is not a little provoking. One would like to know if Samaritana was a friend of Lavinia Fontana, Prospero's gifted daughter; whether she ever joined the artistic circle that assembled in their house; whether she ever took part in any girlish merry-makings and amusements. But nothing is said of these things; and Samaritana's life, as it is presented to us by her eulogists, would seem to have been very pale and pedantic, and it is a relief to learn that if love never approached this weakly, studious

girl, there was one among the many admirers of her erudition whose friendship seems to have been the sunshine of her life. This was the celebrated Francesco Alciati, afterwards cardinal, who was presented with the citizenship of Bologna, and came to occupy the chair of jurisprudence at that university, about the time the learned gentlemen of Bologna were commenting on the astonishing acquirements of this pale young girl who was capable of fighting them successfully with their own scholastic weapons.

Alciati, struck by what he heard on all sides of Samaritana's extraordinary intellect, eagerly sought her acquaintance, and speedily their acquaintance ripened into a warm and enduring friendship. The writers of the time record that the two held frequent learned conversations to their mutual profit; that he instructed her in legal science, while she, in return, became his preceptress in art.

No pictures bearing Samaritana's signature are in existence, although some small paintings of Christ and the Virgin, and of the Marriage of St. Catharine, after Fontana's manner, in various Bolognese convents, have been attributed to her brush.

It may be surmised that she had no special artistic faculty, and that her painting was just the expression of whatever cravings for the beautiful she may have had in her. There could hardly, we think, have been much space for artistic fancy in a mind devoted to the sterile metaphysics of those days, to the "divine science" of theology and the intricate labyrinths of jurisprudence.

But her theoretical knowledge of art must have been considerable, for we are told that, under her able tuition, her learned friend Alciati became so versed in art that, at her instance, he undertook to deliver an address at the inauguration of Fontana's Academy of Painting, in the year 1534.

This oration on the rules of art, partly dictated by Samaritana, was received with the liveliest applause, and the learned lady was so much gratified by her distinguished pupil's success that, when he was called to Rome (where some years later he was raised to the purple by Pope Pius IV., at the instance of St. Carlo Borromeo), she painted his portrait and her own, and gave them to him as a pledge of her affection and gratitude, accompanying the gift by a "most elegant congratulatory oration in Greek and Latin."

Soon after Alciati's departure from Bologna, Samaritana, always of a weakly constitution, succumbed to a sudden illness. It is recorded that she died young, but the precise year of her birth is unknown. Alciati, we are told, grieved profoundly for this gifted

friend, whom he loved as his pupil and revered as his instructress. He wrote an elaborate funeral poem which was to have been inscribed on her tomb, but from some unknown cause that purpose was never fulfilled.

This sickly, gentle girl who devoted the whole of her short life to learned pursuits appears in a touching light on the pages of the old chronicles teeming with turbulence and bloodshed. It is further recorded of her that she was of pleasant aspect, pleasing manners, and grave deportment. She spoke eloquently, without being loquacious; possessed keen judgment; was modest, prudent, and kind; very earnest in her religious and home duties, and extremely charitable. She was buried in that church of St. Domenico, so rich in works of art and grand old monuments, at the extremity of one of the most picturesque piazzas in all Italy. No visitor to Bologna can fail to have been impressed by the quaint beauty of that square. A tall column, surmounted by a figure of the Virgin, stands up clear and sharp against the sky. Curious arcades flank the church, and an open gateway allows a glimpse of a grass-grown cloister beyond. Near the centre of the irregular space stands a lofty Gothic tomb raised upon columns, enclosing the remains of a legal celebrity and citizen of Bologna, Rolandino Passeggiori.

Two other female names appear in the records of this century: that of Isabella Riario, famed for her sonnets, and Ippolita Paleotti, also a poetess, but with some claims to learning, since she wrote in Latin and Greek as well as in her native language.

During the seventeenth century, when Italian literature was most rapidly decaying, the female mind in Bologna seems to have had no bent towards learning. There were several makers of rhymes, it is true, but one only raised herself in any degree above the common run of versifiers. This was Maria Isabella Dosi Grati, whose *nom de plume* was Dorigista, and who was the author of several comedies that met with considerable success and are said to have been very witty.

II.

In the eighteenth century, the age of the French *salons*, women's wits asserted themselves in every country in Europe, and Bologna boasted three daughters who worthily take their stand in the foremost ranks of the brilliant band of illustrious women.

It was on the 29th October, 1711, that Laura Caterina Bassi, one of the most gifted women of her own or any age, first saw the light

in the ancient city that in less than twenty years was to echo with her fame.

It would, we fancy, startle the most sanguine apostle of women's rights even in these advanced days to see one of our great university towns—old Oxford for instance—in a fever of excitement to do honor to a learned woman. Would it not be astonishing if, with that end in view, students were to be seen pouring from the gates of Christ-church, Oriel, and Merton, streaming towards the Sheldonian theatre, and falling in on their way with large contingents from Exeter and Wedham, while the Worcester and St. John's men were scudding past the Martyrs' Memorial, fearing to arrive behind time at the centre of attraction?

Imagine the theatre already crowded by an expectant audience, while outside and in every post of vantage cluster students and townsfolk, ladies and gentlemen, watching the Vice-Chancellor as, preceded by his mace-bearers, he slowly makes his way towards the building. Imagine then a long procession of heads of houses, dons, and professors winding down the crowded, sunshiny street, accompanied by the county and borough members, the mayor and common councilmen in robes of office, the lord-lieutenant of the county, His Grace of Canterbury, the Bishop of Oxford, a sprinkling of foreign ambassadors, any foreign princes visiting Great Britain, and several brass bands. Finally, in the midst of this procession, in a carriage drawn by four horses, with a mounted escort, seated by the side of the lord-lieutenant's lady and conversing with the county member's wife,—who is cheerfully sitting with her back to the horses,—imagine a pretty young girl dressed in black, and of sweet and serious mien, on whom the degree "*Doctoris juris civilis*" is about to be solemnly conferred, and in whose honor there is all this pomp and display! Could Mrs. Fawcett, Miss Shirreff, or Miss Lydia Becker venture to predict such a state of things for even the children of the next generation? Yet a century and a half ago, in priest-ridden, enslaved Italy, where no conception of any women's rights whatever existed, it was for a pageant the counterpart of this imaginary one, and—owing to its age and surroundings—one still more picturesque and impressive, that all Bologna was astir on the 12th May, 1732, the day on which Laura Bassi received her degree. Laura's talents had manifested themselves at a very early age, and the atmosphere she lived in undoubtedly favored their development. Her father, a doctor of law, was a man of very cultivated tastes, and his house was frequented by many literary and

scientific men. Of these bright little Laura was the pet and plaything, and they delighted in testing her precocity. We read that Professor Stegani was her first instructor, and that he speedily predicted a great future for his pupil. Under his tuition, Laura made such wonderful progress in her classical studies that, while still a child, she could translate at sight the most difficult Greek and Latin authors. From these sources she drew the solid learning and concise, vivid style for which she was afterwards celebrated. Then she began to study metaphysics and natural philosophy—her favorite science—with the learned physician Gaetano Tacconi, her father's friend; studied them so eagerly and persistently that, before long, her master had some trouble to defend himself in the discussions he held with her on ontology, physiology, and method, or in the interpretation of various philosophical writers.

Gassendi, professor of physical science, and the abstract mathematician Manfredi also aided in the development of this extraordinary girl, who, before she reached her twentieth year, had given proofs so numerous and solid of her erudition in the highest branches of science, by sustaining discussions with the learned men who assembled in her father's house, that all Bologna began to ring with her praises, and it was determined to propose her as a candidate for university honors.

It would be interesting to know some particulars of the young student's daily life, which assuredly must have differed very widely from that of her fellow-countrywomen both of that and of the present day, but of such details there is the usual dearth, and all that we can learn of her domestic life is that she neglected no feminine occupations or household duties, and that her studies had been carried on so quietly that it was not until she began to hold the semi-public philosophical discussions to which we have alluded above, that the fame of her surprising intellect began to be noised abroad.

We are told that when Tacconi and her parents first wished Laura to exhibit her talents in public, in order to qualify herself for university distinction, her modesty made her very unwilling to give her consent to their plans. Pure love of knowledge for its own sake was her only incentive; she had no desire for fame, and shrank from notoriety.

Some time passed before the entreaties of her master, Tacconi, of other professors, and the plainly-urged wishes of her father could overcome her reluctance to quit the obscurity of private life. At last, however, they prevailed, and she consented to satisfy the gen-

eral desire by sustaining a public philosophical discussion, that indeed being an indispensable preliminary to gaining her diploma. Fantazzi, the chronicler of Bolognese celebrities, states that "the rare spectacle of so much talent and learning in a woman seemed to necessitate that the public exhibition thereof should be associated with special solemnity." (Will the day ever come, we wonder, for the Edinburgh college authorities to share that opinion?)

Accordingly, on the 17th April, 1732, Laura sustained a solemn disputation upon philosophy in general—*dato omnibus arguendi loco*—in the great hall of the palace of the Anziani, the mansion-house of Bologna.

We fancy that this young girl, who loved the seclusion of her own home, must have felt rather abashed on finding herself in presence of the legate Cardinal Grimaldi, the vice-legate, the archbishop, gonfaloniere, municipal authorities, and a numerous audience of senators, gentlefolk, and strangers from the neighboring provinces. She had to sustain a discussion with that pluralist in science Beccasi, doctor of philosophy and medicine and professor of experimental physics, and with Manfredi, doctor of philosophy, who had been one of her masters. We learn that the maiden passed this examination with marvelous presence of mind, solving every problem presented to her, and amply proving that the fame of her learning had been nowise exaggerated. The discussion, sustained in Latin, was carried on with great animation; the arguments treated had not been selected beforehand, thus the *amour propre* of her opponents was just as much at stake as her own. Laura passed the test with brilliant success; the enthusiasm of her auditors was raised to the highest pitch by her eloquence, readiness, and depth of learning, and they carried her home in triumph. All Bologna was at the feet of this fair student.

A few days before this event she had been made a member of the Academy of Science, and now the doctors of philosophy heartily agreed to elect her a member of their college, and confer on her as soon as should be possible the Laurea Dottorale, or degree. So, on the 12th of May, all the city was astir; gay draperies hung from every window, flags were waving, bells ringing, students and town-folk, old and young, women and children, were hurrying through the arcaded streets, and past St. Petronio and across the Piazza towards the town-hall, all, even those who knew that for them there was no place within the building, anxious to witness the passage of the young girl who had won new intellectual glory to their town.

In the ordinary course of things, the hall of the university would have been the scene of Laura's triumph, but, as it was much too small for the concourse of distinguished personages who desired to be present, the ceremony was transformed to the great Hall of Hercules, redecorated for the occasion, in the Communal Palace. Laura was accompanied to the building by two of the greatest ladies of Bologna, Countess Manuzzi and Marchioness Ratti, escorted by the state equipages of the gonfaloniere and all the principal nobility, by the college dons in full costume, and a throng of liveried servants. On reaching the entrance, Laura, who was, we are told, attired in the black dress of a noble matron or court lady, was ushered by the municipal beables (functionaries of even more imposing appearance than their English brothers) into the Hall of Hercules, and conducted to a seat beside the college dignitaries and scientific professors, who were waiting to receive her. On one side were ranged the doctors of philosophy, on the other the members of the college of medicine—these latter having been expressly invited to add to the effect of the ceremony. Then, after pronouncing an elegant and learned discourse, the very reverend archdeacon conferred on the young girl the usual diplomas, and she was declared Doctor of Philosophy. Thereupon the heroine of the day, with grave and modest bearing, expressed her thanks in a neat oration, and in conclusion Bazzani, President of the Institute of Science, made, we are told, a most graceful speech (how tired Laura must have been of all the rounded periods!), went through the usual formalities of opening and shutting the books of philosophy before him, placed a ring on Laura's finger, crowned her with a rich silver laurel wreath, and, throwing round her shoulders the *vara*, or university gown, pronounced a Latin oration on female excellence, to which Laura replied in the same tongue. Then the maiden was led into the presence of the cardinal and the archbishop, the said cardinal being Melchior de Polignac, author of the "Anti Lucretius," and these dignitaries rose to receive her with the most gracious condescension, making eloquent replies to the compliments she addressed to them. We learn that this ceremony was rendered still more impressive by the large audience of ladies, senators, men of letters, nobles, clergy, citizens, and foreigners who graced it by their presence, and the proceedings wound up with a sumptuous collation in the apartments of the gonfaloniere.

One would think that Laura must have been thoroughly worn out by all this ceremony and elaborate speechifying; neverthe-

less we find that on the following morning she again proved her acquirements by sustaining a philosophical discussion at the house of his Eminence Cardinal de Polignac.

Certainly the adage about none being prophets in their own land does not apply to Laura, for we read that shortly afterwards, when another learned cardinal was visiting Bologna, a splendid dinner was given to Laura by the gonfaloniere on purpose to introduce her to this cardinal and other distinguished personages. In the following month, as an indispensable preliminary to entering on her duties as professor of philosophy, Laura Bassi held a discussion at the university in presence of the gonfaloniere and other great personages, dressed in her usual black robe and doctor's gown.

According to the university statutes, each candidate for a professorship must sustain a public discussion on the subject he wishes to teach; six disputants being chosen by lot, and bound on oath not to disclose beforehand the matter the candidate will be required to treat. On this occasion the subject was *water*, and we read that Laura's speech was in fact a well-digested and masterly treatise on water considered as a natural element, as a constituent of other elements, and as part of the universe. This debate served to crown her previous triumphs, exhibiting her vast reading and profound knowledge of natural laws and mathematics, while she showed a thorough grasp of the whole subject by never losing sight of the point of her argument. She concluded amid universal applause and admiration.

A medal was struck in commemoration of the day, with Laura's portrait on the obverse and the figure of Minerva on the reverse; and many complimentary poems, in the stilted style of the time, were published and dedicated to her.

Thus, at the age of twenty, Laura Bassi commenced her career as professor of philosophy, and continued it for about twenty-eight years. Her contemporaries all speak of her lectures in the highest terms. Thoroughly acquainted with every then known system of philosophy, she had the gift of presenting the principal truths to her scholars in a simple, clear, vivid style imbued with her own energy. She also found time to complete her studies in natural philosophy, which for many years she taught privately in her own house, until, on the death of Dr. Balbi, professor of that science, the Senate elected her to his chair.

Laura seems truly to have been "a perfect woman nobly planned;" a many-sided, equally-developed character, as good and tender a

wife and mother as she was a great scholar among the greatest of her age. The expansion of her mind in no wise stunted her affections. In every respect she seems to us wiser and greater than her equally famous contemporary Gaetana Agnesi, of Milan, who, after winning herself a European renown as an abstract mathematician, suddenly found conic sections and logarithms replete with carnal snares, abandoned all her studies as vile and sinful, and, failing to obtain her father's permission to take the veil, ever after dedicated herself and her means to the care of the sick poor of her native town—doing, it is true, infinite good in that way, but none the less failing in her true mission, the advancement of science.

Our Bolognese heroine would have had a more natural and valid excuse, had she, too, withdrawn herself from public life; for, during the very same year in which she entered upon it, she married Dr. Verati, a man of some distinction in science and letters, and in course of time became the mother of twelve children. Cerebral development in her case did not have the effect predicted for it by H. Spencer, Greg, and other writers of the present day. This early marriage, however, allows us to surmise what may have been the secret of that shrinking from a public career which her father and Tacconi had so great difficulty in overcoming.

Yet, once having put her hand to the plough, she never drew back, nor did the duties of her professorate, arduous as they must sometimes have been, ever cause her to neglect her home or her family. Fantuzza tells us that she superintended her household and looked after her children as thoroughly as any good commonplace woman, and worked at her needle and spindle as well as at her books and lectures. Laura must indeed have had a wonderful organization to be able to carry on abstruse studies in a houseful of young children.

Two only of her dissertations have ever been published, “De problemate quodam mechanico” and “De problemate quodam hydrometrico.” Her other writings are preserved in manuscript, and also her extensive correspondence on scientific matters carried on with the most celebrated men in Europe. A learned Frenchman visiting Bologna (Laura never seems to have quitted her native city) wrote of her that “her face, slightly pitted by small-pox (*butterato*), was sweet, serious, and modest, her eyes dark and sparkling with a steady, powerful glance. She was totally free from affectation or vanity, had a wonderful memory, solid judgment, and ready imagination. She spoke to me,” he says, “in Latin for about an hour,

fluently and with much grace and point; she is very learned in metaphysics, but has a strong preference for natural philosophy, particularly the English system. She appeared well versed in every branch of natural science; at any rate, she gave me learned answers on vegetation, the origin of springs, the flux and reflux of the sea, light, color, sound, the movements of the planets, and on many other subjects. She is at present studying mathematics in order to master the Newtonian philosophy." No distinguished personage or crowned head passed through Bologna without paying his respects to Laura Bassi; and when she became professor of experimental physics, the fame of her teaching brought her scholars from the furthestmost parts of Europe, of whom many became eminent in after years.

We must not forget to mention that Laura was a poetess or no mean repute in her day. But the style of that day was execrably bad and artificial. Italian poetry had fallen to its lowest ebb, and Laura's verses, like those of her contemporaries, treated of the sighing swains and simpering shepherdesses of Arcadia. We read that in these are some flashes of real inspiration, but none seem to have been worthy of their writer. Doubtless her poetical studies were only pursued in her early youth, and laid aside forever in those busy years when her fame and her family were so rapidly increasing. She lived to the age of sixty-seven years, and was buried in the church of Corpus Domini, where, but a few years later, were deposited the remains of the illustrious Galvani.

THE METHOD OF ELECTING THE PRESIDENT.

I.

TWICE in the history of the United States the nation has been brought to the verge of civil war by difficulties growing out of presidential elections. And yet no system was ever devised with more care to preclude any reasonable complaint.

The plan of the Constitution was that the people of each State should select of their best and wisest men a number corresponding to their representation in the two Houses of Congress, and that these should be free to cast their suffrages for two persons who in their judgment were best qualified to perform the duties of the presidential office. When the aggregate of all the votes was canvassed, the person having the highest number, if a majority of all, was to become the president, and the person having the next highest number the vice-president. The theory was that by this method the person indicated by the best judgment of the nation as the fittest to preside over its destinies must in all probability be chosen. In the very improbable contingency that the two persons receiving the highest number should also receive an equal number, the votes of the States, cast by their representatives in the Lower House of Congress, were to determine the result between them.

The theory failed miserably and utterly twelve years after the plan was first carried into effect. It was shown in the presidential election of 1800 that under its workings a person whom no man's judgment or purpose had selected for the first position might receive and was likely to receive as many votes as the person whom the same electors had intended to prefer by their suffrages, and that when the election was transferred to the House of Representatives, the former, though never intended for any other than the subordinate position, might possibly be chosen over the real choice of a majority of the electors. On that occasion, Mr. Burr, though probably not the choice of a single elector, might have been and probably would have been chosen but for the patriotism of Mr. Hamilton and a few

others among the Federalists who protested against it. But Mr. Jefferson's election was not accomplished until after the subject of filling the position in some extra-constitutional mode had been mooted, the attempt to do which would probably have been resisted with force.

The amendment to the Constitution thereupon adopted changed the plan only in this particular: it left the electors to make their individual selections between the persons to be named by them and intended for the first and second stations. The theory still was, that the States would select their wisest and best men as electors, and these were to be left to the untrammelled exercise of their judgments in making choice of persons for president and vice-president.

If this theory can be said to have ever been fully accepted in practice, it must be admitted that it was soon lost sight of. As early, at least, as 1828 it was wholly and finally discarded, and from that time the persons who were to receive the suffrages of the electors were selected for them in advance, and they as mere automata were the instruments in registering the will of those who had voted for them. So utterly and so miserably had the theory failed, that long before 1876 it had come to be thought that an elector who should do the very thing contemplated by the Constitution, namely, act upon his own independent judgment in deciding for whom he should cast his votes, would be guilty of a treachery so foul and a betrayal of trust so heinous, that the life-long scorn and contempt of mankind could but imperfectly indicate the punishment he deserved.

The failure of the theory, however, but partially marks the great change that took place at the election of 1828. Before that time the electors were supposed to select a chief executive who should impartially administer its affairs for the benefit of all. The interest that centered in the election depended mainly upon the political issues involved, and it would be slight or powerful in proportion as these were deemed important. The personal interests, though these were strong with some, did not engage any large number of persons, because no large number could be injured by the success of one candidate or benefited by the success of the other. After 1828 all was changed. The president was chosen as the head of a party, and the choice was of a party rather than of an officer. It was expected he would administer the office so as to secure and perpetuate the party ascendancy, and that he would make use of the

appointing power, having in view as a prime object the strengthening of the party and of the persons who had made him their leader and their organ. And at length it came to be thought that this employment of patronage could only be wisely made for the interests of the party by the representatives of the party in Congress, and that its distribution was a proper and legitimate part of the machinery of party administration and government.

This change brought into the presidential elections a new element of great potency and of pervading influence. The issues at stake had still their power; the interests men had in the candidates still made them anxious and active; but beyond these were the interests centered upon three or four score thousands of offices, of every grade of emolument and prominence, and located in every part of the country. To some of these, men of every grade of ability, attainments, and character would aspire, and looking upon them as the prizes of party success, each man would struggle for the great success which made their attainment possible, with an energy proportioned to his desires, and with such scrupulousness and such only as could be expected when the interests, desires, and passions were all impelling in one direction. It therefore results that in every part of the country once in four years the electors are excited by feelings connected with the presidential election which in the early elections were almost wholly unknown, and which now would not be called into activity if only the chief offices of the government were in question. This makes the election enlist all the feelings, excite all the passions, and involve all the dangers usually accompanying the choice of an elective king: two parties divide the nation, who not only contend over the policy that shall govern the state, but over the personal advantages and disadvantages that the result involves; every ambitious man sees his personal interest involved in the struggle, and every unscrupulous man who is also ambitious feels the temptation to employ unfair means to accomplish the desired result when honest means are inadequate. And unfortunately the machinery of elections, with the possibility of perverting it for defeating the will of the people, is largely in the hands of those who are deeply interested in the result.

All the evils of this system were made painfully conspicuous in the election of 1876. For reasons which need not be stated, the people of the country had lost confidence in many of the active men on both sides in several of the Southern States, and each party believed that its opponents would resort to any measures, not

excluding violence to the extent of taking of human life, to give the votes of their States to their party candidates. The whole country was excited by charges of crime and outrage, and each party believed that wrongs were being committed for personal and party ends, though each party charged the wrongs upon its opponents. For three months the country was presented with the specter of a disputed succession; and so intense was the feeling, that it seemed highly probable that, at the risk of civil war, one house of Congress would declare one candidate chosen, and the other would declare the election of his opponent. Happily all danger was averted by the adoption in Congress of a novel expedient, well adapted for the emergency, but only to be justified by the extremity of danger. The ship of state passed in safety the threatening headlands; but the country is thoroughly warned, that in any close election the falsification of the result is not so difficult that unscrupulous men are not likely to contemplate it; and the principle, apparently settled by the action of the Electoral Commission, that the State returns must be accepted as conclusive, makes the remedy exceedingly uncertain, if dishonest men, who have control of the State machinery of elections, shall venture to employ it to defeat the will of the people.

Brought thus face to face with the great danger, the problem of a suitable and effectual remedy forces itself upon the attention of the country. To solve it, some turn their attention to new modes of election; others, to new modes of guarding and verifying the result. The following changes might be suggested:

1. Let the president be chosen for a shorter term; say for one year only, or for two. This would so far diminish the value of the office in a party sense, and the value of all depending upon it, that the temptation to unscrupulous conduct would to a great extent be removed. But while this may be true, it is also true that this short term would keep the nation in a perpetual and unendurable disturbance, which business interests and the comfort of the people could not tolerate.

2. Let the term be extended to eight or ten years. This would give a longer period of quiet, and reduce in proportion as the time was extended the number of dangerous crises. But, as it would render the value of party success much greater, it would intensify all the present evils, and sooner or later bring upon us the fate of all elective monarchies.

3. Let the electoral college be dispensed with, and the electors

of each State cast their suffrages for the men of their choice for president and vice-president, thus having a freedom of choice which is now denied them. But as each State would cast its vote separately from the others, and have a voice in proportion to its representation in the two houses of Congress, this change would be more nominal than real. The candidates would be presented then, as now, by conventions, and whoever did not vote for those thus selected would cast an uninfluential ballot. The evils would be precisely the same as now, and the dangers the same; and all the temptations which now lead men to control elections, by fear, force, or fraud, or to falsify results, would exist in full force.

4. Let the president be chosen by the popular vote of the whole country aggregated. To bring this about, it would be requisite that the smaller States consent to waive their present advantage in representation; and this they are not at all likely to do. But supposing them to do so, the evils and dangers would remain the same as now, with a single but very important exception, namely, that the temptation to tamper with returns would be greatly weakened, because it must be seldom that the result could be thus controlled. To take for an illustration the case of the election of 1844: Mr. Polk had a plurality in the Union over Mr. Clay of nearly forty thousand, and to overcome this by fraud would have required operations on a scale so enormous that it would have been practically impossible, while comparatively a small fraud might have controlled the vote of New York, which under the existing system would have controlled the general result. And in nearly every instance the plurality on the popular vote has been very much greater than it was in the instance named.

5. Preserve the electoral colleges, but let the electors be chosen in the States by districts. This system would have the apparent advantage, that it can not be known in advance that the election can depend upon any single count or return, as it frequently is known when an election by States is being canvassed. It also has the advantage that minorities in States thereby obtain a representation in the electoral college. Still it is by no means certain that the general result is more likely to be just, or more in accordance with the popular voice. And the plan is subject to one objection, the seriousness of which it is difficult to over-estimate. Districts for such a purpose must be prescribed and defined by the legislature; and it is notorious that congressional districts are now gerrymandered in the interests of party to an extent that often leaves the

minority in a State smarting under a perpetual sense of wrong. The temptation to abuse in this direction would of course be increased enormously if the election of president might depend upon it.

6. Let the president be chosen by the concurrent vote of the two houses of Congress, and in case of disagreement, by vote in joint convention. If such a method could relieve us of any existing evils, it is difficult to understand how or why. It would certainly introduce some new evils. It is one of the few fortunate things in the existing party methods that the nominations are intrusted to conventions, and not, as formerly, left to the persons selected for legislation. But if the members of Congress were not only to nominate but to elect, and if, as would be likely to be the case, the candidates or a portion of them were members, the legislative halls would become not merely the arena for party contests, but the battle-ground for factions within the parties, and the interests of legislation would inevitably be subordinated to the interests of rival candidates. If we could suppose such a system in operation in a time of excitement like that of 1876, when some most important and delicate interests upon which the peace of the nation depended were demanding attention, we can form some judgment what chance such interests would have of being treated calmly and dispassionately, when the gratification of the highest political ambition of the leading members might depend upon their acting in harmony with the prevailing popular sentiment or passion. Of the general result of such a change in the mode of election, only this could be predicted with absolute certainty, that it could not possibly be in the direction of settled order, or of a more just and dispassionate consideration and administration of public affairs.

7. Let the English system of constitutional government be introduced, under which the executive shall be required to conform, on all important questions of policy and administration, to the sentiments of the controlling majority in the popular branch in Congress. This is sometimes vaguely suggested as a desirable change, but we have seen no attempt to indicate the details of the change. Under the English system the nominal executive is permanent, and is a figure-head rather than an effective officer: the actual power being intrusted to those who compose the administration, the leading member of which, and not the monarch, is the real head of the government for the time being. The presidential office, on the other hand, when administered on the constitutional theory, is a

great and overshadowing power, and the cabinet officers are only the servants of the executive. To reduce the presidential office to a level in political power with the kingly office in Britain, and still fill it by election every four years, would seem to be an absurdity, not only because of the comparative unimportance of the office, but because the real election upon which the public measures would depend would not be the presidential, but the congressional. Moreover, the question might then seriously be raised whether this office might not be dispensed with altogether, as one to which no important function would attach. In England the queen attracts to her person the loyalty of the people, and is always the central figure of the conservative forces of British institutions. In American institutions an elective officer can fill no corresponding place; and unless the president were to be made the active and responsible head of the government as the prime minister in England is now, and were to be expected to retire with his associates when he found the popular sentiment against him, his only importance would seem to be, to keep up a nominal continuity in executive authority. And if this were to be the sole function, the more the term should be lengthened the better.

But to adapt the English system to our institutions would require greater and more numerous changes than could be indicated in this short paper. And when these were made, it would probably fail at its first real trial. It works well in Britain; but vastly less depends upon a change there than with us. *First*. The change does not affect the nominal head of the government, or the royal family; and in the permanency of these is a social force of the highest importance. *Second*. It does not, directly or remotely, affect the membership in the Upper House of Parliament; and a very considerable proportion of the seats in the Commons are held by a tenure so secure, that the changes in public sentiment and in administrations do not in the least affect them. And, *third*, the number of places dependent upon a change of administration is comparatively small. It is therefore to a very large proportion of all the men in politics no personal sacrifice at all when their party is invited to recognize the admonition of an adverse vote in the Commons, and make way for their antagonists; and they are expected to retire gracefully and without factious resistance—as they usually do. But put at stake every important office under the government, general and local—the offices possessed and the offices hoped for—and the system would at once be subjected to such a strain as in Britain it has

never felt, and never can feel. To expect that the leaders, having in their hands all the great and manifold advantages which individuals can derive from the possession of the government and the distribution of its patronage, will readily accept and act upon the evidences of popular disapprobation, and surrender these advantages without faction and unconstitutional resistance, is to expect more of the fairness and candor of human nature than the experience of mankind will justify.

None of the suggested changes seem to promise satisfactory results of much value. But there are those who believe that all the substantial evils and dangers which now attend presidential elections may be obviated or counteracted by precautions which may be devised and enacted by Congress. This is a hopeful view to take; but it is not to be overlooked, that we have gone on for ninety years endeavoring to cure defects as they appeared, and that the evils were confessedly more enormous in the last election than in any that preceded it. They have also been greater of late in State elections than ever before. The laws which are devised for the regulation of elections in New York have been carefully drawn, and should be efficient to prevent frauds; but it is notorious that for years they only served to foster and to cover them. Many persons at one time believed that good registration laws must be almost a complete protection against illegal voting; but it has been discovered that, with the connivance of election officers, they may easily be made most efficient and dangerous aids in defeating the popular will. Every new device to check fraud seems only to quicken the fraudulent invention.

To remedy any great evil, it is essential to keep in view the causes. For the wrongs and abuses connected with the electoral system there are doubtless many causes, but the chief of all is notorious and open to the most common observation. So long as the whole civil service of the country depends upon the result of presidential elections; so long as the interests and the gratification of the desires and ambitions of a host of active and persistent men in every State—many of them in public life, and occupying places of trust in connection with the management of elections—so long as all these are made to depend for their advancement and satisfaction upon the result of a single election, it is vain to hope that fairness will always characterize the proceedings, and that temptation will never overcome the integrity of those who are in position to tamper with the results. Still more idle is it to expect that suspicions

apparently well grounded will not often spring up—that wrongs have been committed which rob the people of their rights as freemen, and for which the law affords no means of redress. It is a great trial to any system of government to subject it to periodical changes in its chief ruler; and the danger must be in proportion to the desirableness of that which depends upon it. In a great and powerful nation like ours, ambition discovers many splendid prizes besides the first and greatest; and we keep the danger at its maximum when we make all these depend upon the result of a single great trial of strength between two parties commonly nearly equal in numbers, and who, besides the offices involved, find enough in the political issues to enlist their feelings and interests quite as much as is reasonably prudent and safe. To reduce the danger to a minimum, it is requisite that as few things as possible which are intensely desired be staked upon the result. THOMAS M. COOLEY.

II.

THE tendency of all machinery is to wear out or to become obsolete. Political machinery is no exception to this rule. Repair, renewal, and substitution are necessary for its operation. The history of the British Constitution affords the most striking and convincing proof of the truth of this statement. Being unwritten, and absolutely under the control of Parliament, the work of reparation and improvement is made easy, and perpetually proceeds. It is otherwise with the Constitution of the United States. Whether defects be developed by experience or improvements be made necessary by progress, it is alike subject to a tedious process of amendment, which never succeeds until the grievance becomes too great for endurance. It requires a great danger or a great shock to confidence, like that given by the issue of the presidential election of 1876, in order to arouse the public mind to action.

The Constitution intended that the people should choose their own rulers and servants, according to the methods which it prescribes. But every intelligent citizen knows that the people have not exercised this right of choice for many years. The early Presidents were undoubtedly the men whom the people desired to fill this high position, but since the time of Jackson, it is doubtful whether more than two of our Presidents have been the men who would have been elected if the people had been free to choose.

Although they have long since lost the right to choose, they have, however, always retained and exercised the power of rejection. They have possessed a veto power on candidates, and have been able to say whom they would not have to rule over them. In other words, from the time when national conventions came into existence, the power of the people to decide upon nominations was lost, but the power to reject the nominees still survived. When the caucus system broke down, because it ceased to give expression to the popular voice, primary elections were substituted, and for a time proved efficacious, because the adherents of the respective parties voted at them for delegates, and the inspectors truly declared the result. But it was soon arranged by the men who make a trade of politics, that the inspectors at these elections should declare elected the delegates who had been previously agreed upon in secret; and although the formality of voting is still kept up, it is understood on all hands to be a farce. It is notorious that the power to name the inspectors involves the power to determine the result, so that primary elections are now, in fact, a device by which the office-holders *in esse*, or the office-holders *in posse*, perpetuate themselves in power or in expectancy. This machinery works very smoothly, and always succeeds until the yoke becomes intolerable, when the people have been able, by a strong effort, to eject the existing *régime* from power, without knowing or even caring much who would come in their place. Tweed and his Ring is a familiar example of how this process worked in the city of New York. The same machinery is still working in this city, under very different control, however; but symptoms of restiveness have of late developed themselves, which recently caused the defeat of a leading regular candidate. But as in this recent experience the people had no option as to the candidate who was chosen, so, even if the revolution should extend, and become general, the people can only break up the control of the existing powers, without being able to choose the powers which will be substituted. Still, it is something to be able to dismiss; and so long as this right survives, the existence of constitutional government based on universal suffrage may be regarded as safe.

But in the late presidential election means were found to take away from the people the right to say which party *should not rule*. No one doubts that the popular voice declared against the continued rule of the Republican party, and yet the Republican candidates were duly inaugurated, and to-day administer the government. The power of the office-holders to perpetuate themselves in office,

heretofore local, has thus become nationalized. Let no one suppose that the knowledge thus acquired will be lost. On the contrary, if local experience be any guide, we may surely believe that repetition will follow this success, and that successful usurpation will intrench itself against future attacks. Henceforth, forcible revolution will be the only resource against usurpation, unless the patriotism and wisdom of the people and their representatives can provide a speedy and certain method of giving effect to the will of the people, when they demand a change of administration.

The present system has culminated, and found its grave in "returning boards," which must either be eliminated or become as universal and as delusive as primary elections. How to get rid of this cunning device for substituting the will of the office-holders for the voice of the people is the problem to be solved, if free government is to survive on this continent.

The nature of the disease must be known in order that the proper remedy may be applied. The returning board deals with the vote of the State as a unit. Its action is therefore very simple and very effective. If its return as to the vote of the State be final, then it has merely to declare the vote of the State in accordance with the political preference of the returning board, and the work is done. The action of the Electoral Commission in regard to Florida and Louisiana settled this question for the first and last time. Hereafter all the States may be forced to resort to returning boards for their own protection against returning boards in other States; and as returning boards will respond to the views of the State administration, the great States will always have it in their power to make the President. The thirty-five votes of New York will hereafter be a powerful factor in the designation of Presidents. The control of the political machinery in the several States will be the strategic point in all future presidential contests, and the influence of money will be potent hereafter to determine results.

The remedy is, therefore, to make it impossible for any returning board to decide what the vote of the State is. The central system must be abandoned, and the district system be substituted. The district system divides the political control. The same party does not rule in all the districts. Hence, if electors were chosen by districts, the vote of the State would be divided. The results as to all the electors would therefore practically be a division of the votes between the parties, substantially in the ratio of the division existing in the House of Representatives. The central political power

President at Washington thus far has been powerless in times when the popular feeling is deeply moved, to exercise a controlling influence in the Congressional districts, and unless some new device is contrived, the choice of electors would probably be free from undue influence on the part of the national administration. Of course it will still be possible for the State board of canvassers to perpetrate frauds; but they would necessarily be subjected to the same scrutiny as now exists in regard to members of Congress, and in practice no glaring abuse is found to exist in this respect.

If, therefore, it should be deemed desirable to continue to choose the President through the intermediate agency of electors, it would seem indispensable to substitute the district for the general ticket system now in vogue. The objection to the district system is that the large States will lose their preponderating influence in the choice of President. But in fact there has heretofore been no such preponderating influence, and if it did exist, it would scarcely seem desirable to perpetuate it. If New York could always make the President, it would be generally felt and conceded to be an injustice to the other States, and New York would, if wise, gladly surrender such an invidious privilege.

If the district system be resorted to as a substitute for the broken-down general system, it may be asked whether it would not simplify matters to intrust the election of President to Congress at once, which, in the two houses, represents precisely the same electoral constituencies as would control the choice of President. This suggestion would involve the meeting of the Senate and House in joint convention, where the voting would be *per capita*, and not by States. This would seem to be a feasible solution of the matter, except for two objections.

1. The choice of President would not be made by the people, at a special election, held for that express purpose.

2. Congress would become the centre of intrigue for the presidency, and, in view of the magnitude of the stake, all other questions would yield to this, and general legislation would suffer in consequence.

I do not regard the first objection as very serious, because members of Congress would be elected with reference to the fact that they were to choose the President, and as their functions would thus be enlarged, it would tend to secure a better class of representatives.

As to the second objection, I think it would be necessary to pro-

hibit members of Congress who had elected a President from holding any federal office during his administration. This would be a salutary regulation, even if the present system were continued. It might occasionally deprive the administration of valuable assistance, but it would relieve it of the chief embarrassments which are experienced on a change in the presidential office.

The real danger would be that, as each house is the judge of the qualifications of its own members, the temptation to seat or unseat members in order to gain the majority in the joint convention, and thus make the President, would probably be irresistible whenever the preponderance on one or the other side was slight. On the whole, it would probably be safer to continue to choose electors whose only function is to elect the President, and thus remove this exciting subject as far as possible from the halls of legislation.

Without expressing a decided opinion, however, finally in favor of either of these methods, it seems clear to me the district system is a better and safer method of choice than to elect by general ticket in the several States. It brings the election nearer to the people, and might possibly tend, in time, to give some discretion to the individual electors, according to the original idea of the Constitution.

In other words, I prefer distribution to concentration of electoral force. In this way, the veto power of the people on nominations can at least be preserved, and I should not despair of the recovery of the positive power to elect the man of their choice to the presidency, especially if the vote were made direct for President by name, still preserving the district system, and counting the vote of each district as one vote for the candidate who might have the majority of votes in the district. As to details, however, it is scarcely necessary, at this stage of the discussion, to express decided opinions. The great thing is to secure the substitution of the district system in presidential elections for the general ticket plan, which unscrupulous politicians have learned how to use for the purpose of defeating the will of the people.

As to the two electors in each State corresponding to the senators, they could be elected on a general ticket, and the electoral college should settle all contested seats, in order that no disputes in regard to electoral votes should ever be submitted to Congress.

The function of Congress should be limited to meeting in joint convention for the mere ministerial duty of receiving, opening, and counting the votes of the electoral colleges, and, if the count shows that no candidate has a majority of all the votes, to proceed to elect

as President, *viva voce*, one of the three highest candidates, each senator and representative having one vote, and the candidate receiving a majority of all the votes thus cast shall be declared President. In case of a tie, the Speaker of the House, as representing the people, should have the casting vote.

The chief merit of this suggestion is that it would seem, at least at the outset, to secure a definite result without any considerable departure from the existing methods to which the people have become accustomed. Doubtless politicians would sooner or later contrive some device to nullify the will of the people; but unless the electoral colleges in the several States send in double returns, it is not easy to see how the power to perpetrate any fraud will reside in Congress. But double returns from any State could only occur from two electoral colleges being organized, in which case the question of legality should be settled in the State courts, and a copy of the record of judgment should be final and conclusive on Congress.

The result of the deliberations of the committees of the Senate and House now considering this question so vital to the future destiny of this country will, it is to be hoped, solve the problem in a satisfactory manner. In making these suggestions, I do not pretend to prejudge their conclusions, which I expect to be able to support, because the committees are so composed as to be entitled to the confidence of the country.

ABRAM S. HEWITT.

MODERN LOVE.

II.

IT is, of course, idle to try to maintain that the highest love between man and woman is peculiar to modern times, or that it has appeared only since Werther. The fact has always existed to a certain extent. Miss Yonge says very aptly, "Perhaps the nearest likeness to modern love is in the graceful story of Penelope covering her face with her vail, and turning to Ulysses, when her old father asked her, weeping, whether she would leave him." There have always been good wives, and also men who loved maidens; but maidens had little opportunity to love in return, and if they did, it was reckoned as indecorous. The fact is, that the true and full recognition of the dignity of woman, and the worth of her love, belongs to modern times, and culminates in the nineteenth century. Of course, Christianity implied the whole truth in the essential idea of the marriage that makes man and woman one under God; but the Bible does not develop the contents of this idea, and the Christian Church had something to learn of the worth of woman from the Northern nations whom it converted, and also of the error of regarding the only spiritual marriage as that which weds the virgin to Christ, and consecrates the monk and the nun. All Oriental nations have made woman too much subordinate to man, and the Greek habit of overlooking the ideal worth of woman, which we have traced out in Plato's Symposium, was part of the Orientalism of the Greek race. The true emancipation came when the Germanic freedom combined with the Hebrew faith and the Greek culture in the combination which gives woman her due in companionship with man.

The Greeks and the Hebrews took the lead in preparing the way for the just estimate of love, and it is a memorable fact that the only two philosophical treatises upon love which are named in the learned French Dictionary of Philosophical Sciences, just from the press, are from a Greek and a Hebrew. The careful and thoughtful

article, "Amour," ends thus: "We know only these two works upon love, considered in a philosophical point of view: the 'Banquet of Plato,' and the work of the Hebrew Leon, entitled, 'Dialoghi di Amore composti da Leone Medico, di Nazione Ebreo e di poi fatto cristiano,' in 4to, Rome, 1535, and Venice, 1541." Three translations of this work have been made into French, but we have never met with a copy. The editor of the Dictionary, M. Franck, of the Institute, must of course be acquainted with the work of Stendhal, whose real name was M. H. Beyle, "De l'Amour," but he probably could not look upon it as coming within the term philosophical, and in this respect Michelet's treatise was probably also found wanting, ambitious as were its claims. The new philosophical treatment of love has come mainly from another quarter—from the North, with its free spirit and inward life and household loyalty.

The Germanic heart, with its blood, shows itself in the social life of France and England, both of which drew largely from the German tribes; and the architecture which is called Gothic, and which made its first triumphs among the Franks in and around Paris, and went with William of Normandy and his race across the Channel, is not the only monument of the union. Sainte-Beuve's "Portraits of Women" and Miss Yonge's "Womankind," different as they are in subject and spirit, help us to trace out a certain Germanic element in French and English history, if we may call it Germanic to love home and marriage, to be true to prince and people, and to tell the truth in word and deed, as the old Nibelungenlied teaches. Under the gay costume of courts, we are allowed by this eloquent French critic to see the beatings of the human heart, and intimations of the better day when the man would be more than the courtier and the woman more than the lady. The charming sketch of Madame de La Fayette, the author of the romance of the "Princess of Cleves," and for nearly twenty years the confidante and the guide of the brilliant satirist, De La Rochefoucauld, shows how much of what we call the modern mind and heart lived in French society two centuries ago, and was waiting for Madames Roland, De Staël, and Guizot to speak it out. Boileau called her the "woman of France who had the most *esprit*, and who wrote best;" and Rochefoucauld learned apparently of her at fifty-two years, after a life of fashionable pleasure, that his famous maxim, "There is but one kind of love, but there are a thousand different copies of it," was not true; and a brilliant and pure woman could say of him, "*M. de La Rochefoucauld m'a donné de l'esprit, mais j'ai réformé son*

cœur." A certain courtly elegance, with courtly intrigue, was the curse of French society under the Great Louis, and the very power of the throne which held the Roman See in check did not allow that great uprising of Christian manhood and womanhood which did so much for the home life of England, alike under Churchman and Puritan. Miss Yonge, although not very deep in the philosophy of religion, acknowledges the historical factors in the rich home life of England, and seems to think that Catholic and Evangelical and Broad Churchman have characteristics worth preserving, and that "the higher and nobler of all these do not differ greatly. It is the followers, the ignorant and narrow on both sides, who have party spirit, and run into hatred and variance." Surely each of those three factors has had much to do with educating the love sentiment of England. The bishop's palace and the country parsonage have presented married life in courtliness and sanctity; the Puritan spirit has given inward sweetness and light to the fireside, as well as zeal and daring to pulpit and camp; and the new culture, which Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Goethe have done much to shape, has made the home more human and no less divine.

Miss Yonge's book has great value, alike as a wholesome guide to mothers and daughters, and as a mouthpiece of the sterling Church faith of the homes of old England. She has a bone to pick, of course, with Germany, and she has little patience with the German tendency to look upon love as mostly, if not wholly, an affair between two persons, and to accept marriage rather as a duty to society and the state, than as a law of religion and the Church. She does not hesitate to declare her full belief in the inferiority of woman to man, and in her incapacity to attain to any thing like the powers of a man of the highest ability, and in her need of masculine guidance in the Church and the house. Yet she will not have woman man's slave; nor does she, in her advice as to spiritual direction, recommend more than the Confession and Absolution of the prayer-book and the private counsel of the pastor. She exalts the bride to a spiritual dignity, favors an early hour for weddings and the Holy Communion with a party of select friends, and a larger feast later with the poor invited in gospel fashion. She is somewhat severe upon the faults of girls, and thinks that when many of them are brought together they tend to belittle and spoil each other, whilst boys stir and strengthen each other. She says, "Take it for all in all, I suppose dress is the greatest temptation to the greatest number of women in existence;" and she urges upon them the serious

duties of personal culture, constant charity, and earnest devotion. In some respects she is a little too liberal for our remains of Puritan strictness; and whilst she is severe upon flirting, immodest dressing, and loose speech, and has no patience with betting, smoking, and even with shooting or fishing, or any destruction of animal life by women, she is quite mild upon the opera and theater, and does not quarrel with waltzing. In this last respect, Werther is to us the better moralist in his first description of his love for Charlotte: "I felt myself more than mortal, holding this loveliest of creatures in my arms, flying with her as rapidly as the wind, till I lost sight of every other object; and, O Wilhelm! I vowed at that moment that a maiden whom I loved, or for whom I felt the slightest attachment, never, never should waltz with another than with me, if I went to perdition for it. You will understand this." The men who waltz probably do understand it, and those of us who have not learned the accomplishment will not be inclined to dispute Werther's view of it, or to see the consistency of the religion which recommends early Communion on a wedding morning, and allows Paphian dances in the evening.

It is not easy to say in a sentence or in a paragraph what Goethe's precise thought was about love, or what he meant by the Ever Womanly, to which he ascribed such sovereign power. He expressed himself in so many ways, and his life and his works were so many-sided, that there is so much to say about him in this respect, it is hard to say the right thing or the main thing. As a man, he seems to have gone through pretty much all the forms of love experience, and he was such a lover as the world has not seen, beginning the charming hallucination before he was fifteen, and not losing it wholly at eighty. He tells his own story in his autobiography, and his works, especially his poems and novels, tell it for him better; yet the impression which has generally been made upon readers of both has not been favorable to his character. But more recently, thorough study of his love life has made him appear in a much better light, and shown that whilst he was nothing of an ascetic, and not wholly a Christian, he was not a voluptuary or even a man of the world in his relations with women. He loved many times, and was loved in return; but he was no seducer of innocence, and more than once he saved infatuated women from their own weakness, and gave them more virtue than they had in themselves. Herman Grimm insists that his relations with the Countess von Stein were purely æsthetic and literary, and not sensual, and Mr.

Calvert's recent memoir of her justifies this view ; and when he left that intimacy with her, and associated with Christiane Vulpius, he would have been thought better of by the social code of the day if he had done worse, and if he had left this bright, affectionate, sagacious, but uncontrolled and somewhat coarse girl to herself and her fall, instead of taking her to his house, and afterward marrying her and legitimatizing her child. This passage of his life is not to be excused, but all the facts should be known before we judge him. His love was rarely, if ever, purely ideal, and he had a nature sensuous as well as intellectual and imaginative ; yet his loves seem generally to have brought out the ideal within him, and his exquisite creations began in some real experience of the heart. His genius was essentially exalted and exalting, and his muse found in womanhood the influence which the Diotima of Plato characterized as the peculiar power of love, which enables the lover to "bring forth, not images of beauty, but realities," or "generation and birth in beauty." His women were born of his life, whilst his men were made out of his memory and thought. Thus Margaret and Charlotte and Dorothea and Clara and Leonora and Natalia were born, and womanhood has received from these offsprings of his genius more than it gave to him in quickening his intellect and imagination. He apparently felt the need of such vital influence in bringing out his poetical powers, and he tried to win Helen of Troy back to earth in the second part of "Faust," to enable him to do what Diotima, the prophetess, perhaps half consciously intimated as the problem of the future, and which ingenious critics and keen philosophers had tried in vain—to mate nature with spirit, the Greek humanity with the Oriental faith, or what we call the Classic with the Romantic school. Women had taught him what Helena as well as Margaret was, and helped him to that creation of the boy Euphorion, child of Faust and Helena, in whom classic and romantic times meet together, and go forth into the new age. Music went with him in all this work, and his muse has been more wedded than any other man's with song and the orchestra, as well as with painting. He has been sung and painted as no other poet. In fact, he belongs to the new age of music, and when he came out in 1774, Haydn at forty-two had begun his great symphonies, Mozart at eighteen was astonishing Germany and Italy by his genius, and the boy Beethoven at four years was trying his hand at the harpsichord with a touch that thrilled with the birth-throes of a new world of tones.

It may probably be said, in all fairness, of Goethe, that his expe-

rience of love was more favorable to him as a poet than as a man, and that his love was more helpful to his career as an artist than to his life as a man. With him, as with Rousseau, the senses and the soul did not go together in his home life, and his Christiane was but a finer edition of Rousseau's Therese. After ten years of sentimentalizing with Charlotte von Stein, in an intimacy which, however unwise and excessive, was apparently within the limits of social morality, Goethe found in the climate and the society of Italy a not unwelcome relief from the silken chains of that cultivated, correct, and exacting lady; and on his return to Weimar in 1788, he seemed to meet the sunshine and the pulse of Italy in the bright and bonny, the merry and practical, Christiane Vulpius, who put herself in his way, and helped him with his plants and his studies of color, before she went to his home, and became the mother of his children, and in time his wife. He was strongly attached to her, and he bitterly mourned her death; but she was not the woman suited to his higher nature, and he sinned against the law of self-culture as well as of morality and religion by his connection with this *weiblicher Dionysos*—this female Bacchus, as she has been called. His disposition to defend his course as part of the poet's license, and the readiness of his friend Schiller to claim for genius a kind of primeval innocence of nature, and exemption from conventional rule, is all poor stuff. Goethe was a man of society, as well as a poet; a legislator, as well as an artist; a moralist, as well as a romancer: and public sentiment, as well as ethical principle, can not withhold condemnation of his laxity. He passed tardy judgment upon himself when, the first Sunday after the battle of Jena, October 19, 1806, he went, with Christiane and her son, and his friend Riemer, to the Jacobs Kirche, and was married according to the usages of religion and the law of the land.

The women who fascinated him were not always, perhaps not generally, eminently intellectual, and they brought out in him more than they had in themselves. They were more idealizing than ideal, and apparently the lovely girls, like Frederika and Lili, who stirred his genius so mightily, had not mind enough to satisfy him long. Yet he knew the most gifted women of his time, and alike by their insight and genius and by his sense of the defects of their less-favored sisters, he was moved to think and write much of the intellect of the true woman; and no man has spoken more profoundly and deeply of the worth of woman's mind in her relations with man as friend, lover, or husband, than he. How rich and just

are some of his sententious sayings on this subject, as this: "The name of a beautiful soul belongs to a woman when her virtues spring from her nature, and her culture grows out of her character." Again: "You promise much, my daughter," said the dying mother: "the heart of a mother and the eye of a mother. Have it for thy sisters—and for thy father the truth and obedience of a wife." Wilhelm Meister gives elaborate and suggestive studies of womanhood, which culminate in the practical Theresa and the spiritual Natalia—two characters which come home closely to American life, and which New England represents in many a noted example. How much there is in this sentence that discriminates between the two, and prefers the nobler type of womanhood: "Theresa trains her pupils, Natalia forms them." This story of Meister is not a very good novel, but it is a great book, and there is more in it probably than in any book of our time touching the companionship of woman with man in thought as well as life. We have not yet come near to exhausting the wisdom of Wilhelm's letter to Natalia in his travels, the social reforms that he notes, and the Three Reverences that he accepts and commends—reverence for what is above us, for what is around us, and for what is below us—three reverences which he calls severally the Ethnic, the Philosophical, and the Christian.

The Ever Womanly which Goethe so honors, alike in his pictures of earth and his visions of heaven, was no shadowy abstraction to him. He had found it in many forms, and done his part to give it power over life. The idea is not too mystical to come home to us of the English-speaking race; and much as champions of Germanism, like Hartmann, quarrel with our English notion of woman, and of her love and man's, we probably know as much about the true thing as he and his people. Hartmann finds fault with Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* as giving a wholly inadequate notion of love, in that drama of a silly boy and girl who at first sight, and after a rash and improper kiss, in a freak of hot blood run crazy for each other and blunder into suicide. He thinks that Shakespeare saw too much ground for this play of Italian passion in the too sensual and superficial life of England, and that he had too little Germanic depth to correct such romantic folly. He says, "We can not allow that such an origin of love corresponds to our modern German standard, which rests far more upon a polar complement of the qualities of heart and mind (manhood and womanhood, reflection and intuition), than of the body and its beauty." He says again,

that of the German man we expect, first of all, manliness, calm force conscious of itself, and downright truth, instead of the noblesse and generosity of the gay cavalier of romance; and of the woman we expect feminine tenderness, delicate reserve, instead of the flaming fancy, the rapturous impulse, and the entrancing haughtiness of the ideal beauty of old romance. He finds in Shakespeare, indeed, much Germanic sense, and wonders that in his only drama of pure love he should have gone so far from the true track. To us this criticism appears quite unfair, and whilst there is some truth in Hartmann's strictures upon *Romeo and Juliet*, we must remember that "Juliet" is borrowed from Italy, and that the heroines of Shakespeare present examples of the most exquisite Germanic type of womanhood, in its sensibility, loveliness, purity, and dependence. Goethe drew much of his inspiration from Shakespeare, and in this respect he did not abandon his German birthright. He was far more the pupil of English than of French literature; and Erich Schmidt shows with much earnestness and force that he followed more the lead of Richardson than Rousseau in his "Werther," and could not have done what Pierre Leroux ascribes to him—could not have formed his story after the "Confessions" of Rousseau, a book which never saw the light of print till years after Goethe's novel came out.

Goethe presents womanhood in modern culture with more thoughtfulness than Shakespeare recognizes in her, and he does what Shakespeare wholly neglects in connecting her with social movements and religious questions and experiences. The story of the "Fair Saint," the "Beautiful Soul," the "aunt and guide of the charming and exalted Natalia," has no parallel in Shakespeare, who ignored the new religious life, and made his heroines live in the old routine of formal devotion. That sketch belongs to the new times. That noble soul, so courtly and so lowly, so keen and so devout, who was dissatisfied with the preachers of the day, who were blunting their teeth on the shell while she enjoyed the kernel—she to whom faith in the cross of Christ was a living force, "a path, such as leads our soul to an absent loved one;" she to whom "there is nothing that assumes the aspect of law: it is an impulse, that always leads me and guides me always aright;" she who could say, in the depths of her mystical joy, "There is no danger I should ever become proud of what I myself can do or can forbear to do; I have seen too well what a monster might be formed and nursed in every human bosom, did not higher influence restrain us"—this

character was a study from real life ; yet in Goethe it took new form and power, and belongs to the delineation of that Ever Womanly, which he has done so much to interpret to modern thought and to invigorate in modern society. This character becomes more significant when illustrated in the life of her niece and pupil, the earnest, intellectual, and progressive Natalia, who is so expressive a type of the new culture, which is so making its mark upon the strong and gifted women of our day, and is promising to tell so much upon the future of civilization. The fair anticipation is, that after all the agitation of the century in the world of sentiment, an honorable peace will come, and the love which has had its Reign of Terror and its Empire will soon find its Constitutional Republic.

Here a subject opens upon us which can barely be touched—the positive influence of womanhood in its heart and mind upon modern life within a century ; woman as a power in herself since “Werther” led the attack upon the old routine, and prepared for the reconstruction of society upon the new basis of emancipation. Undoubtedly, Goethe had more influence upon cultivated, thinking people from the fact that he kept out of the radicalism of the Revolution which Rousseau led, and, calmed by the delivery of his burning protest, he moved in courtly circles and breathed the atmosphere of culture and high art. He acted all the more upon susceptible and thoughtful women, and stirred them to a living sense of their power and their destiny. Those mighty queens of the new *régime* Madame de Staël and George Sand, confessed that they owed much to his genius ; George Eliot shows traces of his mind in her novels ; and our Margaret Fuller was almost his pupil, spoke with enthusiasm of sitting with Ottilia, his daughter-in-law, in Rome, and she trained a school of bright girls and able women to study his life and works. He was no professed reformer, nothing of what is called a woman’s-rights champion ; and all set propagandism was offensive to him, the dogged hater of narrowness and cant of every kind. He has, nevertheless, had much to do with bringing on the emancipation of woman, giving her the due right to choose her husband, and to speak out her mind and heart with voice and pen and vote. How far the movement is to go, it is not possible now to say, but it is plain that it is to go onward still. Women, probably, will find where their nature and sphere differ from men’s, and they will not claim the ballot in every department of the civil service, in which they can not use the bullet. But a

hundred years since 1774, when Werther came into the world and Priestley discovered oxygen and created chemistry and the finer industrial arts, women have won new power, and it is not time to bid them stop their progress. They are having more science, more culture, more courage; and the power of choosing, which they already have won, is capable of bringing men to terms in whatever sphere it is fully and fairly set to work. What maidens choose, young men seek; and what matrons decide upon, households obey, and senates and thrones can not gainsay.

Who can set a limit to the work and influence of women in the education and literature, especially the romantic literature, of the last century? All the beautiful arts and the finer industries are to enlarge the feminine sphere, and literature is opening the way and cultivating the power for larger usefulness. The novel is peculiarly the product of our time, and it has taken the place of the old epic poem. The modern romance is the prose epic, not like the old verse epic of war and conquest, but the new story of love and ambition. It is peculiar, alike in the fact that it is read, and not listened to, like the old epic; and also, that maidens and mothers are fond and frequent readers, and not merely men, such as heard the old epics. Here is a great characteristic of this new literature, that unmarried women, young girls, devour it, and that women are becoming its most prolific authors, and sometimes the most gifted authors. Strange to say, woman now greatly controls the most attractive and powerful of modern confessionals—the romance; and to her and to the romance, with its story of tried and broken and aspiring hearts, and not to the priest, the choice daughters of Christendom bring the secrets of their hearts, shed their tears over the glowing and sympathetic pages, and ask counsel and forgiveness of that mercy-seat, the Ever Womanly, in its love and pity. The ablest women have written and are writing these stories, and their starting-point is the new thought that came out in such thunder tones a century ago; and Madame de Staël, George Sand, Charlotte Brontë, and George Eliot are new and rising facts in our culture and social life. They deal mainly with love, and they are not afraid to say what a power it is in the world. Their own genius and education and reflection have not made them less loving, although they may have been less lovely and less loved by men on account of gifts so shining and overwhelming. They complain often of men as incapable of devoted love, and are fond, like the authors of “Corinne” and of “Lelia,” of making it out that the noblest woman

must despair of finding a man worthy of her. It may be that, difficult as might be the task and painful the sacrifice, literature, like religion, must call for devotees, and art and romance must have its Catharines and Theresas, who love too much to love an individual, and who should give to truth and humanity what passion claims for its idol. But these great women teach love and breathe it into their readers, although they do not always win the one heart which they most covet. By them in good part the love sentiment has developed new force and risen to new heights in modern literature. Great, indeed, are the sins of modern romance, and sad is the fact that many of the worst novels are written by women. True it is that novel-reading is the tippie of many young women, as in the case of the girl who took a novel out of the village library every day but Saturday, when she took out two to last over Sunday. But we must not forget how much precious experience, sober wisdom, and good principle are to be found in the best fiction, and how many lessons can be given to young people, young women as well as young men, by a pure and judicious and kindling story, that points the perils of false love, and shows the path of fidelity and peace. Our young people are all enlisted in that army, and it is well for them to know something of the strategy and the tactic of the fight. Only let them be mature enough for such schooling, and let it be understood that the love sentiment has no just place in the books of children, and the less they know of sex and its impulses the better.

In spite of all predictions of the decline of the romantic spirit and the decay of love, it is undoubtedly true that love never entered so deeply and seriously into the life of men and women as in our nineteenth century, with all its utilitarianism and business, radicalism and democracy, its skepticism and science. To the man of our time, the estimate of woman in the Symposium of Plato is monstrous in its ignoring of her ideal charm; and the heroines of the romantic ages, who have no mind of their own, but are wholly at the beck of the men who are their masters—those lovely paragons who stir heroism in men, but have no courage of their own, and who may tune the poet's harp to song without having any poetry in themselves—are very unsatisfactory, indeed little better than pretty dolls. Our modern love craves character, soul, thought, in woman; and the three romances that brought Richardson, Rousseau, and Goethe together to lead on the new age, indicate this yearning in their various ways, and in language in which passion

becomes almost devotion and madly finds a divinity in its darling. The scapegrace of Richardson's story, the desperate sportsman whose game was fair women, who boasted of never lying to a man and never telling the truth to a woman, and who every week was bent on a new victim, is represented as seeing on his deathbed a present angel in her whom he had outraged, and crying out to her in words that were his only prayer, and as offering his death to her as an expiation, "Let this expiate." St. Preux and Werther fall into similar extravagances, and Erich Schmidt notices the fact that these lovers fall into a kind of a rhythmic hymn in their love raptures and rhapsodies. Sainte-Beuve quotes from a specimen of the "Roman Intime" a passage in which the lady confesses to her lover, on his return after a year's absence: "This book which you see (the 'Imitation of Jesus Christ') I have made my delight; I have read and re-read it day and night. God will pardon me this, I hope, since I accuse myself of it without evasion; but at each line I substituted thy name for His." It is not the romances merely, but the new critics and philosophers who have fallen into this sentimentalism that is making a religion of love. Such a master of positivism as Comte and such a leader of utilitarianism as John Stuart Mill came nearer to worshiping a woman than God himself; and perhaps in the decline of the ancient faith the old forces of emotion, which for a while sought refuge in the erotic raptures of Mary-worship, under the lead of Liguori, and in mystical visions of the marriage of souls according to the teaching of Swedenborg, have been transformed into the love-mania of the New Materialism. Miss Yonge has little patience with this madness in any of its forms, and she is especially severe upon the tendency to make love between man and woman a religion without the law and grace of God. She is not sure that there is such a thing as constancy apart from a foundation deeper than human feeling, and she writes, "It is a strange thing to say, but experience proves it, that nothing is so uncertain as constancy;" and she looks for safeguards of love more in heaven's law than in man's perfection. Thus she is more English than French or German in her code and creed. With her, love rests upon the Church, which carries the sanctity of the altar into the affections of the household; whilst with the Frenchman it is society which most dominates over love, and sets aside Church authority somewhat easily when delicate gallantry veils its license and asks to be called devotion, and in fact sets up a worship of its own. With the German, love seems to be more an affair between

the two persons concerned, and State law more than social etiquette or church authority is looked to in order to sanction the relation. In some quarters, indeed, the new German thinking is breaking away from the old Teutonic chivalry, and making light of all romantic ideas of woman. Schopenhauer heads the rising Vandalism, and according to his theory, woman is the secondary and subordinate sex, without the sense of justice or the power of reasoning; full of falsehood and dissimulation; hating her own sex, and living only by dependence upon man; without real genius, or true æsthetic sentiment. A recent treatise by Friedrich von Baerenbach (Bearish enough), has carried out this tendency to its extreme, and in one hundred and twenty-six pages, dated Jena, 1877, he undertakes to deny woman's right to her present place in civilization, and to put her back into the old Oriental bondage to man. He says, in his folly, that "it is as memorable as it is consequent, that the century which has the heritage of Kant and Darwin can bring forth no Petrarch and Dante;" whereas the fact is, that our men of science have been often peculiarly romantic toward woman, and in danger of making her the only divinity.

Sainte-Beuve perhaps sets French love before us in his charming "Portraits of Women" as well as any of his countrymen; and without coming up to our English and American standard of propriety, he does not willingly offend morality or religion, and he never falls into grossness. Man of the world as he is, and a fastidious and keen critic withal, he stands bravely by his colors in defense of the rights of the heart, as when he begins his charming article upon Madame de Pontivy with this plea for constancy: "No, it is not true that love has a time more or less limited to reign in hearts; that, after a season of *éclat* and intoxication, its decline is inevitable; that five years is, as has been said, the longest term assigned by Nature to the passion which nothing impedes, and which finally dies of itself." Then, after a description of the value of intellectual congeniality between lovers, he continues: "No, it is the soul itself; it lives an invisible life; it is healed by its own balms, it is restored, it begins anew, it has not died out; it goes even to the tomb, and is then immortal." This is a pretty strong love code for a Frenchman, yet it is not wholly different from the tone of modern French romance, if we add to Sainte-Beuve's definition of constancy what his refinement, if not his principle, would despise—that the most obsequious devotion to the one idol does not of necessity exclude all interest in more sensual shrines. But French romance is not true

to the best life of France, and English notions of the home as well as of the nation are showing that better times are coming.

Time fails us to consider at length the influence of the new forces of our civilization upon the love sentiment, and to show what the new science, industry, and freedom are doing with the great instincts of nature and the spirit of society. Science is a great and rising power, but it will not and can not destroy any real sentiment or faculty, much less the love sentiment, and it may help its true welfare. Mr. Tyndall knelt down in Westminster Abbey some time ago like any other lover, and received Dean Stanley's priestly blessing upon the bride and the bridegroom. Edith Simcox, who undertakes to set forth the pure law of nature, with no God but the Universum, seems to find a place for love as impregnable as Sainte-Beuve's, when she says: "There are not two opinions in the human race as to which is the most intense and capturous of these joys. What pleasure is to the senses or to the animal life, that love is to the imagination and the emotional life—an irreducible final contentment of natural taste; with this difference however, whence our readiness to apply to the latter feeling alone the epithet religious—that human beings delight in possessing the pleasures of their choice, and in being possessed by the love of their choice."

It is an interesting question what would be the effect of Edith Simcox's atheism upon the human affections, and what place love would hold in her worship of the universe. No gain surely in elevation and constancy, but there might be a new and flaming superstition, with Love for the divinity. But at best he is no true god, and as Socrates learned from Diotima, he is the son of Plenty and Poverty, and never fails to have his mother's need. He is always a beggar, and he can not live without another human self, and he can not live truly without a higher love than his own—the love which God only has and is. Without some hold upon the eternal goodness, what we call love, and often madly adore, carries its death in its own life, and its fire burns out from its own intensity. Yet this child of Mother Poverty not only needs, but can accept, the best help, and there is no element of civilization that has been so educated and exalted. All our science, art, industry, liberty, and faith are telling upon love. No truth is indifferent to him, and all light has affinity with his true flame. Love laughs indeed at logic as well as at locksmiths, but in the end accepts them both. Physiology and psychology are making their mark upon the heart as well as

the head, and men and women do not now readily love and marry where they see hereditary contagion in the blood or inborn antagonism in the disposition, however clamorous may be the senses. Religion and theology are not quite left out in the cold by the love of our day, and there is a rising sense among thoughtful people that they who are to live long together need more than the attraction of their own egoism, and that in some way celestial and supreme forces should preside over their planetary movements. Call the power by what name we will, the essence is essentially the same, and Goethe in his sober thought, in face of so much trifling and folly, owns it as decidedly if not as devoutly as Rothe in his comprehensive and masterly Ethics.

What the new industry, which goes so closely at the heels of science, may do with love, is a pressing practical question of our time, and the money which measures its triumph threatens to put love into the market and sell him to the highest bidder. The age is called mercenary, and it is said that not merely self-indulgence but a certain aspiration and refinement, leads wary women to bow to Mammon and to accept rich husbands, because they must save themselves from hard burdens and coarse ways, and have the means of accomplishment and culture. Too often, love does appear to have its money price, and beauty seems willing to be bought when a plain gold ring is at the top of the golden pile. But there is another side to this view of business, industry, and capital. The fact is, that industrial thrift is much more favorable to household purity and affection than the old war spirit, which sent men to the field and left to women the burdens of the farm and street, as well as of the dairy and kitchen. The fearful degradation of women in Germany for generations was largely due to the Thirty Years' War, and the splendid career of Napoleon was hurtful to French society, as Sainte-Beuve so earnestly contends. Bayonet law was bad for home as well as state, and every household was degraded when the emperor sacrificed a loyal wife of his own line to a reluctant princess from a foreign court. War robs and murders the foreign foe and sends its surviving officers and men to homes impoverished by their absence, and not purer by the habits which they bring from camp and field and siege. Industry, on the other hand, delights in the convenience and beauty of the home, and it is constantly taking from the shoulders of woman the millstone of drudgery, that hardens and coarsens when it does not crush her; and if our modern industrial society exacts much outlay in order to give her

the ornaments and refinements that she craves, is it not true that a good portion of modern society has a culture that insists more upon the worth of mind and heart than upon gold and lands, and that our modern taste can make a home lovely without the wealth of merchant-princes or without making a god of Mammon? It is true that modern life is very exacting, and that it costs much, too much, to keep house, even in a frugal way. But the difficulty will be met, and love is to win new honors in solving some of the hardest problems of social and political economy. Where there is a will, there is a way, and what is love if it is not a will in its way?

Some persons who are not afraid of the new science and its industrial art are ready to shake in their shoes at the progress of popular liberty, and they are terribly afraid that this democratic freedom is to free love from all law, human and divine, and to strike at marriage as well as at worship. If liberty means of necessity license, we ought surely to know it in this country, where every man does as he pleases so long as he does not interfere with others, and where the law does not require any ecclesiastical sanction to marriage. Now what is the state of things among us Americans? Not all that we could wish, but much better than we feared and our neighbors predicted. With all our liberty, marriage is almost an established religion with us; and our women insist upon the offices of the church and the clergy in the rite, whilst our men generally accept their choice in this matter. With us, there is a respect not merely for the lady, but for the woman, such as is found in no other nation on earth. This comes not merely from a vague sentiment, but from a strong conviction. Our liberty is socially a mighty conservative power, which insists upon having certain personal rights, and knows that these rights can not be ours unless we own them in others. So, too, if our wives and daughters are to be respected, we must respect the wives and daughters of our neighbors; and a foul-tongued libertine or a wily seducer is a worse enemy to a community than a horse-thief or a house-burner. Moreover, a certain chivalry animates our earnest men in their relations with women; and, in the absence of the ancient caste and throne, womanhood is our pet aristocracy, and our American love in its best state is as good as any European love, and perhaps better. We have much to learn and also to unlearn, and our women are perhaps in danger of losing their throne by queening it too proudly and vainly over men, and asking more than average fortune can bestow. There is this peculiar difference in the effect of democ-

racy upon men and upon women ;—the new equality that makes men simple and frugal in dress and manners, makes women showy and exacting. Our men do not care to wear clothes above the general average of the people, and the millionaire does not dress better than his clerk ; but his wife does not decline silks and furs and laces and diamonds, and her servant comes as near as possible to her in the cut of her garments, and she may imitate her laces and her jewels. Here opens a dark view of our American life, and here love becomes often tragedy, with aspirations that imply their own defeat. The inward life is slave to outside show, heart and home wait upon shams, the most sacred instincts are outraged, and the wife who will not be a mother keeps her gauds, and is eager to keep her girlish looks by a crime that it would be hard to name, were it not that our grave church conventions speak it out in indignant rebuke, even in the heart of New England, and denounce antenatal murder as a deadly and a growing sin.

What our social science is to do with this and other social ills there is no time now to consider ; yet it can not fail to be clear, that what we call society is more important than what we call government, and that the whole subject needs to be studied anew with full recognition of all the factors which enter into our modern civilization, and which may be expected to develop alarming differences before the jarring forces can be lifted from seeming chaos into integral order. There are various and eager bidders for the leadership in the new social empire, and Papacy, Imperialism, Individualism, and Communism offer to take possession and secure order ; but these have been tried, and will not do. We must accept wholly and reverently the new conditions, and work out the true reconciliation. We may not see precisely the institutions and the men who are to shape the future, but we may be sure of the principles that are to prevail under the rule of science and art, culture and religion, justice to humanity and reverence toward God. It is sure that the love sentiment is to have its part in this reconstruction, and that it is suffering greatly from the present discord. What we have called the Ever Womanly is to do its work, but the Ever Manly is not to be left out of the account. The womanly is intensely personal, even in its higher range ; and its Madonna, unlike Dame Nature, is not content to let the individual perish, if so be the race is preserved. The womanly in modern life has a peculiar calling, and this Psyche wedded to the Eternal Eros is needed to save us from the rising materialism and fatality, and to keep our sacred person-

ality within the everlasting love. But the Ever Manly, the supreme and transcendent intelligence and will with the presiding law, must keep its throne. Civilization languishes and falls whenever the transcendent God is forgotten or denied, however strong may be the affirmation of the immanence of divine forces in nature and human life. Here Plato stumbled, and Aristotle failed, and Goethe wavered and was weak. Goethe wavered between the ethical theism of Kant and the fatalistic pantheism of Spinoza with too much leaning to the latter, and he carried this leaning into his treatment of love; as in his romance of "Elective Affinities," which has the error of Spinoza, the tendency to let ethics down to physics, and to make of the affections the play of chemical affinities beyond reason and will.

This line of thought is quite in keeping with the spirit of our best American life, and of the English-speaking race to which we belong. We Americans have had our civil revolution, but as yet no social revolution. Society began under the Puritan theocracy, and it has had its renaissance of thought, freedom, and humanity without any radical onslaught upon the old social order. The leaders of our renaissance have lifted personal liberty out of the old theocratic routine, without any storm and stress in literature, or Reign of Terror in politics. We have had a good record of a century of household life, with a cheering union of liberty and loyalty, romance and prudence. Our American women are as fair as any on earth, perhaps fairer, and men who have won their favor have won it by an honest surrender of a life for a life, under sacred law, and with God's grace. Our best literature is clean, and it has helped, and is still helping, the purity and the light and joy of our homes. Our leading poets and men of letters have been and are eminently pure in private life as in letters, and our love literature is part of that of the English-speaking race, and as such it may in some respects read to Goethe and his school a wholesome lesson. In this characteristic our poets are worthy of being named with their English contemporaries. Bryant, Emerson, Whittier, and Longfellow ally us with Wordsworth, Coleridge, Keble, and Tennyson, in their songs of love and home, country and religion. Gather our American poets, artists, essayists, naturalists, historians, and moralists together, and let them say what they think about love, and would they not make a symposium which Socrates need not be ashamed to join, and Plato could not refuse to record?

THE RELATION OF MORALITY TO RELIGION.

IN the *Nineteenth Century*, during the months of April and May, 1877, there appeared what was called "A Modern Symposium," on "The Influence upon Morality of a Decline in Religious Belief."

A droll subject this for a symposium, or, in plain English, a drinking-bout. Nor does it seem to us a fit theme for a discussion for which a soberly convivial talk could suggest a name or an analogue. The form of a colloquy, so often used among the ancients, with an interlocutor for each phase of opinion, would be by no means inappropriate; but there is need, as in the Dialogues of Plato or of Cicero, of one controlling and co-ordinating mind. We deprecate this light and loose mode of handling subjects that lie so close to the dearest interests of humanity. An essay no longer than a schoolboy's theme may, indeed, sketch the outline of a theory; but can not, by any possibility, either demonstrate its just claims or betray its hollowness and futility.

The articles brought together in this *Nineteenth Century* symposium are no more than their title might indicate. They are about as profound and thorough as if they had been successive speeches in an after-dinner debate. Not one of them goes into the heart of the question under discussion, and several of them are hardly worthy to be termed superficial, but are rather waivers of plea. Two of them, however, indicate a clear sense of the magnitude of the issue and an ability to meet it under more favorable conditions. Dr. Martineau's essay contains the members in embryo of a thorough and exhaustive treatise, and in his four or five pages there is not a wasted word, while the blended majesty and solemnity of his style are fully adequate to an inquiry of so intense and vital interest. We might say the same of the paper contributed by Dr. Ward, which indicates on the writer's part an impregnable strong conviction of the inseparable dependence of practical morality on Christian faith. Either of these contributors, had he written independently of the others, would have reached, though by a different route, the same result, and would have superseded the work which we propose to undertake in the sequel of this article.

The symposiasts—eleven in number—represent all shades of opinion, from high-toned orthodoxy to positivism and secularism. We have named the two whose Christian position is the most pronounced and the most clearly defined. There are several others whose ecclesiastical status we do not know, but whom we can not be mistaken in classing among those self-styled adherents of the broad church, who denote by broad whatever is not deep. Mr. Frederic Harrison maintains that religion is essential to morality; but his postulate is “a religion, of which the creed shall be science; of which the Faith, Hope, Charity shall be real, not transcendental, earthly, not heavenly—a religion, in a word, which is entirely human, in its evidences, in its purposes, in its sanctions and appeals”—all which, we take it, is but a euphemistic *alias* for “a religion without a God.” Perhaps, however, we are in the wrong; for ours is a day of “lords many and gods many,” and Professor Clifford introduces us to a new candidate for this honor in “Father Man,” whose voice within us is conscience. He does not, indeed, speak very hopefully of this form of worship in its bearing on morals, and seems half to suspect that the old creed, though false and doomed, is better. This, evidently, is Professor Huxley’s belief. He thinks that morality is strong enough to hold its own, yet is reinforced by sincere religious faith, so that the only objection to such faith is its groundlessness.

Without any further analysis of these papers, we propose to consider the subject that underlies them all—The Relation of Morality to Religion.

The first question to be asked is, Has morality a basis and substance independently of religion? This question we must answer in the affirmative. The sense of right and wrong is a native faculty as truly as reason, or memory, or imagination. It is among the earliest, in time of development, of all the faculties; is often keen and active before there is any distinct recognition of religious verities, and is not destroyed or necessarily impaired by the utter abnegation of religious belief. The very constitution of the universe, nay, we will go farther and say, a necessity underlying all existence, and without which being could not be, provides materials and occasions for its exercise. There can not be a finite existence, sentient, animate or inanimate, which has not its fit place, its appropriate uses, its determinate relations to other beings; and it is of this element of fitness, adaptation, and use that the sense of right takes cognizance, enjoining the observance of natural fitness on every intelligent agent. In

the primitive stages of society, the field for the exercise of the sense of right or the moral faculty is indeed very limited, because few fitnesses are known. Yet no race has been found so debased as not to recognize the fitness, and therefore the rightfulness, of some acts, the unfitness, and therefore wrongfulness, of others. With every step of intellectual advancement the domain of the moral sense is extended; for what we know is not absolute truth, but fitnesses, relations, and uses, so that every added item of knowledge enlarges our code of natural right and law. With the perception of fitness there is inseparably and inevitably blended a sense of obligation—the feeling conveyed in the words *ought* and *duty*. No one can violate the fitting or the right without being self-condemned.

As to the degree to which knowledge of the right extends, it may be asserted, without contradiction, that in civilized society the unfitness, therefore the wrong, of falsehood, theft, murder, and unprovoked injury is as well known as is the daily order of nature, and that no one who commits these wrongs fails to blame himself for them. A similar statement may be made, up to a certain point, as to offenses against the nearer domestic relations. The intrinsic fitness of filial reverence and obedience and of parental support and protection is nowhere denied or doubted. The marriage relation is so complicated with the interests of the larger public as well as with those of the contracting parties, that its fitnesses are less fully understood, and therefore, though in every civilized country it is in some measure protected by public opinion and feeling, there is not the same unanimity concerning it that there is as to the relation between parent and child. But were there in France, England, Italy, America precisely the same opinion concerning marriage in all its bearings, domestic, social, and public, the moral feeling in all these countries would prescribe and condemn precisely the same transactions. In fine, were there an omniscient race of men, in every other respect constituted as men are now, their sense of right would be as sure and unerring as their knowledge—the entire moral law would be fully as well known to them as their own existence. Nor is a moral sense co-extensive with knowledge in any degree dependent on religious faith or feeling. As regards the common affairs of life, an atheist knows as well as a Christian what it is right and what it is wrong for him to do, and is self-condemned when he does wrong. The moral law, then, has an existence and validity in no sense derived from or contingent on supersensual existence or belief.

We are now prepared to inquire, What and in what way does religion contribute to morality?

I. In the first place, as regards duties within the sphere of human cognizance, religion, for large numbers in every community, supplements deficient knowledge by faith. Persons of reflective habits and advanced culture can give reasons derived from the nature of things, for the moral duties which they practice, and for the restraints and abstinences which they impose upon themselves. There are, undoubtedly, in every circle of persons of approved merit and advanced culture, those who could reproduce from their own consciousness the entire moral law as to the common affairs of life, were it lost from memory and record. But a very large proportion of the well-behaving men and women in Christendom are illiterate and unintelligent, utterly incapable of saying why they should do thus and so rather than otherwise, except it be in the simplest concerns and the most obvious relations. Their virtue goes very far beyond their knowledge. There are many things which they do and forbear doing without any reason of which they are cognizant. For instance, they govern their appetites, while utterly ignorant of hygienic laws and of the action of the body on the mind. When injured, they do not practice private vengeance, though they can see no intrinsic wrongfulness in literal and full retaliation. They are constant in the exercise of those personal and social virtues which constitute the bond of our modern civilization and the sole pledge of its perpetuity, but which entirely transcend the range of their knowledge. These virtues are practiced by the multitude on the authority, direct or ultimate, of the Creator and Ruler of the universe. We do not mean that this authority is distinctly recognized by all; far from it. But wherever law-abiding citizens are in the ascendant, there are always a numerous and influential portion of them who are consciously under the power of religious motives, and obey the law because they are thus obeying God. Then there are as many or more who, though not ostensibly religious, have imbibed their moral principles and formed their moral habits under the tutelage of religious parents and in Christian homes. Others, and probably a still larger number, have the instinct of respectability, and acquiesce, without inquiry, in the better public opinion of the community around them. The last two classes obviously owe their existence solely to the first, and would cease to be were the first to die out. In point of fact, we can find no traces of them where the first is wanting, and where this

is the case, free institutions are impossible, and a government of arbitrary and irresponsible power or popular misrule is the only alternative.

It is, thus, from religious families that go forth the conservative forces for the state. The proportion of citizens that are capable of reasoning out for themselves a safe and salutary course of conduct is very small. At this moment, if left to their own short-sighted wisdom, the majority of our people would tend toward some pronounced type of communism, and would at least loosen, if not dissolve, the family union, by removing all impediments to easy divorce.

It is said that men ought to be so educated that they shall themselves understand the true needs and interests of the body politic. We grant this. But education is a work of time, and the problem is, to hold a community together till it shall be educated up to the standard of its own needs. In this regard not a few unbelievers and skeptics agree with us in considering religion as a valuable and essential substitute for knowledge, and would, therefore, deprecate its too rapid and speedy decline. When we consider the low culture of the multitude in all civilized countries, when we take into the account the vast and dense masses of stolid ignorance which immigration and slavery have forced upon our people, we may well beg the would-be iconoclasts to postpone their destructive mission for at least two or three generations. We have been especially grieved and indignant to see how eagerly many women of what thinks itself the advanced school welcome movements and measures to the discredit and detriment of religion. Not long since, in one of our large cities, the rooms of the "Women's Club" were the meeting-place for an association formed for the express purpose of extirpating from the constitution, laws and usages of the state and nation the few rootlets of religious faith that remain in them undisturbed. The members of this club, in opening their doors for such uses, are plotting against their own purity and honor—against the sources of the very intelligence and freedom which in their anti-religious attitude they abuse and debase. They remind us, in their hospitality to such guests, of the silly canary bird, whose sweetest song is always called forth by the advent of the cat that longs to devour him.

2. In the next place, religion gives to knowledge a broader and higher range, and thus enlarges and elevates the scope of the moral sense. Religious truth, like every other department of knowledge, consists of relations, fitnesses, and uses, and nothing else. Christianity professes to teach us, not the nature of God or of men, but only

our relations to him and to them. These relations have their own morality, and, if real, they have a morality essential to our well-being and well-doing. If God is our Creator, Ruler, Judge, Father, then toward him submission, obedience, worship, trust, love, are as truly moral duties as are temperance and veracity. If a common fatherhood, not through dead patriarchs whom, if living, we might not much revere, but through the ever-present and all-merciful God, makes human brotherhood a reality—then in that relation are involved sympathies, charities, philanthropies, loving offices for all of whatever land or race who may need them, that do not belong to a relation, which, if through a common ancestor, is diverging and attenuating itself more and more with every generation, and which loses even the faint shadow of reality, if we suppose the several races to have issued from different parent stocks.

Still farther, if we are really immortal beings, there are many respects in which the entire plan of our life ought to be very different from what it would fittingly be, if we have only our brief and precarious life on earth. In the latter case, we should cultivate the cheap and easy virtues; but we should not want to sow where we could not hope to reap. The enterprising, self-sacrificing, heroic virtues would be the acme of imprudence and folly. Our true and proper course would be to secure, day by day, all the pleasure which we could derive from life without injury to others—in fine, a judicious Epicureanism, such as was that of Epicurus himself. We should wisely hasten to crown ourselves with rose-buds before they could wither, and should leave no flower of the spring ungathered. As the man who expects never to change his earthly residence devotes his industry, skill, and genius to developing the resources of his home, so ought we, if we have no other life than this, to study how to get the most and the best possible out of the present world. But as he who is on the eve of emigration to a strange land seeks to acquire some conversance with its language and some practice in its modes of life, and thinks and does more with reference to the land whither he is going than to that which he is leaving, so ought it to be with us, if we are but sojourners and tent-dwellers here, to be permanent citizens of “a better country, even an heavenly.” There are things entirely fitting and desirable for us as mere mortals, which are superseded and made worthless for us as immortal beings. There are things fitting, therefore, right and obligatory for us as immortal beings, which have no rightful claim upon our regard as mere mortals.

Here, then, as children of God, as the brethren of all his children, and as partakers of his immortality, we have a new and higher sphere of duty, that is, of morality, contingent on religious knowledge, and by virtue of that knowledge resting on religious believers on precisely the same basis of intrinsic fitness, which underlies the more obvious duties recognized by every sane and developed mind.

We thus have two classes of duties, or departments of morality, logically distinct and separable, and belonging to different planes of knowledge, consciousness, and experience. We might divide the character of the religiously moral man into two parts that admit of being considered distinctively without confusion. The one part consists of obligations that can be explicitly defined, numbered, measured, stated as a debt might be stated, moreover, made up more of prohibitions than of commands, oftener designated by the Judaic "Thou shalt not," than by the Christian "Thou shalt." The other part consists of obligations that do not admit of a quantitative statement, and have for their only measure and limit ability, opportunity, and devout feeling. The former may exist without the latter, but not the latter without the former. The morality of daily life is the essential foundation of religious morality. Yet though the foundation may stand, and sometimes does stand alone and faultless, there is always danger that it may not remain entire and symmetrical unless it be built upon. The case is the same in spiritual as in material architecture. We have seen old foundations, solid ones withal, on which the purpose of building had been abandoned; and the stones have sunk in the moistened earth, or been heaved by the frost, sometimes chipped or crumbled, and, when not so, defaced by weather-stains. The superstructure protects the foundation as much as the foundation sustains what is built upon it. Without religion, if duty be not violated, it often becomes mechanical and lifeless, loses its spring and energy, lapses into mere task-work. But when it sustains a truly religious life, it is strengthened and vivified by the structure that rests upon it; for the structure is—to borrow the apostolic figure—a "living temple," and its life throbs in its foundation-stones no less than in its ever-ascending walls and in the spires which it is ever projecting heavenward.

We have thus shown that religion supplements what may be called natural, positive, or definite morality by a higher morality of its own.

3. Religion also furnishes the strongest and the only irresistible

motives to right action. Fear, which is commonly identified with it, is not peculiar to it, or characteristic of it. Natural morality has the sanction of inevitable consequences, and they are the only punishment which the enlightened Christian recognizes. He, indeed, regards these consequences as not cut short by death, but as reaching on indefinitely into the unseen future. This consideration adds untold intensity to fear as a moral motive, and has undoubtedly been in the past of immense efficacy in the prevention of immorality. Why should it not retain that office? The fear of what is in itself a fit object of fear is certainly a reasonable motive for action. We never hesitate to set before the youth the damage to body and mind, to reputation and well-being, to all that is worth living for in this world, which will ensue from persistent immorality; nor do we assign to the salutary dread thus inspired an unimportant influence in shielding him from temptation and saving him from sin. Why should we doubt the beneficent agency of a fear that looks beyond this life into the unknown depths of eternity? It has arrested unnumbered mortals on the brink of ruin. It has its rightful post at the "wide gate," at the entrance on the "broad way," and were it not for this angel of the flaming sword, many more would "there be that go in thereat."

Nor to those on whom fear does not act directly as a motive is it of little worth to have moral distinctions thus made emphatic by the executive ministry of God's eternal providence. What saint or angel is there, whose abhorrence of moral evil is not enhanced by the contemplation of its dire and enduring consequences, and whose moral feeling would not assume a lower tone, were wrong and sin treated with indifference in the administration of Infinite Justice?

But the best thing which fear can do for him who feels it is to urge him on to that higher spiritual state in which "perfect love casteth out fear." It is in the motives which come under this designation that religion has sole place and power. The love of God in the heart has sovereign sway over the life. The soul that profoundly feels the Divine fatherhood is armed against all assaults of evil. It may be doubted whether a vivid sense of the loving presence and providence of God and a purpose of wrong-doing can co-exist at the same moment in any human being. But there is no other motive of which this can be affirmed or postulated. Expediency, the love of approbation, social feeling, human kindred, custom, precedent, public opinion—either or all of these may be on the wrong side, and, when not so, are often silent and neutral as to

manifest and positive duty. But he who feels the heart-bonds that make him consciously a child of God can not but hear a Father's voice in every claim upon his moral activity, and be constantly under a restraining force in the presence of wrong and evil.

The love of God has its intensest emphasis in Christianity. God in Christ, in the interceding, pleading, dying, ever-living love of him in whom "dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead," has never been taken to the heart of man, without subduing that heart to obedience, pureness, and holiness. Abstract from our race for the last eighteen centuries the virtue and excellence, the noble characters, the blessed lives, that have owed all that they were to God in Christ—the feeble, scanty remnants of goodness that would be left on record would afford the most authentic prognosis of the moral future that must be associated with a declining faith. Who have there been among the benefactors and exemplars of these Christian ages, who would not have merged all sense of personal merit in profound gratitude to the Author of their religious faith and hope? A like result would attend similar investigation in our own time. Among those who question or deny the practical worth of Christianity, there are few in whose behalf it could be claimed that they had come under teaching or guidance of equal value and efficacy. Among the foremost men in example, influence, and charity, we might look long and far before we should discover one who would admit that his virtue had any other inspiration or guidance than from the Gospel, or who could conceive of the dethroning of Christ without the desecration of all that is precious in humanity.

Causation in the moral and spiritual realm can not, indeed, be witnessed with the bodily eye, as when we look at chemical experiments in the laboratory. But if in myriads of instances where we behold a specific effect, we discern the actual presence of what may be its cause, and if in the few doubtful cases, where its presence is not immediately visible, we yet find that it has not been wholly and always absent, the inference is that this concomitant element has been the cause. Such is confessedly the case as to the higher types and more illustrious exemplars of human virtue. In the immense majority of instances, Christian faith has been and is the inseparable concomitant of superior goodness, and, if a few exceptions be cited, it will be found that in those few—we have never known a case to the contrary—there has been a Christian education, often an early and earnest profession of Christian faith. Are we not then authorized to regard Christian faith and superior moral worth as

cause and effect, and thus to ascribe transcendent efficacy to the motives which Christianity supplies for the government of conduct and the formation of character?

Our proposed limits preclude detailed reference to the teaching of history, and of past and present experience, as to the connection of religious faith with morality. Yet we may be permitted to suggest the comparison of two countries, which in both particulars present a striking contrast—Scotland and France. Scotland has been, from the time of John Knox till now, preëminently the land of faith. In her ecclesiastical circles, at this moment, deflection from hyper-Calvinism seems as alarming and portentous as does rank secularism in her sister kingdom. Skepticism had, indeed, at one time some ascendancy among cultivated men in Edinburgh, but only for a brief season, and with no extended influence in the nation at large. In the rural districts of Scotland, the institutions of domestic piety have never been displaced, and there are few households unconnected with the public ministry of religion. At the same time, there is not a nation in the world that bears and merits a higher reputation than the Scotch deserve for honesty, integrity, industry, good thrift, and the other virtues that lie at the foundation of a state's well-being.

France, after ages of stupid and unbelieving formalism, alone of all the nations upon the earth tried the experiment of demolishing the altars of religion, putting its profession under legal ban, and inaugurating atheism as the creed of the state; and during that eclipse of faith a dog's life was safer than a man's, the rivers were red with fratricidal blood, the least semblance of virtue was a crime against the republic; and the people were at length most happy to find refuge from a hydra-headed anarchy in an iron despotism. Nor can we doubt that, since the fall of the first Napoleon, there is more than a fortuitous coincidence between the frequent sanguinary revolutions and the bloody saturnalia of communism, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the godless literature, the skeptical philosophy, and the open repudiation of religious faith, which—not without illustrious exceptions—have continued to be the prominent features of French authorship, statesmanship, and character.

In our own country and time, while we do not believe that there is in the people at large less of religious faith than in former days, there is undoubtedly a decline of faith in certain communities and classes. But we know of no quarter in which this is the case where

there is not equally a decline of morality. The very persons who assail religious institutions are making war against the sacredness of marriage and the permanence of domestic relations. We already see placarded in some of our great cities advertisements for Sunday meetings of "Free-Love" conventions, in terms that might seem to have been translated from recovered literary memorials of Sodom; and of speakers and listeners in these assemblies, a large proportion are to be heard and seen at "Free Religion" meetings; while it is perfectly well understood that these last cherish the most catholic fraternity with all sorts and descriptions of men except Christians. We have not been able to see or learn that integrity, purity, and soberness have gained any firmer foothold among those who forsake the ordinances of religion; and of those who have made utter shipwreck of character, very few have left vacant places in Christian circles.

Much is indeed said in the public prints of men prominent in religious movements, who have disgraced themselves by ignominious frauds, peculations, and embezzlements. We are not surprised that these instances have been placed and kept prominently before the community; for such cases are so rare as justly to arrest grave attention and excite emphatic comment. So far as we know, they are, all of them, cases in which there had been for a long period such an engrossment in multifarious, crowding, and perplexing business operations that the religious life was physically impossible, the quietness essential to devotion unattainable, supersensual themes of thought excluded by a necessity, self-imposed indeed, but imposed—there is reason to believe—before the first steps in the direction of overt guilt and shame. No Christian of sane mind will pretend or imagine that church-going with the inward ear closed and deafened, the form of Christian communion without the spirit of the cross, Sunday overlaid by the cares of the preceding and the forecast shadows of the coming week, are a moral specific; and many who call and, perhaps, think themselves Christians are in intense need of precisely the lessons which these disasters among their own brotherhood may teach. But the moral strength of our country is still, as it always has been, with those who believe and worship. It is among them that we find the pillars of the state, the men whose integrity we know to be impregnable, the women whose loving offices gladden the desolate, feed the poor, gather in the fatherless, and stay the plague among the poverty-stricken.

SILVER IN ART.

THE useful arts, by which I mean those industries into which the expression of beauty enters as a subordinate and not as an essential element, have advanced further in the last decade of years than in the half-century immediately preceding.

In no field of industrial art is the improvement more marked than in the artistic and ornamental use of silver, and the fact that the yield of that metal in our own country alone is likely for many years to be vastly in excess of the natural demand, tends to encourage its more abundant use in the arts where it can be employed. The vast surplus over the necessities for coinage had far better be diverted to the uses of art than made the means for striking a blow at our credit that causes it to totter the world over. Were it so used, no representative of the people could stand up and blandly ask to have his electro-plated rag baby taken to the nation's bosom, and its life sustained at the expense of national honor. We might then be spared the humiliation of reading advertisements in the journals of European cities, offering the services of bankers in exchanging United States securities for some safer investment, and this because those who should hold the national honor as the dearest thing on earth, are willing to even parley with the unfaithful ones, who, like Judas, would betray their master for thirty pieces of silver.

The general characteristic that more than any other impresses the eye is the absence of glare and the subdued and harmonious tone that has been given to the objects most recently made. I have noticed many effects produced by novel methods of ornamentation that have not yet become generally familiar, and which I shall endeavor to intelligibly describe. Conspicuous among these are silver articles laid with niello, somewhat after the manner of *champlevé* enamel, and similar to the beautiful Russian work which excited such admiration at the International Exhibition of our Centennial Year. The art of applying this enamel was sometime regarded as a Russian secret, though the metallic oxides, of which it is composed

(and which are fused into a homogeneous substance again by the process of heating in a furnace) were well known to our metallurgists, and it has lately been successfully employed by craftsmen of Paris and London.

The last year witnessed the development of this valuable ornamental agent in America, and its use in connection with silver is of the highest advantage, as it can be worked with equal facility in mass or in the most delicate lines. Unlike the vitrified enamels used in Oriental and European *cloisonné* or *champlevé* enamels, niello will bend with the body into which it is inserted, and is not therefore liable to destruction by fracture, nor is it easily injured by abrasion.

In connection with this highly workable composition, which contrasts so well with the unequaled whiteness of silver, pure metals are also inlaid by an ingenious process, so that it is possible to produce a durable surface, having the beautiful polychromatic effects that until lately were possible only by the aid of such superficial methods of decoration as electro-gilding and oxidation. Copper, iron, and gold are used in this way, and what I have said in regard to the indestructibility of niello, applies with equal aptness to inlaid devices of pure metals, which are not merely superficial, but equal in thickness to one third that of the body into which they are inserted.

While these developments of metallurgy, because of their novelty, attract great attention at this day, the advance toward excellence in *repoussé* chasing is perhaps even more interesting to observe. *Repoussé*, literally "pushed again," is the term applied to that process of chasing in which those parts of the ornament in highest relief on hollow bodies of metal are pushed outward by a tool within, and then repushed or *repoussé* with a more delicate instrument without, to form the finer lines of the design. The first, and to the uninitiated, seemingly the most difficult part of this method of ornamenting, is easily accomplished by means of the snarling-iron, an iron bar crooked to opposite right angles at the ends, and narrowing toward the polished rounded point that is brought in contact with the silver. The larger end is made fast in a vise, the other inserted through the neck or mouth of the object to be adorned; and while a skilled workman holds it in the proper position against the upturned point of the snarling-iron, a lad strikes smartly with a hammer near the secured end. The impression on the metal body is caused by concussion, the metal being stretched to the desired

extent. These impressions of the snarling-iron bear no resemblance to the finished design but simply appear as rude excrescences on the otherwise smooth surface. When all the parts where figures are to appear in relief have been suitably impressed, the vessel is filled with a composition of pitch and other resinous substances sufficiently yielding to admit of indentations being made upon the outer surface. The object is then placed upon a leather cushion, and the truly artistic work is begun, and not even the painter's pencil is made to express more subtly the artist's idea than the tool of the skillful chaser.

From the days of that erratic Italian who left us, in imperishable bronze, his grand conception of the Gorgon's head dangling from the clenched hand of Perseus; from the days of the restless Benvenuto Cellini until now, no process of presenting designs in metals has been so much esteemed as the *repoussé*, and the reason is manifest, for none is so clearly the work of man's mind and hand. The artist chaser can send into the pliant metal his very thought, and by the cunning of his hand render it palpable forever. The extreme ductility of silver renders it highly susceptible to treatment by the *repoussé* process, and it is possible to produce the most delicately finished and expressive *repoussé* pictures.

The opportunities for the exercise of the highest abilities of our artisans in this delightful field of labor have until recently been extremely limited, but a more general appreciation of excellence in decorative art has done much to call them forth, and the requirements of trade which afford them employment now demand the most conscientious work.

It is gratifying to bear testimony to the fact that we possess workers of unsurpassed skill, and that our people have the taste and the will to encourage them. One conspicuous feature of the artistic metal work of our own country during the last decade of years is that the most elaborate, costly, and meritorious works have been objects of household use and not of exclusive luxury, and in this regard we differ from our English cousins, whose masterpieces at the International Exhibition of 1876 were mural plaques, vases, and other purely decorative objects, while ours were tea-sets, fruit-holders and like useful articles. Now, while this may indicate the utilitarian spirit of our people, I can not think it is to be noticed with regret; for the result of bringing objects of beauty into the familiar intercourse of daily life will not be to degrade

them, but rather to elevate the taste of the generation growing up under the influence of such surroundings.

Disregard of ornament as a source of enjoyment is generally an indication of mental weakness or want of culture; and as extremes meet, it is common to observe the lavish use of decorative agents and total disuse of them, alike by persons who are timid and vulgar.

In the enrichment of objects of silver, another method, which, by the models I have seen, is proved to be susceptible of rare delicacy of treatment, is styled *appliqué* work.

In the execution of the process required for the production of this work, the embellishments are separately wrought in the same manner as a piece of jewelry, and laid upon the surface of the object to be adorned, being held in place by ligatures of fine wire. A careful blast from a blow-pipe is then thrown upon it and perfect fusion secured between the surface and the applied ornament—which thus becomes a part of and homogeneous with the original body. In this manner, Japanese devices of birds, fishes, foliage, and human and other figures, lavish Persian ornamentation of floral and other decorations, are admirably treated. By this process of applying raised ornament, another feature of decoration is introduced which until the current year has never been known outside of the curious workshops of the jealous Japanese, which no European or American may enter.

This new feature is obtained by means of a material which is applied in the manner I have described in regard to raised ornaments of silver, and for want of a better name I shall call it Japanese alloy. It is composed of metallic substances that are susceptible of receiving and retaining various shades of color, as blue-black, gray, yellow, brown, violet, and vermilion, which may be employed separately or together, and mixed with gold. The opportunities for metallic decoration which this wonderful and highly valuable compound afford are vast indeed, and render it easy to present the gorgeous plumage of birds, and all the beautiful hues which the wealth of Nature yields, in the durable form of metal objects. I regard the discovery of this secret—which is the result of a long series of patient experiments—as the most important step in artistic metal work which our country has taken, and its development will be watched with interest by all who are interested in industrial art in the United States. The use of this alloy, which is yet in its earliest infancy here, is likely to result in

the production of rarer and costlier art objects of silver than modern art has known, and the chryselephantine treasures of archaic times will doubtless be rivaled by the many-colored products of American workshops.

Still another mode of imparting superficial designs to metallic bodies without breaking their outlines, is the well-used one of engraving. Though when employed alone it is a feebler method than *repoussé* chasing, and by no means so decorative as *appliqué* work, yet, as an adjunct to the latter, and even in some cases alone, it proves a valuable and effective agent for surface decoration.

A peculiar effect wrought in conjunction with applied ornamentation, engraving, or even chasing, is produced by leaving the entire surface (except where some ornamental device is seen) impressed with the dints of the hammer. This unique finish imparts to the body an appearance not unlike that possessed by Japanese "crackle" pottery, and it certainly owns a quaint barbaric beauty. Other objects are indented with an edged hammer, horizontally, so that the lines appear like waves of water, and a very novel and pleasing effect is given by adding raised figures of fishes and marine plants.

Though metal sculpture presumably stands higher as an art than those methods of ornamentation I have named, yet so far as interior decorative objects of American manufacture evince, it must certainly take a subordinate place to *repoussé* chasing, which indeed offers every facility for delicate expression. To France still belongs the palm for figure modeling, and while we have made some worthy attempts, which are seen in recent examples of bronze as well as silver, yet, in the main, American metal statuettes that are shown in the shops are entirely destitute of merit. Bronze "ornaments" that would shock the artistic sense almost of a Parisian *chiffonier*, monstrosities labeled Shakespeare and Dante and Columbus, which one might bow down and worship without violating the decalogue (for they are shaped with utter disregard to any form of Nature or law of Art), are still bought by our well-to-do and intelligent provincial citizens, and placed conspicuously in their homes, where they continue to mislead the taste of inexperienced bucolic youth.

Now, a nice appreciation of artistic excellence is by no means necessary to perfect mental health (any more than to physical development), but it is particularly essential to the enjoyment of the

higher pleasures of the senses. This appreciation is only to be gained by culture, and it is the duty of those persons who have obtained that culture to demand as nearly perfect work as the utmost effort can produce, and to accept nothing less on any plea whatever.

Cheapness has no place in art, and while the ordinary household articles, the spoons and the tea-pots, may properly be simple and not costly, so soon as the art element enters, and the attempt is made to produce an object of beauty, something that shall gratify the sense, the hampering hand of economy must not be stretched out to destroy the effort. Only the best is good enough in art, and until those who have knowledge of what constitutes the best insist upon having it, there will be a plenty of "art workers" ready to sacrifice art to trade, and foist their meretricious wares upon the market.

IMPERIAL FEDERALISM IN GERMANY.

II.

FROM preceding remarks, it will appear that, in consideration of uniform codification and with regard to the centralization of the judiciary as exhibited in the newly-created Supreme Imperial Court, the German Confederation may be said to be nearly approaching the constitutional forms of centralized government, not unlike the French or Belgian shape of administration. There now remains, indeed, little room for the legislatures of the single German states. In point of fact, the difference between the political management of self-government, based on provincial districts or local independence, and the constitutional distribution of political independence within the single German states, does not appear to be very considerable. Nevertheless, the single states have still preserved many important prerogatives in the administration of their own affairs. Although subordinate to the higher ends of national unity, their legislative power remains intact wherever the improvement of the police, the settlement of financial questions, the reform of educational institutions, the organization of universities, or the practical working of the civil service require legislative action. On the whole, civil service, even when applying to the administration of imperial laws, is dependent on the more decentralized control exercised under the supreme authority of the states. The Supreme Court excepted, all the inferior and higher courts of justice have members commissioned under state authority.

The advantage to be derived from such a combination of imperial common law rules with decentralized responsibility of the civil service must be evident to any one that is fully aware of those bad results generally attending excessive centralization in the relation of government to the civil service. If there existed any probability of securing an uninterrupted succession of independent politicians like Prince Bismarck, to fill the office of the Federal Chancellor, even then the danger could not be avoided of having the civil service exposed to direct parliamentary and party influence, or to any

other kind of political corruption. Prince Bismarck himself, when proposing his original draft for a North German constitution, felt strongly inclined to having all public officers removed from the list of those that were to be eligible for parliamentary representation. His proposal, however, having been rejected, and the German Parliament being, to a considerable extent, composed of members belonging to the civil service, the above-mentioned danger can not be denied to exist. Now, the immense majority of public officers being, according to the same rules of qualification, appointed by the state power, even for the transaction of business coming under the rule of federal law, any officer's standing could receive any damage whatever on account of parliamentary opposition.

At present, the administrative department of the German empire is almost entirely deprived of means, serviceable in the shape of official bribery. The number of offices under the immediate control of the Chancellor has remained comparatively very small. And even that small number of office-holders can not escape the criticism of the Federal Council, more effective perhaps in their silent dissatisfaction than open reprimand, when uttered by journalism.

Nor has the German Emperor any practical means of awarding merely honorary titles or decorations to such men as might have been distinguishing themselves. William, the commander of the most powerful army, after the days of Sedan and Gravelotte was not enabled to award to his gallant soldiery any token of German gratitude. He had to resort to the prerogative of his Prussian Majesty in distributing either his iron crosses on the battle-field, or any other decoration, the acceptance of which by non-Prussian Germans was dependent on special permission, given under state authority by their respective sovereigns.

Having explained the tendency toward uniformity of legislation, as one of the characteristics offered by the Imperial Constitution, let us advert to some very remarkable elements of inequality occurring in the same constitution. Equality of rights, inherent in membership, appears to be necessary to the republican constitution of confederations like the United States and Switzerland, in spite of there being some important diversity with regard to territorial extent or population. There may be leading states in almost every confederation, either ancient or modern. But no Swiss canton, no American State can be said to exercise any considerable amount of preponderance over other States. Even the larger States, with a population exceeding the average number of inhabitants in other

States, dare not claim any sort of hegemony, although the representation of the nation, as a whole, may have been apportioned according to the number of people. The political influence of States like New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Ohio, great as it is in Congress, when compared to the weight that might be thrown into the scale by other minor States like Delaware, Maryland, and Maine, can not become generally decisive. And the immense territorial extent of Texas, California, and Nevada does not involve any preponderance of power. Assuming that after centuries to come, the area of Texas and Nevada might become as densely populated as that of the New England States, no possibility can be discovered of their ever gaining superior political force exceeding the aggregate influence of all the other States then forming the American Union.

But in Germany the case is widely different. There can be no real equality among the German Federal States, Prussia claiming 6171 German square miles her own, and thereby exceeding all the other States by one third in territorial extent. Her population, moreover, forming three fifths of the whole German population. Among the twenty-five States subordinate to the German Empire, there are five with an area under ten square miles, and only one exceeding one thousand square miles, all of the remaining being under four hundred square miles. Accordingly, the relative preponderance of Prussia over her federal associates is overwhelming. It is simply impossible to bring the Prussian power down to any artificial level of fictitious equality with the other States. With regard to the arithmetical principle of representation, it is imperative that Prussia should have her settled majority in the German Parliament. On the other hand, all the minor States of North Germany could not act independently of Prussia, even if there existed no federal bond at all. With them political sovereignty is merely nominal.

The Federal Council (Bundesrath) might appear to counterbalance the preponderance of the leading State, Prussia having to command no more than 17 votes out of 58 votes apportioned to the several States. Occasionally, indeed, it may happen that Prussia should be outvoted by a coalition of opposing states, as has recently been the case, when it was decided by the Federal Council that the Supreme Court of Empire ought to be transferred to Leipzig, contrary to a strong desire of the Prussian government to have it sitting in the capital. As a rule, however, Prussia must be acknowledged to command a majority of votes also in the state representation of the Federal Council. Moreover, in some very important matter the

Emperor can not be outvoted by any majority whatever. He has a constitutional prerogative of absolute veto against any change proposed with regard to military organization or the law of customs. He has the supreme command of the army and the naval forces. The administration of the postal and telegraphic service is under his immediate control. Nor is it possible that, contrary to his will, the Imperial constitution should be amended, fourteen votes in the Federal Council being sufficient to reject constitutional amendments. The seventeen votes Prussia may dispose of in the Bundesrath afford an impregnable stronghold of conservatism. It is the Emperor's prerogative to appoint the Federal Chancellor, whose office must be understood to represent the key-stone of the Federal edifice and the clew to practical politics. Under no circumstances whatever, the imperial dignity can be separated from the Prussian crown, whose highest administrative organs are, so to speak, riveted together with the central power of the empire.

It is only natural that the more powerful among the German Princes should not have felt very much pleasure in declaring their submission to so extensive, though strictly necessary, privileges, as have been vested in the Prussian crown. The rule of federal equality having been held inapplicable to the predominant position of Prussia, the consequence was, that the South German States, the Grand-Duchy of Baden, however, excepted, were fearful in the prospect of excessive centralization, when the moment was come to declare their accession to the North German Confederation. In view of the Prussian prerogatives, they were anxious to secure for themselves exceptional state exemptions from common imperial duties.

The ministerial transactions between Prince Bismarck and the South German States led to that well-known compromise at Versailles, in November, 1870, whereby the King of Würtemberg was allowed to keep his own postal and telegraphic administrations. Still greater exemptions had to be granted to the state of Bavaria. In consideration of her territorial extent, and a population of about five million people, she could not well be expected cheeringly to submit to such conditions of membership as might have appeared convenient to the minor principalities of Thuringia.

Therefore, it is by no means astonishing that the kingdom of Bavaria should not have been prevailed upon to entirely recede from her historical traditions, aspiring to perfect independence. Besides all the exemptions granted to Würtemberg, the King of Bavaria has secured his formal right of military command during the time of

peace, the independence of the Bavarian railway lines in their relation to imperial superintendence, and some other particular privileges. Bavaria, moreover, maintained many other financial and administrative advantages, partly valuable in the eyes of Bavarian politicians, partly, though secondary in their real importance, showing a strong aversion to centralization on the side of the Bavarian government, or the spirit of independence, manifesting itself even in such questions, where the beneficial effects of federal unity could not have been doubtful.

A most striking singularity, apparent in the general construction of the German Constitution, must be found in that provision according to which the right of embassy, irrespective of all the other imperial prerogatives, has been suffered to remain at the disposal of the several State governments. At first sight, such right might seem practically worthless in consideration of the dominant position occupied by the imperial dignity, embracing the nomination of German envoys and the control over the consular service. As a rule, indeed, it can not be denied, that the single German states are deprived of any chance of successfully pursuing a foreign policy of their own. Nevertheless, the right of embassy, as contained in the German Constitution, forms an exception, by no means indifferent, to sound political theories, testifying in the eyes of rival nations to the prolongation of diplomatic dualism, innocuous perhaps in ordinary times, but possibly also leading to serious difficulties in times of approaching international conflicts. The diplomatic correspondence between the Chancellor and the late German Ambassador, made public in order to convict Count Arnim of a political misdemeanor, affords ample evidence of the established fact, that Prince Bismarck himself feels very susceptible on account of the diplomatic position allowable to Bavarian envoys sent to France.

The anomalous consequences to be, under circumstances, anticipated from a bi-diplomatic service are rendered still more conspicuous by reference to the notorious fact that the Bavarian legation to the Vatican has hitherto been maintained unaltered, although the international relations between the German Empire and the Pope have been broken up in consequence of that state of ecclesiastical warfare which continues to exist between the Emperor and the Holy See. Assuredly, ecclesiastical warfare can not be said to be limited to the case of direct aggression against the Prussian Government alone. On the contrary, the ultramontane party amidst the German Parliament appears to concentrate their energy in fighting the

imperial policy. No doubt, it is a strong contradiction to political logic and to sound reason, when the law of subordination to the federal power is to apply only to interior legislation, irrespective of foreign diplomatic relations. In the eyes of many people, the continuance of the Bavarian legation at the Vatican is denoting something like a scission between the Bavarian policy and the imperial interest. That supposition may be utterly incorrect, as it probably is, the actual Bavarian ministry being, from an ultramontane point of view, scarcely less objectionable on account of liberal views, than the political associates of Prince Bismarck. Public opinion, however, is not always enabled to appreciate the wisdom of so different lines of conduct in one and the same matter, in order to justify the duplicity of foreign relations as admitted by the German Constitution.

The same kind of inequality that is exhibited by the classification of State governments partly subordinate in all their relations to the central power of the Confederation, partly exempted from the application of several important federal laws, may be discovered also in the provisions of the German State Constitutions themselves. Apart from the semi-republican constitutions of the three Hanse-Towns, scarcely any likeness would be traceable in the constitutional framework of more than twenty monarchies, not including the complicated machinery necessary to govern the border-lands of Alsace and Lorraine.

The Federal Constitution of the German Empire contains no provision whatever with reference to the recognition of the fundamental principles of popular freedom ; no general guarantee of individual rights, no definition of the prerogatives inherent in the crown of German princes, no declaration of citizenship. There is no formal objection to having ten German republics instead of three. Nor is there any prohibition with regard to monarchical absolutism. There are limitations imposed on the financial administration of the single States so far as they are to remain subordinate to the Confederation by paying certain money into the Federal treasury, or by surrendering a certain number of soldiers into the imperial battalions. But the constitutional relations to take place between the several kings, grand-dukes, dukes, princes, and their respective subjects, remain entirely untouched by the common legislation of the German Empire. The constitutional law applying to the single states may be henceforth framed according either to the dictates of absolute monarchical power or the principles of English parliamentarism.

Some constitutions, therefore, are formed on the Belgian pattern, and, for the sake of argument, that of Prussia herself, while with regard to other State constitutions a mixture has been adopted of modern rules with the ancient law of estates. And, strange enough, the Grand-Duchies of *Mecklenburg* have, down to the present moment, firmly maintained their strictly mediæval organization of feudalism, based on the tradition of hereditary vassalage, and the personal privilege of nobility. To antiquarians, with the political institutions of the fifteenth century, it must seem astonishing to remark the singular vitality of feudal abuses as still exhibited by the *Mecklenburg* laws.

The elective right of the German citizen to return representatives to the Imperial Parliament has been based on strictly radical principles of perfect equality, and the exercise of universal suffrage. Supposing, however, the legal term of parliamentary elections having simultaneously expired with regard both to the German Parliament and the Prussian Second Chamber, the Prussian citizens will perhaps be assembled on Tuesday to choose their German representatives according to the rule of direct universal suffrage, and may again be convened on the ensuing Saturday to choose electors for the Prussian Chamber in accordance with a different rule of indirect vote, under a tripartite classification, based on the amount of ratable property or income.

In the Grand-Duchy of *Mecklenburg*, the contrast offered to spectators is still more striking. Citizenship, entitled to a share in universal suffrage for Imperial legislation, gives no claim whatever to partake in public elections, the ancient Estates being formed on a pure platform of feudal aristocracy.

When compared with Switzerland and the United States of America, the German Empire exhibits the odd combination of uniformity in its civil and criminal codification on one side, with so motley a confusion in the organization of State constitutions as might be hardly tolerable in the judgment of Swiss or American politicians.

That there should be a certain degree of harmony even in the principles of constitutional state law, and some equality in the fundamental rules of state government, in order to secure safe working in the central power of confederations, can not well be questioned after the experience gathered during the civil war of the Swiss *Sonderbund* in 1847, and the great American rebellion. Even the old German Bund of 1815 had prescribed some provisions with a view to promote the gradual introduction of representative government

throughout all the German States. The Swiss movement of 1848 having swept away the only monarchical constitution then existing in the one Prussian dominion of Neuchâtel, it becomes doubtful whether so anomalous a state of discrepancy can be maintained in the German State Constitutions.

Scarcely any one would go the length to assert that, as yet, there is any serious and probable danger to be apprehended on account of the German State Constitutions. Prussia alone is too powerful to suffer any German State to entertain such hopes for success as have been prompting the Swiss Sonderbund or the American secessionists. But the ultimate question of constitutionalism is not merely a task of material strength or military power. It at the same time involves a deep problem of political wisdom, common justice, and moral progress.

The freedom of nations and the vitality of political institutions can not well develop their innate powers unless they be constructed on the fundamental basis of firm moral convictions. They can not ascend to the lofty and towering heights of disinterestedness, exercised in the performance of individual duties, unless there be some common notion of right and wrong, independent of merely statutory provisions, and some common belief in the ultimate triumph of reason.

The diversity of German State constitutions, based on rules contradictory to the principles of the Federal central constitutions, will, I fear, slowly lead to what must be acknowledged as the greatest of political vices, to moral indifference either toward the state government or toward the federal power. And moral indifference, I think, must proceed from the perception that one and the same thing can be good or bad, wrong or right, useful or dangerous according to merely subordinate distinctions of place and circumstances, of state government or imperial rule. Possibly much variety of legal prescriptions may be in coexistence within the territorial limits of confederations; but the sameness of political ethics, lying at the foundation of public and political life, can remain unshaken only so long as considerations of transitory expediency are kept subordinate to the supreme commands of political conscience, and a discrimination, widely visible, of right and wrong.

NEW YORK AND ITS HISTORY.

IT is said that the strongest evidence of the lack of true civilization in a nation is its inattention to the history of its origin and increment. The higher the condition of a people, the greater is the demand for a proper understanding of their gradual development. Biography is essentially a part of history, and the best historical works are those which blend the consideration of the lives and influence of distinguished citizens with the treatment of public affairs. Indeed, "history is the essence of innumerable biographies," the truth of which remark is demonstrated by the fact that some of the finest biographies extant have been culled from the pages of general histories, such works as combine all the interest of romance, the attraction of poetry, and the instruction of reality—of individual cause and national effect.

The welcome extended to the recently issued first volume¹ of the history of the chief city in America is due as much perhaps to its being, as the author tersely observes, "biography in its most absolute sense," as because of its basis upon a solid foundation, and the prominent part its subject played in advancing the Union to the front rank among nations. New York not only occupies an individual position, but is in reality one of the most interesting cities in the world; its settlement, the traits of its life, the forces of its growth, the peculiarities of its character, its remarkable experiences, and the notable personages who have figured in its career, afford a wide field for the mind which can link the chain of progress with one grand connecting principle, and unite the whole under one view. To thread the mazes of the past and unfold events in clear and distinct order requires a critical knowledge of human nature. The writer of history must recite the actions of great and eminent persons, reveal the springs or motives which occasioned actions, trace the relation of cause to effect, and describe the characters of the actors themselves with discriminating care. The fleeting splendors which embellish armed conflicts may furnish

¹ "History of the City of New York: Its Origin, Rise, and Progress." By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb. Illustrated. Vol. I. New York and Chicago: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1877.

philosophy and instruction; but the conduct of individuals accounts for many political convulsions and revolutions of government. Neither should any thing be omitted which serves to illustrate the spirit and genius of a community. Mrs. Martha J. Lamb is the first historian who has grasped New York, root and branch; who has handled its various features—political, social, commercial, judicial, and religious—skillfully and artistically, reeling the many parts into a perfect skein. Her story of the origin, rise, and progress of the great metropolis comprehends the history of the colony, the province, and the State. There were more questions involving government, social happiness, and all that absorbs the attention of mankind, conceived and worked out within the narrow bounds of this municipality, during the period covered by this first volume of her superb work, than were projected and applied in the whole course of European life from the commencement of the decline of the Roman Empire, when first the light of Saxon thought broke in on the borrowed Latin illumination, to the beginning of the American Revolution.

New York was peopled by three distinct classes. The first came simply to acquire fortunes, without any intention of settling except as a matter of pecuniary gain. The second were chiefly victims of religious persecution seeking an abiding-place, in the majority of instances, bringing means with them, and establishing a permanent home within our borders. The third class, which included the colonial governors and other English officials appointed by the Crown, might be likened to birds of passage, simply lighting to fill their crops before pursuing their flight to other climes. Quoting from one of the seven hundred odd quarto pages under consideration :

“All classes emigrated, but those who took the most active part in the direction of our infant institutions were, in intelligence and worldly wisdom, and in all those sterling characteristics which we are wont to respect, above the average of their generation. Their number was small, but, in proportion to that of the illiterate laborers and traders who crossed the water, was greater than that between the higher and lower classes in any other portion of Europe. This fact has been generally overlooked by the writers of American history, who have imputed wholesale heaviness and incapacity, except in money-making, to the Dutch founders of the metropolis. As the blood of Holland, France, and England (and we may add much of the best blood of these three nations) became mixed in the veins of the people, it is easy to trace the increase of mental vigor, the softening of national prejudices, and the general amalgamation of opinions, habits, tastes, fashions, and modes of life, until we have a new and distinct species of the human kind in the New York American” (p. 133).

The reader is introduced to the island of Manhattan and the valley of the Hudson when destitute of all but natural beauty; is carried back further even, and shown the condition of the chief countries of Europe prior to that period, together with the origin and expansion of the marvelous commercial enterprises which directed vessels to this region in search of mythical riches. From the ascent of the Hudson by the discovery-ship *Half-moon* (Crescent, symbol of promise, like the motto on our State arms, "Excelsior"), every leaf reveals new attractions. The one hundred and fifty or more momentous years, crowded with the precious heirlooms of action—stepping-stones to connect the start of the past with the goal of the present—which bore directly upon the culminating crisis of the Revolution, are spread before the eye in a succession of pictures full of warmth and color. New York was really where the principles that underlie our republican institutions first found expression; where many of the great events important to the welfare of the whole country had their origin; where the first American Congress assembled (called by Leisler, in 1690); where the second American Congress assembled (called by Lords of Trade, in Albany in 1754); where the third American Congress assembled (Stamp Act Congress, in 1765); where the freedom of the press of America was first vindicated by the courts; where the royal prerogative was persistently encroached upon, and flaws picked with every official appointed from England; and it was where, finally, the first blood was spilled (on Golden Hill, now John street), in the revolutionary struggle. The province for upward of a century was the battle-field of freedom, the "Flanders," the "cock-pit," the "military training-ground of America," upon which the liberty-loving Saxon and the hero-worshiping Celt fought out the terrible conflict, whether the man of progress or the Latin exponent of paralysis, if not of retrocession, should dominate this continent. From the rapids of St. John to the cataract of Niagara, upon the inland seas and their shores, and in the valleys of the Hudson and its affluents, the battles raged, crimsoning the waters and desolating the land; the battles which determined that Anglo-Dutch civilization and not the French should shape the character of the future nation. And later, the same valleys of the Hudson and its affluents proved to be the "valleys of decision" in the contest with Great Britain herself. The supreme moment for the United States was when Burgoyne's veteran forces laid down their arms at Saratoga. But we have no right to anticipate. Our province at

present is with the distinct historical development of New York prior to the year 1774. We find that each decade possesses an interest peculiar to itself. The dimness and dullness which have hitherto obscured these periods of which history has taken least cognizance, seem to have disappeared before the stroke of the author's pen. The work teems with those dramatic elements which make history readable. At the same time, every successive chapter renders the truth more pronounced, that New York has ever been and must ever remain the central point in all American history. As a book, however, often speaks more intelligently in its own behalf than the utterances of the most careful reviewer, we will open it at random and quote a few paragraphs here and there, pertinent to our theme.

"It has been the destiny of New York to sustain fiercer trials and to gain a wider and more varied experience than any other American State. The first half century of her existence, though not very fruitful in achievements, greatly surpasses in importance any other equal period, from having projected the impulse and prescribed the law of her subsequent development. When in 1664, she was geographically united to New England and to the Southern British Colonies, and exchanged a republican sovereignty for a hereditary king, she possessed the vital element of all her later greatness. The irrepressible forces, political, social, and religious, which were sweeping over the chief nationalities of Europe in that remarkable century, were already here and pushing to unforeseen ends. Eighteen languages were spoken in our infant capital. The old stubborn, intensely practical Dutch spirit was firmly planted in this soil; English inflexibility, sagacity, and invigorating life had also taken root; and French industry, refinement, and vivacity flourished if possible the most luxuriantly of the three. The arrivals which followed increased without materially changing the character of the population."

The colonial annals furnish ample scope for masterly characterization. Each figure in the succession of governors sent over from Europe is painted forcibly and with individual light and shade and color. These personages are brought back as it were to the flesh and set in surroundings which recall most vividly the manners and customs of the colonial era. The personal descriptions reveal not only the many excellences of the author's style, but as well the absorbing interest and minuteness of the narrative. Of one of the notables who ruled New York between the years 1692 and 1698, Mrs. Lamb says:

"Governor Fletcher was a stout, florid man, of easy address, showy and pretentious. He rolled through the streets in a carriage drawn by six horses. His wife and daughters were stylish ladies, who followed the latest European fashions. His servants wore handsome livery and were well drilled. He was fond of society, and

never happier than when performing acts of hospitality. He was a great lover of high living, and drank wine daily, but not to excess. It was a common practice during his administration for politicians and gentlemen concerned with him in the government, to drop in at their own convenience, without formal invitation, and dine at his well-filled table. He was not a man of extensive learning, but his mind was largely stocked with ideas, the result of acute observation. He talked rapidly and to the point, and his arguments always carried weight. He had a hot, hasty temper, but it was combined with so much decision of character that it only fitted him the more perfectly for a military commander, in which capacity he was successful; there was, however, about him an arrogance not so well adapted to the chair of state. He stumbled into errors and extravagances, and raised up against himself powerful foes. He was devoutly religious, and had the bell rung twice every day for his household. He exerted himself to found churches, and to pave the way for the extension of the gospel. With his rule commenced a distinct era in the civil and religious history of New York."

Ere long we find that piracy had reached its zenith; that free sailors, holding commissions from the King of England to annoy France, were roving the seas and robbing and plundering at pleasure, and that ocean commerce was nearly destroyed. New York City had become the rendezvous of pirates. Fletcher was implicated. Then some of the wealthiest and hitherto most respectable citizens were accused of sharing in the spoils. Developments followed developments. The remarkable influx of strangers, the increasing quantity of rich goods exposed for sale, the rapid erection of expensive buildings, and the free circulation of Eastern gold pieces pointed in the one direction. The Lords of Trade were startled, Fletcher was recalled, and Lord Bellomont appointed governor of New York in his stead, which gives occasion for another pen-portrait:

"Bellomont was a genuine nobleman. He was also a master of the art of politeness, and knew how to make even the commonest man or woman feel that they were the objects of his special regard. He was of attractive, commanding presence, large-sized, somewhat above the ordinary height, with a finely shaped and well-poised head, a face stamped with iron firmness, dark, magnetic, kindly, expressive eyes, and small, soft white hands. His voice was low and musical, but capable of great modulation. No one could tell a story with more humor, or enjoy a hearty laugh better than he. And yet he was not cheerful as a rule, and his countenance was apt to wear an expression of painful thought. It was only at rare intervals that vivacity sparkled forth like foaming nectar, and then it was so charming that the memory of it remained, whatever clouds followed. He bore himself with a certain dignity that was much admired. He sat in his saddle with an ease which equestrians tried in vain to imitate. His dress was a model of elegance and good taste, and it was a matter which no mental disturbance ever induced him to neglect. His

table was filled with the choicest viands, and it was served with as much ceremony as William's own. His equipage was magnificent.

"He was sixty-two years of age, but might easily have passed for fifty. Lady Bellomont was much younger, as he had married her when she was only twelve. He was very fond as well as very proud of her. A series of stately dinner-parties were given by the leading New York families, and the first few weeks of their American life were more pleasant than any which ever came afterward.

"Bellomont had from his youth up been accustomed to see power constantly associated with pomp, and found it difficult to believe that the substance existed unless people were dazzled by the trappings. Prejudice, not vanity, was his besetting sin. He took the measure of men with the eye instead of the rule, and was as sincere in his friendship as he was inflexible in his aversions. He had a sound heart, honorable sympathies, and an honest desire to do justice to the oppressed. But he formed opinions too hastily, and they were the result of impulse rather than reason. They were apt to be colored by the first hearing of a case. Thus the good he might have done was warped and defeated. And he, instead of preserving a steady mean between the two great party extremes, was carried swiftly into the political whirlpool. He indulged in the most implacable antipathy toward Fletcher, even long before he crossed the ocean. He had listened to the aspersions cast upon the character of the latter by the Leislerians at the Court of William, and had never doubted the truth of the same. He came prepared to pronounce wholesale condemnation upon all the acts of his predecessor. Evidence was an after-consideration in his mind. It would have been the part of wisdom to have sifted the grains of fact from the vast amount of fiction, but Bellomont was as precipitate as he was sincere.

"The hopes of the Leislerians were greatly stimulated by his appointment, for he had openly declared in England, that in his opinion the execution of Leisler was a judicial murder. His ears were consequently filled at once with exaggerated complaints. And things certainly had a singular look. Trade seemed to be traveling on a tangent. Arabian gold and East India goods were everywhere common. New York was getting rich at a most extraordinary rate.

"Bellomont with characteristic conscientiousness charged all irregularities to the account of his predecessor, and then set about overturning the stones which hid the pool of corruption. It was not so easy to prove as to guess who had been immersed within it. He discovered something akin to green mold hanging from the garments of several of the landed lords, who represented the aristocratic party. The members of his council were reticent, and he soon learned that they were meeting daily at the lodgings of Fletcher, who had not yet sailed for England. They were owners of merchant-vessels—at least many of them were—and their friendship for Fletcher had an aroma of complicity. Besides, they did not come up manfully, in the eye of the new executive, to his assistance when he attempted to enforce the laws of trade, and some of them expressed surprise that they must needs have such an unexpected disturbance."

Bellomont's conflicts with the Assembly, with the merchants, and with the land-holders, were perplexing in the extreme. On one occasion, while the searchers of customs by the governor's order were packing for removal some East India goods which were found

concealed in the house of the sheriff, the locks were suddenly sprung upon them, leaving them prisoners in a close unventilated garret, and here they were obliged to remain until they were nearly stifled. The author writes :

“A record of the various encounters of Bellomont in his efforts to enforce the Acts of Trade would fill a volume. He wrote to the king: ‘I am obliged to stand entirely upon my own legs, my assistants hinder me, the people oppose me, and the merchants threaten me. It is indeed uphill work.’

“That such was the case is no matter of wonder. These Acts of Trade were despotic in their nature and contradictory to the rights of humanity. They were everywhere evaded. New York was not alone. The city had become a nest of pirates, it is true, but it was the English nation which fed and fostered them. Piracy did not originate in New York. The place was simply chosen on account of its central geographical position, and its nearness to the open sea. A brief review of the Acts of Trade will enable the reader to better judge why no voice of conscience declared their violations a moral offense, and how respect for them resolved itself into a mere calculation of chances; it is to be taken into account also that New York was a city chiefly of aliens, owing allegiance to England and to other European powers, and without the bonds of common history or tongue.

“No commodities might be imported into any British settlement in Asia, Africa, or America, or exported thence, but in vessels built in England or in her colonial plantations, and navigated by crews, of which the master and three-fourths of the sailors were English subjects. The penalty was forfeiture of ship and cargo. No one but a natural born subject of the English crown, or person legally naturalized, could exercise the occupation of merchant or factor in any English colonial settlement. No sugar, tobacco, cotton, wool, indigo, ginger, or dye-stuffs, produced in the colonies, should be shipped from them to any other country than England, and ship-owners were required, at the port of lading, to give bonds, with security proportioned to tonnage. The prohibited articles were called *enumerated*, and as soon as any new articles were brought into notice through the ingenuity and industry of the colonists, they were added to the list. It forbade, also, the importation of any European articles into the colonies, save in vessels *laden in England*, and navigated as above. It was the policy of nations to keep the trade of colonies confined to the parent-country. Charles II. imposed a tax of five per cent on all goods imported into or exported from any of the dominions of the Crown. Parliament went a step farther, and taxed the trade which one colony carried on with another.”

The interest which clusters about the exciting events of Bellomont's three years' administration is rather increased than diminished by the extraordinary occurrences which followed his sudden death in 1701. We will not do Mrs. Lamb the injustice of seeming to select choice specimens out of her book; but the following is too suggestive to be omitted :

“What the results of Bellomont's policy might have been must ever remain a

mystery. Few have been incited by more conscientious motives in their efforts to administer justice. His errors were chiefly in judgment ; he allowed noble impulses to carry him beyond the bounds of common prudence. But through his instrumentality piracy received a check from which it never had vitality enough to recover ; and, although he did not succeed in destroying the political influence and in lowering the social position of the gentry of the province, he did advance men who might not otherwise have had their talents recognized, and he produced something more nearly approximate to a common level than one individual ever accomplished before or since his time. Few would have had the courage to have raised an arm against so many adversaries, rarely another could have done so without falling in the fray. His death was the source of fresh troubles, and the only wonder is, that New York did not resolve into a state of hopeless anarchy."

The council-chamber became at once the scene of a conflict for the chair. The clamor of the angry disputants was so loud and threatening that people in the neighborhood spread an alarm. The election of a new Assembly followed, in which the energy and tact of each party was brought into full play, and the strife was most bitter and demoralizing. There was illegal voting everywhere ; and the elections were sharply disputed. When the House came to choose a speaker, there was another painful disturbance. And the city elections were as disorderly as those of the province. Both parties seemed lost to all sense of honor and decency. There was as much illegal as legal voting, and several bloody skirmishes among individuals. At the last there was a violent dispute about which party had really won. Both claimed the victory. When the mayor called the meeting at the City Hall to swear in the new aldermen, New York witnessed the novel spectacle of two sets of aldermen marching along her streets side by side, with angry determination resting upon every countenance, all entering the Hall together, and all taking part, or attempting with audacious effrontery to take part, in the transaction of business. Swiftly following these remarkable scenes, we are shown how party ingenuity was racked to find new methods for blacking the characters of leading opponents. We rejoice, as did the people, over the temporary relief afforded by the arrival of Lord Cornbury, who was really of great service to the province, though unintentionally, in that he toned and mellowed political animosity by uniting the two parties in one bond of opposition against himself, and it was he who, more than his predecessors, taught men the important lesson of watchfulness, to withdraw confidence from foreign rulers, to canvass the rights of British subjects, and to study the necessities as well as the modes of resistance. He won the unenviable distinction of having been the most disreputable of all the New

York governors; and yet we can forgive his unfitness for his post since it provoked the first expression in America upon the great point of taxation. In unimperishable record, the temper and intelligence of the New York Assembly of 1708 is illustrated, as follows:

"Resolved, That it is and always has been the unquestionable right of every free man in this colony that he hath a perfect and entire property in his goods and estate.

"Resolved, That the imposing and levying of any moneys upon Her Majesty's subjects of this colony under any pretense or color whatsoever, without consent in General Assembly, is a grievance and a violation of the people's property."

Thus we discern one of the life-sustaining roots of that independence which is our present glory. From this time onward, New York was the scene of ceaseless agitations. One Governor implores England to make a good example for all America by suppressing the assumption of the New York Assembly. Another Governor hangs himself because he is convinced that he never can carry out his instructions from the King, particularly in relation to compelling a permanent revenue from New York. Finally, a son of the soil, Chief Justice and Lieutenant-Governor of the colony, holding both commissions from the Crown, through the most consummate tact and statesmanship wrought a triumph for the people against the prerogative, which settled the controversy that had rankled for two-thirds of a century. Of De Lancey, who had been the popular leader—whom sudden accession to power had placed in a most delicate position, since, in obeying orders from his superiors, he had to urge the Assembly to pass the odious money bills, while his sympathies were unquestionably with the people—Mrs. Lamb says:

"No man in New York prior to the Revolution wielded greater influence. He was an intellectual giant. His breadth of knowledge, culture, magnetic presence, vivacity, wit, condescension to inferiors, and charming good-nature made him a general favorite with all classes. But, extremely affable as he was under ordinary circumstances—when it was his humor—he was haughty and overbearing whenever he was thwarted in his purposes, and his anger was fierce and unrelenting. He could not with grace tolerate opinions differing from his own; implicit and unreasoning acquiescence in his views was the price of his friendship, and to such friends he knit himself with hooks of steel; there was no service in his power he would not render them, and they served him with a zeal which indicated the marvelous strength of his nature. His bearing was princely. He would have been pointed out in any promiscuous assembly as a man born to command. His enormous wealth rendered him an object of interest to the multitude. They pinned their faith to his honesty, because he could have no possible motive for

stealing the public money. He was not a foreign invader seeking to enrich himself with the surplus earnings of the hard-working pioneers of the country. He was their friend and champion. His snow-white horses and gilded chariot with outriders in livery excited no envy, his grand old mansion on Broadway and his still more elegant country-seat were objects of pride to the inhabitants of the city."

Secretary Pitt said of De Lancey, "had he lived in England, he would have been one of the first men in the kingdom." His correspondence counseling Great Britain to concede to the views and wishes of New York, was received with marked deference by the powers about the throne. In the mean time he refused his sanction to the annual bills, although he thereby compelled himself to go without salary for three years, until the ministry yielded the contested point. After his death the crown had no such counselor, nor the people any such cordial defender and judicious friend. Else the rupture which followed might have been long delayed.

The volume before us is most complete, bringing the narrative down to the eve of the Revolution, and serves as a fitting introduction to the convulsion which worked the elementary change in the constitution of humanity. Nothing which has been attempted for generations could be the more acceptable to the reading public. The second volume will follow speedily, an elaborate memorial of the progress of New York within the century just passed. Sixteen full-plate engravings, careful studies of locality, likeness, costumes, etc., of higher order than the ordinary efforts of the imagination, grace each volume; also one hundred and thirty-three fine page-cuts, comprising reproductions of rare portraits, views of noted localities, old mansions now passed away, maps of the city at various periods of its progress, and other objects of interest, which give the book additional charms over and above its vast accumulation of reliable data, its critical balancing of evidence on disputed points, its elegance and force of diction, and its exceptional literary merits.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

RECENT AMERICAN BOOKS.

IT is not an entirely bad symptom of the condition of the Christian community that received opinions are, on the one hand, being questioned, and on the other explained and defended. Such processes have not attended times of stagnation. They are signs of mental activity. Men attach some importance to a revelation from God where they are deeply concerned as to the nature of its messages to men. A declaration of no particular weight may—like a cry in a crowd—be the signal for a multitude of men declaring themselves, and the number and vehemence of the protests may exaggerate the apparent strength of that which is protested against. Truth has nothing to fear from the discussion.

There seemed to be clear indications that, for some time to come, the question of retribution in the next life will occupy, if not the attention of scholars, the attention of those who hear sermons, and of a large class of those who preach them. In the laudable effort to meet the questioning minds of their constituency, and to introduce variety into services by their very nature limited to a department of truth and of mental effort, ministers may easily give apparent importance to that which has no great inherent claim to attention. Whether Canon Farrar's utterance is the producing cause of a widely diffused feeling on this subject, or whether it is the occasion of its present expression, is of little consequence. No earnest person is likely to be the worse for re-examining the basis of his thinking on this momentous theme.

IS "ETERNAL" PUNISHMENT ENDLESS? ¹—does not owe its existence to the interest of the hour, as it bears date 1876. The writer proposes to restate the original scriptural doctrine in reply to the question. He endeavors to show that the New Testament does not teach the endlessness of future punishment in explicit terms nor by direct implication, and that it is not the natural result of sin. He endeavors to break the force of the historical objection, by showing that the Christian world has revised some of its opinions. The alleged cases are the extent of men's share in Adam's sin, of the flood, and the salvation of infants and of the heathen. He adduces Greek fathers with either doubtful testimony or distinct assertion on behalf of Restorationism, for the

¹ "Is Eternal Punishment Endless?" By an Orthodox Minister of the Gospel. Boston: Lockwood, Brooks & Co. 1876. Pp. 106.

sake of strengthening his position as to the lack of a decisive voice in the New Testament. On the subject of Restorationism the author admits that no one can tell whether "any particular soul be too far gone for recovery," and that "the Scriptures contain nothing to guarantee the hopeful view;" he denies any conclusiveness for the hopeful view in the Petrine reference to "the spirits in prison." Faint, he most candidly and solemnly says must be the hopeful view, considering how Old Testament denunciations are commonly followed by promises of pardon and restoration, which are conspicuous by their absence from the less austere New Testament. "And fainter still must all trust in a happy solution of the awful mystery become before the adverse probabilities that arise from the scriptural view of *the self-propagating, unnatural, disorganizing, destroying tendencies of sin*. To overbear and quell the fear that these inspire, *nothing less*" (these italics are all the author's) "*than the clear revelation of a supernatural hope will suffice, and such a revelation we have not received.*" His concluding chapter is an attempt to show that the views of the essay are not inconsistent with a Trinitarian theology, and that larger liberty should be provided for in church teaching. What the author thinks on Restorationism we have seen. He is explicit as to the reality of future punishment. The positive view he labors to sustain is that the Scripture is silent as to its *duration*. Its eternity, *i.e., endlessness*, "is not yet revealed. It is not disproved by aught that is said. It may be true for aught that we know. But until we have received positive revelation of it, we are not *required* to accept it as an article of the Christian faith." We observe that he makes frequent use of the phrase "æonian destruction," which, if we mistake not, Canon Farrar offers as a contribution to the revisionists of the Scriptures.

THE CASE AGAINST THE CHURCH.¹—A summary of the arguments against Christianity, issued anonymously, serves to show the use to which under-educated men put a little learning, gained at second or third hand, for mischievous ends. The writer quotes Ecc. 3 : 18-22 as a dogmatic Bible statement of "pure materialism," and says it is seldom commented on by the clergy. His arguments are against, not Christianity only, but against all revealed, and indeed all natural religion, and yet he winds up with a solemn appeal to men "as they must finally act in the great Day of Judgment." He says "all religious systems" are based upon "inner consciousness;" all science on observation and induction. His authorities for "the Church" are a work on the Foundations of History by Mr. Samuel B. Shiefflin, and the Westminster Catechism; his authorities for his case are Darwin, Huxley, and Professor Draper, as read by himself. He seems at times to accept the facts of the Gospels, when he thinks the Great Teacher severe upon "the clergy." He is clear that the Old Testament was written after the captivity, that the tablets which Mr. Geo. Smith found in Nineveh and Babylon are the originals of the Bible legends, and

¹ "The Case against the Church; a Summary of the Arguments against Christianity." New York : Charles P. Lowerby. Pp. 72.

that the belief in a spirit that does not die with the body is being "put to flight" by "modern research." In a word, the book is Thomas Paine modernized, and it can only serve two uses, (1) to show the need of instructing those who read such works, and (2) to impress on the minds of scientific men the uses to which their hasty or one-sided statements are put by the ignorant.

THE SUPERNATURAL FACTOR IN REVIVALS.¹—The allegation is frequently made by the adherents of Naturalism that the tendencies of mankind are "ever upward." How comes it then, asks Dr. Townsend, that after rising to certain heights, as in Babylon, Nineveh, Palestine, Greece, Rome—pagan and Christian, the descents of men have been so many and so fearful? And he means apparently that the upward tendencies are nothing but as produced and perpetuated by a supernatural power.

Now in New England, by the machinery of revivals, good men are seeking to bring about that which Theodore Parker was wont to declare to be the crying need of the hour. To the machinery, relied upon as such for "the basis of religious reforms," Dr. Townsend attaches no importance, but thinks, on the contrary, that it will be of use just in the degree in which the supernatural, *i.e.*, the power of the Holy Ghost, is experienced. Apparently in support of this, we have a survey of successive revivals, Jewish, Primitive Christian, British, and American in 1740, 1800, 1858-9 and 1862, followed by a chapter on individual religious experiences, under six headings. This is followed by a chapter on revivalists and their agencies, Apollos being immediately succeeded by "Recent Evangelists." This section is the solid part of the book. One of its chapters, among many just and well-sustained limitations, leaves to woman the right, if she will have it, to proclaim the Gospel on the platform and from the pulpit. The next chapter of forty pages is devoted to the Boston Tabernacle—and discusses the assaults upon it. In reference to the concession of Boston "liberals" that a revival *is* needed and that "Radicalism" is to be tried to bring it out, the author proceeds to show the many failures of Radicalism, giving as specimens Arrian, Lucian, Celsus, Porphyry, Hierocles, Julian, whom he regards as the precursors and types of the Skeptics of Boston, for this chapter is to a great extent local in its application, and indeed the writer assumes in it more outside knowledge of Boston matters than probably exists. To the argument of this chapter, however, other portions of the work, it would appear, were intended to conduct the reader, and the estimate of the Tabernacle work is as high as its most enthusiastic supporters could desire. An "Appendix," with some views of Matthew Arnold, Wesley, Joseph Cook, Moody (whose introductory sermon at the Tabernacle is given in full), brings to its close a volume which assumes considerable knowledge on the part of its readers, and yet is hardly sufficiently definite and discriminating for educated Christian thinkers, and which yet will have its uses in New England, where the language of science and philosophy is affected as the expression of

¹ "The Supernatural Factor in Revivals." By Q. T. Townsend, D.D. Boston: Lee & Shepard. Pp. 311.

religious thought. It is due, however, to the writer to say that he makes large and apt quotations from the Scriptures, and that he has prepared himself for the discussion of his theme by the examination of much of the literature of his subject.

CREED AND CONDUCT¹—Is a collection of sermons by Mr. Frothingham, of which it is extremely difficult to find out the central thought, or the primary object. The volume shows dissatisfaction with things as they are; it vindicates the "Radical" with great vehemence from supposed imputations, and yet owns that "Radicalism" has a "burden of rudeness, crudeness, violence, and harsh destructiveness at present classed with it." But it is difficult to see what it proposes. It is in sympathy with Science, which Christianity is assumed to denounce unconditionally. It is against "Creeds" in its declarations, and yet assumes that creeds must be more or less specific, and that conduct is *now* recognized as the true test of them. Its language is so vague as to leave a reader in constant doubt of the writer's meaning, or indeed as to whether there was a definite meaning. Take the opening sentence as typical of many others in the book: "It is generally admitted now, by people of all faiths and all shades of faith, that conduct is the test of Creed." Does this mean that conduct is the test of the truth of a creed, or the tendency of a creed, or of the sincerity of a professor of a creed? On the same page occurs another sentence typical of the writer's indeterminateness: "The intelligent and rational . . . make conduct here a necessary accompaniment of felicity hereafter." It is difficult to see what this means. Intelligent and rational Christians have always believed that good conduct is a necessary accompaniment of that faith to which future felicity is promised. A style of overstatement and rash generalization also runs through the book; as, for example, on p. 11, "Parker's movement was really a second reformation." Then follows another of the indeterminate sentences: "Luther transferred the articles of the Creed from Church to Bible, modifying them somewhat the better to accommodate them to their new shrine." As far as this is intelligible, it is not historical. A "shrine" does not make its contents: The Church had made doctrines, Luther said she had no right to do that; that the Bible prescribed what man is to believe, *i.e.*, doctrines. Luther took his beliefs from the Bible, instead of from the Church. The idea of his modifying them to suit the Bible in which they were to be accommodated as in a shrine, to which he transferred them, is, so far as it is intelligible, not consistent with that honesty for which we are sure, even from this book, the author would give credit to the leader in that reformation to which he thinks Theodore Parker's was second.

There appears to be, according to this book, a "new Creed" somewhere in course of development, but what it is, no man can say from this work. It is one, however, from which "the passive virtues, resignation, submission, abne-

¹ "Creed and Conduct, and other Discourses." By O. B. Frothingham. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Pp. 282.

ation, patience," if they flow, must take a secondary place, that namely of filling in the interstices of life, ministering to the occasions when aspiration can not spread its wings." In order to show the need of this new creed, all existing forms of thought and life are held up as poor failures, and the hope is held out that the new creed will commend itself to the poor especially, and can be understood and lived out by every body. It will have no mysteries. Still the "process of adjustment to the new creed is difficult (p. 23), and requires all the effort that the intelligent and earnest can make." So we must wait for something that is not Catholic; not Unitarian; not Parkerism; not Christian; but which will be quite new and produce a new conduct. What it is to be, it is hard to see. Science, he tells us on p. 53, has made the noblest comment on the words of Jesus, "Thy will not mine be done, which is the highest religion." But is not this of the nature of the self-denial which is to take a secondary place? Protestantism, he tells us on p. 18, "trains its servants in aspiration, self-respect, self-assertion, reliance on the personal conscience, faith in the soul, courage to meet and power to resist calamity." Other and opposite virtues are inculcated by other systems. As they differ from one another, the new conduct will differ from the products of them all. The new creed will produce a conduct different from all the old, but combining all the good of all the old. It may get men out of God's arms and make them therefore more free and happy. It may (for much is still contingent) remove from some a hope of immortality, but if so, it will set men to make more of this life. Yet when the writer gives a sermon on "the whole duty of man," and one looks for a picture of the "new conduct," not a line of it is there. After a rhapsodical eulogy on the glory and felicity of every man following the bent of his own nature, as in the orator, patriot, artist, actor, and other attractive persons (but nothing to set right the forger, tramp, and murderer, who also follow the "bent" somehow), the duties are touched. But they are simply honesty, truthfulness, which are certainly as old in their inculcation as the Decalogue; and with a tremendous and not unjust philippic against "the *business* of philanthropy" the chapter closes. We are constrained to say that society gains nothing in definite thought, or even in clear expression, in new views, in higher motives, in deeper reverence, from this book; while it contains not a little that is injurious in tendency. We can understand how its high-sounding language seems to a certain class of hearers impressive, oracular, and full of great ideas. But the reader of good books will be apt to say, of all that he understands in it, "We have heard this before, and nothing came of it."

WARREN'S HISTORY OF THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT.¹—This book has the prime merit of a local history; it smacks of the soil; and we have found its perusal a relief from the reading of the multitude of books that are intended to please every body. The local enthusiasms that have fired their record are all interesting, from that of the Directors' Address, published in

¹ "The History of the Bunker Hill Monument Association." By George Washington Warren. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. 1877. 8vo, pp. 422.

1824, in which General William Sullivan declared that the proposed work "should be, and shall be, the grandest in the world," adding that it would cost \$75,000 (p. 86), to Mr. Warren's own eulogy of the structure as "the finest monumental work in the world." But we shall hardly look to his book for criticism of the monument. How the idea of its erection was originated; how the contest between the rival designs began in 1825, and how the struggle between the partisans of the column and the partisans of the obelisk was closed at last by the adoption of Greenough's design, which is substantially that of the present monument; how Solomon Willard was appointed the architect, and devoted the best years of his life, without remuneration, to the execution of the work, superintending every step of its progress, from the laying, or rather the re-laying, of the corner-stone in 1826 to the placing of the cap-stone in 1842, "Saturday, July 23d, at six in the morning," as the record specifies; and how, finally, the self-sacrificing architect could point to it as one of the strongest and most solidly built structures ever erected in modern times for the money paid out"—these are among the salient points of interest in the record. Willard's character was one of no little interest. To his skill and devotion the success of the work was in large part due. He was not a book architect, but he had the medieval builder's zeal for actual construction. Of his life, says Mr. Warren, "one might select, as the most impressive passage, his first presence in the solitary clefts of the rocks, viewing the quarry he had discovered, and studying how best to take fresh from nature's storehouse the massive material for the monument." We have a vivid glimpse, too, of the experiments of the Committee on Design toward the determination of the proportions of the monument. Colonel Baldwin took the committee "to the Boston and Roxbury mill-dam, whence, across the then vacant space, the surface of Bunker Hill could be seen. " Against the railing of the sidewalk he fastened, in turn, miniature models he had prepared of different proportions; then, going to a sufficient distance in the opposite direction, so that the model would appear to be transferred to the hill, as if standing thereon in full size, he would study with them, its effect as seen at a distance. Thus they were enabled to decide upon the proper size of base and the proper scale of diminish" (p. 182).

It remains to add that this volume is an exceptionally beautiful piece of typography, and is fully illustrated by means of engravings and heliotype reproductions of original documents.

THE SILVER COUNTRY.¹—This brave attempt to withdraw public attention from the great North-west by painting the glories of the South-west, is, if we mistake not, from the pen of a rising lawyer in the West, who has the encouragement of his South-western friends, and substantial support of those interested in the material development of the country of New Spain, which provides him with his text and facts. Presuming to know the usual incentive to

¹ "The Silver Country; or, The Great South-west." By Alex. D. Anderson. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1877.

a work of this kind, we are only surprised at the judicial tone maintained throughout. Our author finds encouragement to believe that this country of New Spain is still to be, as in the past, our *El Dorado*. The book is full in its description of territory. The wealth in silver and gold already produced without the aid of railroad or public highway of any respectable sort amounts to \$4,887,512,605, or twice the amount of the debt of the United States at the close of the year 1876. Our author naturally concludes that under the stimulus of the new policy of reconciliation, the undiscovered resources of this rich region will be readily, and to a far greater extent, uncovered and developed by Americans, who represent the only progressive civilization on the continent, and who will now be let in. The history begins with the conquest of Mexico, in 1521. New Spain proves to be a continuation of the territories now known as Mexico, New Mexico, Arizona, California, Texas, Nevada, Utah, and Southern and Western Colorado, which territories comprise what he calls the great South-west. Besides gold and silver, this country possesses great fertility of soil. Wheat, cotton, Indian corn, and barley grow there; cattle find abundant pasture; wool-growing is prolific; coffee and sugar are staples; cochineal, silk, quicksilver, fruits, and wines add to the wealth and luxury of the inhabitants. His authorities are carefully cited, and the result is found that amid the importance of national highways and the necessity of short available routes to obtain eastern and southern commerce, the opportunity is at last given for the "railway builders" (or Anglo-Americans) to follow their destiny by building the Southern Pacific Railway—in whose interest he is writing.

This book is furnished with a comprehensive map.

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY.¹—This magazine fills a unique place in American periodical literature. Although the want of such a periodical had been long felt in a limited circle of historians and scholars, yet its existence was only assured when the United States had attained its hundredth birthday, and the retrospective and historic spirit had taken possession of the popular mind. The success of this new literary enterprise is due both to its adaptation to the wants of the historic spirit of our time, and to the judicious selection of the articles and documents which appear in the pages of the magazine. In addition to historical and biographical sketches of an entertaining and instructive character, we find, in the volume before us, some rare old letters and other MSS., which are of great interest. The volume is embellished with portraits and maps.

NEW YORK.

¹ "The Magazine of American History, with Notes and Queries." Edited by John Austin Stevens. Vol. I., 1877. New York and Chicago: A. S. Barnes & Co.

RECENT ENGLISH BOOKS.

DR. SCHLIEMANN'S "MYCENÆ."¹—This work, which has a Preface by Mr. Gladstone, is devoted to a statement of the discoveries of Dr. Schliemann, which have become a matter of such profound interest. This latest discoverer has great faith in Homer as the narrator of veritable history—indeed, in this respect, he is far in advance of all Homeric students in our own country. If Dr. Schliemann's work leaves much undecided—as is of necessity the case—it is valuable as another incitement to the investigation of problems which are now engaging the attention of the learned. The Mycenæan relics are at present exhibited at South Kensington. The value of Dr. Schliemann's labors in the Troad is now universally recognized; and it is to the credit of England that the discoverer has been so warmly welcomed and appreciated among us. The American publishers have the credit of an elegant and appropriate edition.

MOORE'S UNPUBLISHED WORKS.²—This is a miscellaneous collection of writings, hitherto inedited and uncollected, by the poet Thomas Moore. Mr. Shepherd furnishes an introduction and explanatory notes. The pieces take a wide range, embracing the humorous, the satirical, and the sentimental. We are also treated to certain suppressed passages from the memoirs of Lord Byron. To the book collector this work will unquestionably commend itself, while Moore's admirers among general readers may turn to its pages with the certainty of finding many an hour's amusement and interest.

LORD MELBOURNE.³—Although Lord Melbourne had neither the genius of a Peel nor the versatility of a Gladstone, he is one of the most conspicuous figures in recent English politics. Mr. Torrens—who has written these volumes with much care and sympathy—adduces the reasons for the extraordinary popularity acquired by the Whig statesman. He was neither an orator, a jurist, a financier, nor a legislator, but he had other qualities which endeared him both to his sovereign and contemporary politicians. He was a "great gentleman," high-minded without assumption, munificent, careful of the interests of the crown, faithful to party, outspoken yet sensitive to misrepresentation, ever placable and ready to forgive a wrong. He made few enemies and many warmly-attached friends. He gained a reputation second to that of no statesman of modern times. Mr. Torrens, who has

¹ "Mycenæ: a Narrative of Researches and Discoveries at Mycenæ and Tiryns." By Dr. Henry Schliemann. London: John Murray. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co.

² "Prose and Verse." By Thomas Moore. Chiefly from the author's manuscripts, and all hitherto inedited and uncollected. By R. H. Shepherd. Chatto & Windus.

³ "Memoirs of the Right Hon. William, second Viscount Melbourne." By W. M. Torrens, M.P. Macmillan & Co.

very literary qualification for the task, has compiled Lord Melbourne's memoirs with much tact, discrimination, and ability.

THE WORLD WELL LOST.¹—This is one of the best novels which have been published for a long time. Mrs. Lynn Linton has not only constructed a love story of great interest, but has told it with much grace and power. The characters of Mrs. Smith (with a terrible secret sorrow weighing upon her), and her son and daughter, Derwent and Muriel, are not likely soon to be forgotten by any reader. The author has a keen, shrewd wit, which is occasionally flavored with vinegar; but, on the whole, we must admit that her talent as a censor of society is judiciously employed. Certainly her present work, while it has many smart and perhaps a few ill-natured things, more than atones for them by many delightful, touching, and tender things. The publishers have issued the novel in a very handsome form with illustrations.

MISS MISANTHROPE.²—This is a novel which grows upon one. Mr. McCarthy has written no cleverer story, and it worthily sustains his reputation. There is much idyllic beauty in it, while the portrait of the heroine is vividly drawn. There are some effective thrusts at certain new schools of art and poetry which have recently come to the front; but the charm of the novel lies, after all, in its graceful portraiture of the heroine, and its very considerable descriptive and analytical power. The story is admirably illustrated.

LIVES OF THE LORDS STRANGFORD.³—This is one of a class of works which are most welcome. It relates in clear and entertaining style the lives of three men of note, who were respectively and successively Lord Strangford. The last of these was probably the most profound Oriental scholar of his time, and he certainly had a close acquaintance with the peoples and countries of the East. Mr. Fonblanque at this juncture has, therefore, done well in putting forth his volume.

MRS. OLIPHANT'S NEW STORY.⁴—The last novel by Mrs. Oliphant (as she writes so many, perhaps it is as well to state that I mean *Carità*) was a very inferior work for so competent an artist and so clever a writer. It is with pleasure, consequently, that I acknowledge "Young Musgrave" to be a great advance upon it. It is really remarkable to see with what freshness and interest Mrs. Oliphant can invest her stories when she appears at her best. Her analysis of character, and descriptive passages in the present

¹ "The World well Lost." By E. Lynn Linton, author of "Patricia Kemball," etc. Chatto & Windus.

² "Miss Misanthrope." By Justin McCarthy. Chatto & Windus.

³ "Lives of the Lords Strangford." By Edward Barrington de Fonblanque. Cassell, Petter & Galpin.

⁴ "Young Musgrave." By Mrs. Oliphant. Macmillan & Co.

novel are of a high order; and there is more of that which has become a *sine qua non* to the general reader, namely, plot, than is usually the case with this author. There can be no objection to a writer being prolific, so long as she writes with talent. This, if not always, is mostly the case with Mrs. Oliphant.

MR. BLACK'S NEW NOVEL.¹—Mr. Black has written *so* many good novels that the reader will be impatient in coming across a comparative failure. Yet the present story is generally regarded as being much inferior to many of his previous works, notwithstanding the strong individuality of two of its characters, Mr. Hugh Balfour and Lady Sylvia Blythe. In the new novel, which the author has just commenced in *Good Words*, his numerous admirers will be glad to recognize a full recovery of his best powers.

ENGLAND AND INDIA.²—Of the making of books on India there is, apparently, no end; but here we meet with one which will well repay attention. Mr. Routledge writes from actual experience, and from 1870 to 1874 he had unusual facilities for becoming acquainted with the views of civil and military officials upon Indian questions and English rule, as well as with the views of the natives. That the author profited by his experiences will be immediately apparent to any one who takes up this volume. With regard to the future of India and the government of Lord Lytton, Mr. Routledge observes that, "supported by a strong party at home, and with the great fact in his favor that the Conservative in England may be, and often is, the truest Liberal as regards India; and with the fact also in his favor that he stands above all Anglo-Indian cliques and special interests, I know not what Lord Lytton may not do of beneficial work before his rule passes into history." This book will be found very valuable to all persons who desire an acquaintance with the past and the present of India, and it will also be found of interest to the general reader.

THE ART OF BEAUTY.³—This book ought to do something in the way of fostering the esthetic element in all readers, but especially in those of the gentler sex. Mrs. Haweis writes with knowledge, and gives many hints of practical value in regard to dress, personal ornaments, furniture, etc. There is a good deal of plain speaking in the course of the volume, but that is rendered necessary by the present fashions of society.

BY LOVE AND LAW.⁴—This is a novel of much promise. Its writer is new to literature, and there is every hope of her doing really good work. Even in her first effort there is a freshness and also a cleverness which might natu-

¹ "Green Pastures and Piccadilly." By William Black. Macmillan & Co.

² "English Rule and Native Opinion in India." From Notes taken 1870-74. By James Routledge. Trübner & Co.

³ "The Art of Beauty." By Mrs. H. R. Haweis. Chatto & Windus.

⁴ "By Love and Law." By Lizzie Aldridge. Smith, Elder & Co.

ally be associated with a more practiced pen. The characters of Frank Halstead and the heroine are drawn with a palpable and refreshing realism. The printers are responsible for some curious and annoying blunders, not the least vexing to an author who is writing upon art being that which attributes to Mr. Ruskin the authorship of "The Stones of *Vienna*."

SPENSER FOR CHILDREN.¹—This is a companion volume to Mrs. Haweis's "Chaucer for Children." Alike in illustrations as in letter-press, it may be pronounced satisfactory. Spenser is not the simplest of English authors, or one easily susceptible of transcription into the language of childhood, but Miss Towry has confessedly executed her task with considerable ability and success. The element of the marvelous and the weird in Spenser is well calculated to make him a favorite when rendered in an attractive manner for children.

FREDERICK I. AND THE COMMUNES OF LOMBARDY.²—This history, which is inscribed to Mr. Gladstone, deals with the rise of Italian liberty. In a preliminary discourse, which occupies one fourth of the volume, Signor Testa takes a general view of the condition of Italy before the war, whose course it is his principal object to describe. The main portion of the work, which is written in an interesting style, and in a large spirit, is concerned with the important period between 1152 and 1183.

SIDGWICK'S METHODS OF ETHICS.³—This is the second edition of a work which stands in need of no commendation. It has already taken its place among the standard books upon the subject. Mr. Sidgwick has made considerable alterations in, and additions to, the first edition, and explains the nature of these modifications and changes in the preface to the present edition. The author has succeeded in a difficult task, namely, that of making the study of ethics interesting to the general reader.

DICTIONARY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE.⁴—This is a work which was much needed, and it is accomplished, on the whole, in a very satisfactory manner. The author says he has aimed at furnishing the general public with what may be best described as a comprehensive guide to English literature, and this alone will show the magnitude of his task. The volume consists of upward of seven hundred closely-printed pages, in double columns; and in the case of every well-known author, Mr. Adams has told briefly all that is necessary to be related concerning him. The dictionary will prove an invaluable one to students and men of letters.

¹ "Spenser for Children." By M. H. Towry. Chatto & Windus.

² "History of the War of Frederick I. against the Communes of Lombardy." By Giovanni Battista Testa. Smith, Elder & Co.

³ "The Methods of Ethics." By Henry Sidgwick, M.A. Macmillan & Co.

⁴ "Dictionary of English Literature; being a Comprehensive Guide to English Authors and their Works." By W. Davenport Adams. Cassell, Petter & Galpin.

LIFE OF THE PRINCE CONSORT.¹—This work is exceeding its anticipated dimensions. In all probability the war in the East, and the present position of the Eastern Question, led Mr. Martin, and his illustrious *collaboratrice* Queen Victoria, to enlarge the present installment of the memoirs, which deals with the three years of the Crimean War. If the volume serves no other purpose, it will demonstrate the folly of the assumption (once tolerably common) that the Prince Consort knew nothing of British interests and foreign politics. It is now seen that the Prince was a supporter of Turkey in 1854 and 1855, not because he was enamored of the Ottoman rule, but because he considered the Turkish Empire a necessary check upon Russia and her ambitious designs. Whether he would have taken a pro-Turkish view of the present war it is impossible to say; but the supporters of the Government naturally affirm that he would, just as they now say that her Majesty is in complete sympathy and accord with the Eastern policy of Lord Beaconsfield. The impression of many is that the Prince Consort was too sensible a man to have been affected by the present Russian scare; but this, like the assertion of those who take the opposite view, is of course only speculation. All persons, however, whatever their political opinions may be, may follow this Life of the Prince Consort with interest. No one can say that it is superfluous, and a word of praise is due to Mr. Martin for the ability with which he has executed his task. It is expected that the work will take two more volumes to complete.

HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.²—This is the first volume of an amplification of Mr. Green's "Short History"—a work which has obtained so great a popularity that upward of fifty thousand copies have been disposed of within a brief period. Mr. Green is executing his more formidable task in a large and effective manner. He has not the brilliancy of style of a Macaulay, nor the spirit of philosophical inquiry of a Hallam, but he has qualities of his own of a high and sterling order, which will cause his work to supersede most of the histories now in vogue. Our author has the great merit of carefulness and accuracy, and in dealing with periods of English history which have caused much dissension among historians, he is most conscientious in citing all the authorities which bear upon it. The scale of his work is one of great magnitude, the first volume—consisting of nearly six hundred pages—being concerned only with English history from 449 to 1461. The divisions of the volume are as follows: "Early England;" "Foreign Kings;" "The Charter;" and "The Parliament." No words of praise can be too great for the thoroughness of Mr. Green's treatment of his important subject. The volume is embellished with eight maps.

¹ "The Life of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort." By Theodore Martin. Vol. III. Smith, Elder & Co.

² "History of the English People." By John Richard Green, M.A. Macmillan & Co.

LONDON IN THE JACOBITE TIMES.¹—Dr. Doran is an experienced compiler of works of this nature, and his latest effort of a semi-historical character well sustains his reputation. It is even more valuable than many of his previous works from the fact that it gives a complete view of the Jacobite movement, and therefore has some pretensions besides those of a gossip personal record. The time which this work covers in the political and literary history of Great Britain is one of special interest. Walpole was among the statesmen who then flourished, and Pope, Gray, Goldsmith, Johnson, and others shed luster upon the literary annals of the period. Dr. Doran follows Jacobitism down to the times of Queen Victoria, in the earlier portion of whose reign it existed, or at least had sympathizers with and descendants of well-known adherents to the cause of the Pretender. A work like this can not be quoted from, seeing that quotations might be culled from every page. It must be read and enjoyed as a whole.

DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE.²—This work is a great and valuable addition to political history. While cheerfully recognizing its importance, however, I can not so fully praise its method. In separate chapters, Sir Erskine May—who takes the moderate Liberal stand-point—traces the rise and progress of Democracy in Continental nations; but there is little to show the interchange of influence which each state had upon its neighbor. The author has not the philosophic breadth of Hallam, but his work is undoubtedly very valuable for its clearness, general accuracy, and the manner in which the informational side of the question is exposed. Although professedly only dealing with Europe, Sir Erskine May would have done well to refer to the progress of Democracy in America, where its principles have attained the most perfect development.

BY STREAM AND SEA.³—Magazine articles are not always worth republication, but Mr. Senior's papers have such a freshness and truthfulness to nature that they deserve preservation. He gives us sketches of many pleasant nooks in old England, while anglers will thank him for the valuable hints he throws out which have a special reference to themselves.

PALGRAVE'S "HERRICK."⁴—This is a beautiful little volume, edited by a man of true poetic taste. He has fulfilled the task of selection from Herrick's very numerous poems with judgment and discrimination. Those who desire to become acquainted with the best effusions of that charming old writer, Robert Herrick, have now the opportunity.

¹ "London in the Jacobite Times." By Dr. Doran. Bentley & Son.

² "Democracy in Europe: A History." By Sir Thomas Erskine May, K.C.B. Longmans & Co.

³ "By Stream and Sea: a Book for Wanderers and Anglers." By William Senior ("Red Spinner"). London: Chatto & Windus.

⁴ "A Selection from the Lyrical Poems of Robert Herrick." By F. T. Palgrave. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

THE EPISTLE OF S. BARNABAS.¹—Mr. Cunningham has here done serviceable work. With great care he has gathered together all that is known concerning the epistle of which he treats, and has discussed its date and authorship with conspicuous fairness and ability. Accompanying the body of the work, we have the Greek text, the Latin version, and a new English translation and commentary. We have not space to examine the work at length, but it needs no other commendation than the fact that its writer is also the author of that remarkable work, "The Influence of Descartes on Metaphysical Speculation in England," which upon its appearance was received with marked favor by those possessing competent knowledge upon the subject. Mr. Cunningham writes so lucidly that even the general reader may find some interest in his work.

GEORGE BARNETT SMITH.

LONDON.

RECENT GERMAN BOOKS.

WHAT Professor von Ranke thinks of Frederic the Great has only a personal, or, if one prefers, a psychological interest. The deliberate opinion of so broad a scholar, and so acute a critic, is of value on any historical personage, as on any historical event; but beyond that he adds nothing to our knowledge of Frederic, does nothing to dissipate the mischievous errors which Mr. Carlyle made so popular. The first half of the work which lies before us² is, therefore, merely an elaborate but not very audacious biographical study.

With the second character in the volume, the case is somewhat different. The earth is still fresh on the grave of Frederic William IV., late King of Prussia, and the passions of his eventful but unhappy reign have not all expired. The archives of the time are still jealously guarded from profane eyes. But Professor Ranke is a privileged person, both in virtue of his character as historiographer of Prussia, and of his intimate relations to the reigning house. He was a personal friend and confidant of Frederic William IV. His reputation for prudence, which in the eyes of the Prussian court alone makes him competent to write the lives of Prussian kings, is in no danger of being sacrificed to literary effect; his political views are tempered with a grave and weighty conservatism. It was natural, therefore, in view of these advantages, that he should have had an opportunity to prepare his little monograph in the light of new and exclusive information. The papers that were put into his hands referred chiefly, he says, to the early education of the young prince, and to the constitutional struggle of 1847. One of these subjects is of surpassing interest to the ortho-

¹ "A Dissertation on the Epistle of S. Barnabas." By the Rev. W. Cunningham. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

² "Friedrich der Grosse; Friedrich Wilhelm der Vierte: Zwei Biographien," von Leopold von Ranke. Leipsic: Duncker und Humboldt. 1878.

dox court clergy, and to military pedagogues. The other ought to interest every patriot in Prussia.

In spite of von Ranke's evident admiration for Frederic William, for the purity of his personal character, for his felicitous intellectual qualities, in spite of his apparent sympathy with the king's general purposes during that memorable decade, he presents in effect a deplorable picture of the royal weakness and obstinacy, of the arrogance of his methods, the contempt of reason and experience, the virtues no less than the faults, which nearly precipitated Prussia into a frightful catastrophe. The duty of Frederic William was clear and simple. His father, Frederic William III., had promised in 1810, and again at several other epochs, that a representation of the people should be introduced to coöperate with the crown in government; but this promise was evaded under various pretexts until its author died. On account of the old king's hard vicissitudes, the people forbore to press their claims too violently. In the mean time the Congress of Vienna, where Metternich's influence was paramount, had taken up the subject of constitutional reform in the German states, and agreed on the principle that the various princes ought not to issue public loans without the consent of their estates. Frederic William IV. ignored the pledges of his father and recurred to the less liberal engagements of the Vienna diplomatists. He would have no parliament to divide the prerogative of the crown, no representation of the people, as his father had solemnly promised; but he would consult the estates of the realm before contracting new loans or imposing new taxes. The question then arose, however, what are the "Estates of the Realm?" The answer to this question was attempted by the King himself in 1846; and put in the form of a memorandum or *pro memoria* which was a masterpiece of royal pedantry. Von Ranke can find nothing better to say for it than that it had logical unity. He omits to say that it had any practical merit, and the omission seems to be very significant. But though the biographer does not say this for himself, he shows that the King's ministers felt it to be true, and intimated as much to His Majesty. The King's object was thoroughly insincere. He wished to make such reforms as would satisfy the letter of the Vienna compact, without surrendering any real power, especially to the elected delegates of the people. Hence the conception of the United Diet—the "Vereinigter Landtag." It was simply to be the union or fusion into a single national council of the separate provincial local assemblies. These assemblies were all that remained of the old medieval estates. They were made up of representatives of the nobles, the knights, the towns, and the peasant communes, who deliberated as they met in four different sections, and had but a slight influence on provincial affairs. All these are, of course, well-known facts. But what Professor von Ranke brings out with novel clearness is the singular mixture of self-confidence, vacillation, timidity, rashness, and duplicity in His Majesty's conduct. It is certain that when he laid his scheme before the ministers for their advice he had already determined to maintain it, whatever that advice should be. This is not the way a considerate and honorable prince treats his confidential

councilors. At the same time the worst enemies of the King are agreed to acquit him of conscious dishonesty. He lived under the influence of absurd theories of governments; he had a morbid dread of democracy and radicalism; his nature was fantastic, dreamy, imaginative, and he was no more able to keep the balance between right and wrong than between the real and the unreal, the practical and the unpractical, in politics. Accordingly he called together his United Diet, and it lasted about one year. It broke the fall of the poor king from his medieval theories to the reality of a national parliament; and so was of some service. But Professor von Ranke fails to change the popular judgment of his royal hero and friend.

The most remarkable thing about Herr Frenzel's volumes¹ is their title. There once appeared in Germany an "epoch-making" work, the "Hamburger Dramaturgie;" the author was named Lessing, and he afterward came to acquire a rank in literature to which the excellent critic of the *National Zeitung* can hardly aspire. Lessing's brilliant *critiques* contributed to overthrow the supremacy of French playwrights in Germany, but Dr. Frenzel has no apparent insurrectionary purpose. His volumes are mere collections of ephemeral theatrical notices, written for a Berlin daily. The author ranks indeed as one of the best among Berlin critics, but the best is not extremely good; and these selected favorites suggest disagreeable comparisons, not only with the essays of Lessing, whose name they parody, but also with the best workmanship of Paris or New York, of Vienna or London. Above all things, Berlin critics ought to learn that life is short, and that hasty commentaries on theatrical events need not always embody a philosophical dissertation.

Paul Heyse is one of the more promising among the younger novelists of Germany. Originally inclined to the learned sciences and a professorship, he was shut out of the Vatican Library, where he was studying some old manuscripts; and in disgust he renounced his plans and took to literature. Science may not lose by this, but literature certainly gains. Heyse has less poetical genius and less familiarity with peasant and rural life; he has not explored society with so sharp an eye as Spielhagen; but he has a happy, airy fancy, and pleasant descriptive powers. For some time he was known chiefly as a writer of graceful and popular tales, and of dainty little poems in which the charm of the workmanship was more apparent than depth of thought or brilliancy of imagination.² The sketch-book is a collection of these latter. Nearly all of them, it would seem, have been already published in some form, and they want therefore the attraction of novelty. But most of them were worth preserving in more permanent style. I may hint, perhaps, *à propos* of Heyse, that American publishers who snatch up so eagerly every thing from Auerbach and Spielhagen, not to speak of the late irrepressible Madame Mühlbach, ought to examine the two novels "Kinder der Welt," and "Im Paradiese."

¹ "Berliner Dramaturgie," von Carl Frenzel. 2 vols. Hanover: Karl Rümpler. 1877.

² "Skizzenbuch: Lieder und Bilder," von Paul Heyse. Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz. 1877.

PROFESSOR VIRCHOW'S little work,¹ which was originally delivered as an address before the annual congress of German naturalists and physicians at Munich, has now been printed and is circulating as literature. Few recent productions of the same sort have produced such a sensation. The great Berlin pathologist had hitherto ranked not merely as a fearless defender of scientific truth, but also as one of those audacious radicals who have a tendency to adopt extreme views simply because they are extreme. This character he disavows once for all.* His discourse was rather an elaborate plea for caution and conservatism in matters of scientific progress, for rejecting as truths what are as yet only hypotheses, and above all for keeping out of the system of public instruction all doctrines which are not accepted as universal truths. Although his remarks were general, they were provoked by the arrogant demonstration of Professor Haeckel of Jena, the leading Darwinian of Germany. Professor Virchow took occasion not exactly to repudiate the doctrine of equivocal generation, but at best to declare that in his opinion as a scientific man that doctrine had not yet been scientifically established, and could therefore lay no claim to be accepted as such. These conservative utterances caused great satisfaction in Germany, and they may be read with profit by every serious person.

THE ARTICLES of Herr von Weber,² a son of the composer and one of the first German authorities on railway questions, have a certain degree of permanent value. He is at his best when teaching his own specialty, though even here he sometimes makes strange blunders. In one of his contributions to a German periodical he put into the mouth of President Lincoln, *à propos* of western railway enterprises, the bloodthirsty sentiment that the chief thing was not to build good roads but to build them quickly, a year's gain in the completion being worth any number of lives! Nevertheless Herr von Weber is a standard author, and in this collection of essays shows a versatility of gifts not hitherto suspected.

MACAULAY'S "History of England" has been called a magnificent Whig pamphlet. The magnificent would hardly be applied to Herr Parisius's sketch of political parties in Germany since 1848,³ but it may be described as history degraded to the service of party controversy, or as a party pamphlet thinly disguised in the robes of history, just as one prefers. The author is one of the leaders of the "Fortschritts-partei" or advanced liberals. He may be called its secretary-general, its official editor; and the work before us is therefore to be taken as an authorized manifesto of the party. This explanation will put the reader on his guard against any false impression that might be made by the tone and tendency of the book, and the rest may be unreservedly

¹ "Die Freiheit der Wissenschaft im modernen Staat," von Rudolf Virchow. Berlin: Verlag von Wiegandt, Hempel & Parey. 1877.

² "Schauen und Schaffen," von M. M. von Weber. Stuttgart: Edward Hallberger. 1878.

³ "Deutschlands politische Parteien und das Ministerium Bismarck," von Ludolf Parisius. Berlin: J. Guttentag. 1878.

commended. The Party of Progress has reached a ripe old age for a country where political organizations are in a state of eternal dissolution. During the first decade of the constitution there were general distinctions of conservative and radical, or in the chamber of Right and Left, but the Party of Progress was the first, according to Herr Parisius, which put forth a complete programme of opinions and actions. This was in 1861. Next year came Bismarck and the "Conflict." During these four years the Party of Progress comprised nearly all the Liberal deputies, and it made a steady but ineffectual resistance to the unconstitutional course of the ministry. But in 1866, after Sadowa, a schism arose. The government came in with an offer of reconciliation, which a great majority of the Liberals accepted. Hence a National Liberal party, which has the relative though not the absolute majority both in the Prussian and in the Imperial Diet, which has pretty steadily supported Bismarck since 1866, and hopes soon to see a parliamentary cabinet of its own men. The remnant of the original Progressists, who refused Bismarck's compromise, maintained the old party organization and name. The course of these developments is described by Herr Parisius with great detail, and with copious citations from official documents. The present volume brings the history down to the year 1874, and is apparently to be followed by another or others.

BERLIN.

HERBERT TUTTLE.

It would really be too tantalizing to tell at this late date about the German Christmas books. Each reader has given mother, sister, and sweetheart the prettiest thing he could find, and it would vex him to learn of new and now useless stores to choose from. But—happy thought!—there are birth-days to come, and we may venture to mention three artistic works.

The first one looks like an old friend, for it has been under way for more than a year, visiting subscribers in those ingenious thin "numbers," which, with the driblet process of paying, are so hard to resist. It is "*Switzerland*,"¹ edited by Dr. Gsell-Fels, well known for his guide-books on Italy and France, and for a magnificent book on Venice, and whose very name seems so appropriate for a Swiss work. Dr. Gsell-Fels furnished the text, while some twenty and more artists, among whom it will be enough to mention A. Calame, supplied the pictures, all doing their work well. The old traveler will be thrilled at the sight of familiar points in the scenery and of well-known corners in towns. The three hundred and sixty pictures, sixty of which are large, spread before us views of cities, as Luzerne, Zürich, Lausanne; passes, as the ravine in the Bernina Pass, the Rawyl Pass; glaciers, as the Rosenlain, between the Wellhorn and the Engelhörner; and brooks, as the Giessbach on Lake Brienz and the Staubbach in the Lauterbrunnenthal. Even a few genre pictures vary the list, and show us the starting of a steamer or a school examination. The

¹ "*Die Schweiz*." Mit Holzschnitten nach Bildern und Zeichnungen. 2 vols. Von Gsell-Fels. Munich and Berlin: Bruckmann. 1877 and 1878. (232 and 266 pp., large folio.) Bound, mark 85 = \$21.25.

smaller pictures in the text will not be looked at hastily, since the choice of view and the skill in execution will alike arrest attention.

The elegance of this work, and the finished character of many of the wood-cuts, will perhaps tend to give new currency to the opinions of those who would urge wood-engravers forward to press upon the fineness of metal-engravers. Yet the majority of the cuts will satisfy doubtless any but a too punctilious stickler for the antique simplicity of line and character.

We must not more than mention the second art book. It is Marak's "Forest Solitude,"¹ twelve pictures etched by Willmann. Its great attraction for Germans and for many Americans will be found not so much in Marak's (said to be pronounced *Marshak*) name, as in that of Joseph Victor von Scheffel, the author of "Ekkehard" and of the "Trumpeter of Sakkingen," who wrote the accompanying poetry.

Other picture-lovers will find in Kaden's "Switzerland"² a companion piece to that of Dr. Gsell-Fels above, though not its equal either in text or cut. This inferiority is to a certain degree consonant with the fact that Kaden is occupied more with the every-day life of the people, and Gsell-Fels with historical matter; life may pass with a hasty sketch, history must be a careful study to artist as well as to student.

The student of German literature who has wearied of Vilmar's good, oft reissued, but now somewhat antiquated history, will turn with pleasure to Dr. Robert Koenig's "History of German Literature."³ The part before us is the first of the three which are to compose the volume. The dainty gray cover, with its exquisite initial "D," is but a just promise of the inside. Dr. Koenig, the editor of the *Daheim*, gives us in this part the history as far as the year 1300, with a fragment of the following period. Most judiciously, in treating of those early times, he describes at length the various interesting productions, the Nibelungenlied, etc., room being gained by using a smaller type for the actual analysis of works. But one thing at once catches the eye, namely, the manner of illustrating, of course particularly in these earlier pages, by *fac-similes* of the old manuscripts. A paleographer will fondle the pages and almost fancy he is feeling the parchment. For example, the frontispiece is a page from a twelfth-century manuscript. It contains a picture of the three kings worshipping the child at Bethlehem; the gold, silver, green, blue, and red of the original, and every shade and scratch on the parchment, stand before us. Farther on are a scarlet MS. with gold and silver letters, a pale yellow MS., etc. These illustrations present what is apparently a new and

¹ "Waldeinsamkeit," von J. Marak. Zwölf landschaftliche Stimmungsbilder. Radirt von E. Willmann. Mit begleitender Dichtung von J. V. von Scheffel. Wien: Kaeser. Large folio. Mark 60 = \$15.

² "Das Schweizerland," von W. Kaden. Eine Sommerfahrt durch Gebirg und Thal. Stuttgart: Engelhorn. 1878. (viii., 421 pp., large folio.) Bound, mark 75 = \$18.75.

³ "Deutsche Literaturgeschichte," von R. Koenig. First part, pp. 1-192, large 8vo. Bielefeld und Leipzig: Velhagen & Klasing. 1878. To be completed in three parts. Price of first part, mark 4 = \$1.

valuable feature. Every one knows the trouble given in referring to and from an illustration and its description. Here the delicate tissue-paper which protects and faces the picture contains the clear copy of the text of the manuscript. This idea might be applied to other pictures with good effect. But we must pass on.

The novels we shall leave for the most part until another occasion; yet one noteworthy circumstance in regard to them must be recorded. Whether owing to lack of education or to lack of imaginative power, as we can hardly believe, or to lack of taste for novels, as some may charitably suggest, the fact is that the Catholic publishers can not get Catholic novels enough and good enough. In order to remedy this evil, one publisher, Schöningh, of Paderborn, offered a prize of \$500 for the best Catholic novel, with \$350 and \$300 for the second and third. Another publisher added to this, and a third offered \$625 for the best novel. The matter will cause quite a stir in the study-rooms of Catholic novel authors.

The new novel of Professor George Ebers carries us into a Catholic field of thought, if you please, but views it with other than Catholic eyes. Those who have read the learned Leipzig Egyptologist's "King's Daughter," of about 1867, and "Uarda," of Christmas, 1876, will be glad to receive his "Homo Sum."¹ Before these words are read, there will be a new edition out; at present it is out of print! In life, in delicacy of thought, and in excellence of language it does not fall behind its predecessors. Ebers claims that, whereas in the other two books he forced the poet and scholar to make mutual concessions, in this one he has permitted nothing to hamper his endeavor to express simply and fully an "idea" which has affected his soul. The scene is laid at Sinai, the Serbal of to-day. The time is the fourth century. The hero, if we may so speak, is Paul, an anchorite; and when we name as another principal figure the councilor Peter, living with his family in the oasis Pharan, close at hand, it will at once be seen that the author steps boldly into the realm of church tradition. To be brief, he depicts the good of social life, the evil of monasticism, without closing his eyes entirely to the evil of the former or the good of the latter. Sirona, from Gaul, the wife of an old reprobate, is described with most skillful pencil, until the reader is wrapt up in her loveliness and purity. The thorough *manliness* ("homo sum") of the anchorite draws us to him in all his combats with himself in endeavoring to attain the ideal heights of holiness, and we sympathize with him and the other anchorites when the "old man" (speaking in the language of the Bible and of the nursery) breaks out again in them. Hermas, a young and unwilling disciple, utters many a sharp criticism upon the anchorite life; perhaps the best is the brief "We live like praying beasts!"

Any one who wishes to know what Professor Ebers looks like, will find a portrait of him in the January number of the *North and South*. In the same

¹ "Homo Sum," von G. Ebers. Stuttgart and Leipzig: Hallberger. 1878. (xii., 376 pp., large 8vo.) Mark 6 = \$1.50.

number Ebers describes "My Grave at Thebes," not Hibernicè, his real grave, but his dwelling-place on the west bank at Thebes while studying Egypt. Egyptian travelers must thank him for one novelty; he assures us—charitable man!—that the far-famed "backshish," the first, last, most frequently heard, and most expensive two syllables of the East, that backshish forsooth is often not earnest begging, but merely a convenient salutation used by the people toward the strangers whom they do not care to bless by a "Peace be with you!"

The companion article by the celebrated law professor at Leipzig, Windscheid, on "The Historical School in the Science of Law," is popular and not uninteresting. Lucian Müller, of St. Petersburg, also writes about Publilius Optatianus Porfyrius, "A Roman Poet of the Time of Constantine," whose poems he has edited, and whom he seeks to draw from beneath three centuries of oblivion.

CASPAR RENÉ GREGORY.

LEIPZIG.

RECENT FRENCH BOOKS.

THE HEAVENS.¹—This new edition is not only, like all new editions, "revised and enlarged," it is a work, already well known in France and abroad, almost completely remodeled. In consequence of important additions necessitated by the advances and discoveries of the science during the last ten years, this edition is much more voluminous than the earlier ones. The author now employs the new method of observation, based upon the spectrum analysis of the sources of light, which enables him to approach questions hitherto inaccessible, especially the physical and chemical constitution of the heavenly bodies. The study of shooting stars is also treated by the author by the aid of the long series of observation and careful discussions in which the astronomers of all countries have been lately engaged.

The Transit of Venus, which was observed in December, 1874, occupies an important place in this volume. Although the last observations made on this subject have not been thoroughly discussed as yet, still the author indicates the principal results obtained.

Besides these important additions, M. Guillemin has made a multitude of corrections of details, always in accordance with the daily advances of astronomy.

A distinguishing characteristic of this learned work is its accessibility to

¹ "The Heavens. Elementary Notions of Physical Astronomy." By Amédée Guillemin. Fifth edition, containing 62 large plates (22 being colored), and 361 vignettes inserted in the text. Hachette.

those who, without having made a special study of astronomy, wish to keep themselves posted as to the progress and discoveries of this noble science.

Indeed, this fine book is very pleasant reading, not that the author is contented with a superficial explanation of facts, but because he is always so clear and perfectly intelligible, even in his deep scientific researches, that the reader, of any education, follows him with the liveliest interest, and is quite surprised at comprehending without effort complicated questions of which he had previously known next to nothing. This is no slight merit. There are few scientific books which both instruct and captivate the reader to such a degree.

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE SAULX-TAVANNES IN THE XVITH CENTURY.¹—For several years historical studies have had a remarkable development in France. To draw from the original sources, to narrate, relying only upon unassailable documents, to cast aside every prejudice and prior opinion, these are the principles which to-day guide the new French historical school. This school has already produced some highly important works, such as "The Institutions of Ancient France," by M. Fustel de Coulanges (Hachette), and M. H. Taine's first volume on "The Origins of Contemporary France" (Hachette). The work which we announce here can be placed in this category. It contains the evidences upon which M. Pingaud's work on the Saulx-Tavannes was based. The reader will notice the letters of Jean, the intrepid and impassioned *ligueur*, which are certainly the most original of this collection because of their martial tone and burning energy. The letters of Maréchal Gaspard are a complete contrast to those of Jean in the calm and prudent sentiment which they breathe. And yet it was their author who in great measure incited the massacre of St. Bartholomew! This diverse correspondence is indispensable to any one who wishes to study or narrate the history of the religious wars which at that epoch stained France with blood. Here you may see, strange to say, the most ardent fanaticism and the most irreproachable loyalty frequently united in the same person, and committing the most atrocious deeds with a tranquil conscience.

THE UNEDITED WORKS OF XAVIER DE MAISTRE.²—Why has the personality of Xavier de Maistre remained hitherto almost wholly unknown? Every one is familiar with "Le Voyage autour de Ma Chambre" and "Le Lepreux de la Cité d'Aoste;" but the author of these two charming little chefs-d'œuvres had managed to elude all investigation. The story of his life has never been published, and it was hardly known with certainty to what nationality he belonged.

The reason is that this sympathetic writer feared above all things to see his personality exposed to the curiosity and criticisms of the public.

¹ "Correspondence of the Saulx-Tavannes in the XVIth Century." Published in the Memoirs of the Academy of Dijon. By M. Léonce Pingaud.

² "The Unedited Works of Xavier de Maistre." First Essays, Fragments, and Correspondence, with a Study and Notes." By Eugène Réaume. 2 vols. Lemerre.

With a shy sensitiveness he passed the best years of his life in seclusion in order to withdraw himself from the contact and judgment of the world. Hence, out of respect for his memory, his family has until lately resisted all entreaties to endow the literary world with the correspondence of Xavier de Maistre. M. Réaume has succeeded in overcoming this laudable reluctance, and has been authorized to publish the first essays and sundry fragments of the author of the "Leper," which appear now for the first time, as well as his voluminous correspondence.

We can now at last approach the agreeable writer who has given us so many pleasant hours. We can follow him from his earliest steps in life to the end of an existence beautiful and serene above all others. All the veils are lifted. We read the very heart of Xavier de Maistre, we know his inmost thoughts, we hear him in his relations with the most important persons of his time, and all this, thanks to the two pretty volumes which Mr. Lemerre has just published. It is a privilege which the cultivated public will certainly appreciate.

THE COURT AND THE OPERA UNDER LOUIS XVI.¹—The author has produced this volume after conscientious researches among the State archives and those of the Opera, where he has discovered a mass of documents which he is the first to publish. The Court of Louis XVI. is here exhibited in an entirely new light, which gives a peculiar interest to M. Jullien's study.

There was in fact at that period a kind of intermingling of the political and musical worlds, so wild was the excitement suddenly aroused over the composers of that time, so fierce were the battles fought over their names.

"This indiscreet glimpse at Versailles," says the author, "can hardly fail to give the present work a far more general range than if it were strictly confined within the couloirs of the Opera."

M. Jullien is right. Music was merely the pretext for the formation of opposing political parties. Over Sacchini, Salieri, Favart, and Gluck were excited many passions quite foreign to the science of harmony. Marie Antoinette had the ill fortune to take part in these dangerous controversies, and the sympathies and antipathies she thus manifested brought new disasters to her fast-failing popularity.

That these musical discussions were founded upon no artistic feeling, and merely concealed very different interests, is clearly proved by the fact that neither court nor town had then any real love for music, and that both were absolutely incapable of appreciating the chefs-d'œuvres which have charmed all succeeding generations.

THE CARYATIDES.²—The idea which inspired this collection of poems is one of the richest and most original which could inspire a poet. The reader shall

¹ "The Court and the Opera under Louis XVth." By Adolphe Jullien. Didier.

² "The Caryatides." By Th. de Bauville. Lemerre.

judge. The author represents Poetry under the form of a Temple, whose dome is lost among the clouds. This Temple is upheld by the Caryatides, by those statues which the artist's chisel has brought to life, and who seem ever in danger of being crushed by the enormous weight which they bear upon their shoulders.

It is at once apparent what a poet of genius could draw from this superb comparison. The sufferings of the poet—such is the subject of this collection. Has M. de Bauville drawn from this plenteous source like a true poet? We do not think so.

Here are doubtless many sparkling verses, many striking thoughts. But a whole volume is too much for the treatment of such a subject, rich and beautiful as it is. A hundred lines would have sufficed to show that, like the Caryatid, the poet who upholds the Temple of Poetry is also called on to brave the blaze of the sun and the terror of the tempest, exposed to the warring elements. This noble comparison must lose in force if spread out through an entire volume. That is just what happens here. Words take the place of the idea and richness of style supplants power of sentiment.

It is true that the poet composed this collection in his early years. Unhappily in M. de Bauville's later poetry it is but too easy to remark that his wonderful facility has frequently induced him to prefer the sonorous and melodious expression to true sentiment and profound thought. With these exceptions no one can deny that the author is a true-born poet.

He has inspiration, brilliant flashes, and admirable sense of rhythm and harmony. But what we look for in poetry is thought, thought lived out and strongly expressed. In this respect M. de Bauville has always left us much to desire.

THE NABOB.¹—This book has made a great sensation of late. We can well understand it. It is fascinating reading. The interest increases from the first pages to the end of the story. The principal characters, some of whom are historical, are drawn with powerful truth and energy. But let M. Daudet take care not to lean too much toward complete realism. He already belongs to that school in virtue of "Froment jeune et Risler aîné" (Sidonie), as well as "Jack." It would be cause for regret should the celebrated novelist allow himself to be carried little by little down to the realism of the Zolas and the de Goncourts.

M. Daudet professes to paint Parisian life and morals in the "Nabob." Two of his heroes are indeed Parisian. As for the others, they belong to that class of adventurers who are to be found to be much the same in all countries. There would be therefore some danger of error in looking for Parisian life in the "Nabob." The two novels above mentioned are in this respect much nearer the truth.

A. NOUGARÈDE.

¹ "The Nabob. Parisian Manners." By Alphonse Daudet. Charpentier.

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SCIENCE AND THEOLOGY—ANCIENT AND MODERN.

I.

EACH generation of mankind thinks highly of its own importance and inclines to believe that it will mark an epoch in human history. All of us who live out our seventy years witness impressive changes. If we add to our personal experience the accounts which we hear from our fathers of the state of things which they remember in their own childhood, the individual recollections of each of us extend back over nearly a century ; and every century brings with it alterations of action and sentiment, which are depressing or exhilarating according to the constitution of our minds, but are always on a scale to force upon us a sense of the instability of all opinions and institutions, and of the complicated influences which control the fortunes of our race. The revolutions may be intrinsically less violent than they seem to those who have borne a part in them. Events which at the time of their occurrence appear of world-wide moment, are seen afterward to have been without real significance. As we look back over history we perceive long periods apparently level and unbroken. Then, as now, perhaps old men drew contrasts between past and present, spoke eloquently of national degeneracy, or warmed into enthusiasm over a better time that had set in. To us, as we survey these periods from a distance, there will appear to have been few changes either for good or evil,

and each generation will seem extremely like its predecessors. The English of Shakespeare or Swift were not essentially different from the English of to-day. The accidents of life alter rapidly. The inner nature alters very slowly. We feel acutely the alterations which we have witnessed, because they are close to us; but at least half the impression is due to changes in ourselves rather than in what is round us. We grow old; we look back on the past with affectionate regret, as when we were young we looked to the future with hope and enthusiasm. We do not see the sordid details of vulgar reality; we are unconscious poets and idealize without being aware of it.

Nevertheless there are times when change is really rapid, so rapid that the character of it cannot be mistaken; times when a Rip van Winkle who went to sleep in his youth would wake in manhood to find himself in a world remade, all habits altered, all the most cherished opinions swept away as in a whirlwind. Some violent convulsion may have done it—a reformation or a French Revolution shaking society like an earthquake—or the same effect may have been produced more quietly by a swift, silent operation, as if mankind had broken suddenly from the anchorage and were hurried away by some irresistible current from all their bearings and associations.

Allowing for the tendency to exaggerate our self-importance, there is reason to think that we are ourselves living in one of these exceptional epochs; that we have been launched into a current which has already carried us out of sight of most of our old landmarks, and is rushing forward with us with accelerating velocity. For the last fifty years science has conferred upon us new and extraordinary powers of rapid communication. Ideas are interchanged, productions are interchanged, the human inhabitants of the globe can move to and fro with an ease and speed never before known or dreamed of; and we are surrounded with vast political catastrophes, empires rising and falling, races forming new combinations, prejudices breaking down, whole continents opened out for the formation of new and mighty nationalities, a universal levelling of all old distinctions, as if mankind had been resolved into a thousand million units to reorganize in fresh combinations, suited to an altered order of things. Look alone at Great Britain. At the close of the French war Great Britain had but half of its present population and a fifth of its present wealth. Lancashire was still an agricultural county. Our manufactures were but as the lading of a Thames barge compared to the freight of an ocean steamer.

Colonies we had few, and those valued by us but as markets for our uncertain commerce. Ships crawled to and fro across the Atlantic, spending six weeks upon the voyage. As many months were consumed on a voyage to India or China. The landed aristocracy ruled in St. Stephens, and "use and wont" in the length and breadth of the island. Stage-coaches rolled sleepily along the unmacadamized high-roads. The impatient traveler, who was not afraid of fatigue, might reach Edinburgh from London in two days and nights. The magnate, who preferred his own carriage and his own horses, was a fortnight on the way.

Each neighborhood supplied its own necessities and its own amusements. The weaver made cloth at his solitary loom for the tailor to cut into clothes in the adjoining village. The old wife in the cottage spun her own yarn, and knitted her own and her husband's and children's stockings. The gentry confined their visits within a circle of ten miles. Their daughters depended for their larger acquaintance on the balls and races in the county town. Schools there were none, except for the well-to-do. The village boys and girls learnt their catechism at the parish church, and were bound apprentices for the rest of their education. All the country over, from the expense and difficulty of movement, each family was rooted to its own soil, and the summer migrations of the squires and parsons were confined, like that of the Vicar of Wakefield, to a change from the blue room to the brown.

Under these conditions, we who are now turned middle age began our existence; our hopes modest, our ambition limited to one or other of the three black graces; our horizon bounded, at furthest, by the limits of our own island, and our knowledge of the rest of the globe extending but to names upon maps, huge portions of which remained blank, or to books of travels which were not accurately distinguished from the voyages of Gulliver or Robinson Crusoe or Sindbad the Sailor.

Our spiritual state was the counterpart of our material state. We learnt what our fathers had learnt before us: Greek and Latin, and arithmetic and geometry, Greek and Roman history, and, in some favored instances, a little English history, conceived from an insular point of view. Modern languages we despised, and of modern European literature we knew nothing. Physical science was regarded rather as an amusement of dilettanteism than as an occupation for serious men. Of astronomy, we were taught the general results. We knew, in words, that the earth was round; that it

travelled round the sun as one of its planets; and that the solar system was perhaps but one of an infinite number of such systems. But the knowledge had not penetrated beyond our memories. For practical purposes, we still believed that our own earth was the most important part of the universe, and man the central object for which all else had been made. Electricity was a toy, geology a paradoxical novelty. Critical history had not commenced its massacre of illusions. Schoolboys were taught to believe in the Seven Kings' Rome. British antiquarians could insist modestly that Brute of Troy need not be a fable. Chemists still talked of the four elements. The keen, piercing process by which traditional teachings on all subjects have since been brought to the bar to answer for themselves, was still unheard of in any single department of human study.

A condition so stationary, so controlled outwardly and inwardly by habit, corresponded to the stable character of the English nation. Below the outward life and the intellectual cultivation lay a foundation of morality based upon authority. We must all live. Children must be taught that a certain conduct is required of them; that there is a rule of duty to which they must conform. In a wholesome condition of society no questions are asked as to what duty means, or why it is obligatory. The idea of duty lies in the constitution of things, and the source of it is the will of the maker of the world. Sixty years ago speculations on the origin of the universe were confined to a few curious or idle people; the multitude of us believed without the slightest conscious misgiving that the world was made by God—that he had made himself known in a revelation which had been guaranteed by miracles, and had himself declared the law which we were required to obey—and that in the Bible, further, we had a history of God's actions and intentions toward us, every word of which was indisputably true.

Such a conviction was for all practical purposes universally received throughout England and America, at least during the first half of this century. Of course we know that there were persons who did not believe; but we were satisfied that in Christian countries disbelief was caused by moral depravity. There were infidels in religion as there were monsters in crime; but infidelity, we were assured, was not a mistake, but a sin. It was the result of a culpable misuse of faculties, which if fairly employed could arrive only at an orthodox conclusion. I remember that when I was a

little boy, there was a family in the corner of the parish supposed to entertain eccentric opinions on these subjects. They were harmless and respectable, but they did not go to church, and naturally were called atheists. We looked at them with a vague terror. If we passed their door, we hurried by as if the place were haunted. At last the old mother died. The husband asked that the body might be buried without being taken into the church. It would, I believe, have been illegal. At any rate the request was refused, and I recollect, when the matter was talked over, hearing it said that people who did not believe in God believed often in the devil, and that inside the church the devil had special power to take hold of an atheist. Some months after, one summer evening, I saw the husband stealing down to the churchyard to visit his wife's grave. His look was gentle, sad, abstracted, full of human sorrow and human sensibility. I recollect a sense of startled pity for the poor old man, mixed with doubts whether it was not impious to entertain such a feeling.

We were under the influence of the remnants of a superstition which in other days lit the fires at Smithfield, and of course it was absurd and horrible. Yet when a creed has been made the base on which moral convictions and moral conduct are rested, it can not be questioned without grave consequences. We can not build our lives on a balance of probabilities; and unless we take for granted the essential principles of duty, we can make nothing out of an existence at all. The clerk in Eastcheap, as Mr. Carlyle says, can not be forever verifying his ready-reckoner. The world, when it is in a healthy state, will always look askance at persons who insist that the ready-reckoners require revision.

Yet times come when the calculation becomes so terribly wrong that the revision can not be put off any longer. It is but necessary to describe such a condition of feeling to be aware how far we have been driven from it—far as the era lies of railroads and telegraphs and ocean steamers from the era of stage-coaches and Russells wagons. Whither these material changes may be carrying us, it is idle to conjecture. Nothing of the same kind has ever been witnessed on the earth before, and there is no experience to guide us. The spiritual change is not so unexampled. Phenomena occurred most curiously analogous at the time of the rise of Christianity; and from the singularly parallel course in which at these two periods the intellect developed itself, we may infer generally what is likely to come of it.

That we have been started out of our old positions, and that we can never return to positions exactly the same is too plain to be questioned. Theologians no longer speak with authority. They are content to suggest, and to deprecate hasty contradiction. Those who doubted before, now openly deny. Those who believed on trust have passed into uncertainty. Those who uphold orthodoxy can not agree on what ground to defend it. Throughout Europe, throughout the world, the gravest subjects are freely discussed, and opposite sides may be taken without blame from society. Doctrines once fixed as a rock are now fluid as water. Truth is what men throw. Things are what men think. Certainty neither is nor can be more than the agreement of persons competent to form an opinion, and when competent persons cease to agree the certain has become doubtful—doubtful from the necessity of the case. This is a simple matter of fact. What is generally doubted is doubtful. It is a conclusion from which there is no escape. The universal assent which constitutes certainty has been dissolved into the conflicting sentiments of individual thinkers.

First principles are necessarily assumptions. They can not prove themselves. For three centuries all Protestant communities assumed as a first principle the infallibility of the Bible. They regarded the writers of the various books as the automatic instruments of the Holy Spirit; and pious and simple people held in entire consistency that if the Bible was a rule of faith where each person, learned or unlearned, could find the truth, the translations must be inspired also. These positions were safe so long, and so long only, as it was held to be sinful to challenge them. Wisely do men invest authority, whether of writing or person, with a sacred character. The mass of men can only be made to feel the superiority of what is higher than themselves when it is surrounded with a certain atmosphere of dignity. It is essential to society that princes and magistrates shall be regarded with respect, for they represent not themselves only, but the law which they administer. The sovereign function is gone if every intruding blockhead may take his sovereign by the hand and examine with his own eyes of what matter kings are composed. The blockhead can not be made to understand for himself why authority ought to be obeyed. He is therefore properly placed when he can not reach to measure himself against it. The outward protection taken away, the illusion is gone. The judge without his robe may retain his intellectual supremacy, but his intellectual supremacy will inspire no awe in the vulgar crowd. Stripped of robe and ceremony he appears but a common man.

The spell of sanctity once broken, the Bible once approached, examined, and studied, as other books, an analogous result has followed. The critic has approached tenderly and respectfully, but the approach at all implies an assumption of a right to question the supernatural character of the object of his investigation. Certainty passes into probability, and the difference between certainty and probability is not in degree but in kind. A human witness is substituted for a divine witness, and faith is changed into opinion. The authority of the translation was the first to be shaken. Then variations in the MSS. destroyed the confidence in the original text. If the original language was miraculously communicated, there was a natural presumption that it would be miraculously preserved. It had not been miraculously preserved, and the inference of doubt extended backward on the inspiration.

The origin of the different books was next inquired into, with their authorship and antiquity. At each step the uncertainty became deeper. The gospel history itself was found to be a labyrinth of perplexities. The divine sanction for accuracy and authenticity once obscured, the popular sense which had cleared the modern world of superstition, and had driven the supernatural out of secular history, began to ask on what ground the Bible miracles were to be believed if all other miracles were to be rejected. Geology forced itself forward, and declared that the history of the creation in the Book of Genesis was irreconcilable with ascertained facts. Along the whole line the defending forces are falling back, not knowing where to make a stand; and materialism all over Europe stands frankly out and is respectfully listened to when it affirms that the war is over, that the claims of revelation can not be maintained, and that the existence of God and of a future state, the origin of man, the nature of conscience, and the meaning of the distinctions between good and evil are all open questions.

No serious consequences, at least in England and America, are as yet outwardly apparent. We are a law-abiding race; the mass of us are little given to unpractical speculation. We are too earnest to tolerate impiety, and the traditions of religion will retain their hold with the millions long after they have lost their influence over the intellect. Intellect we know is not omniscient. Emotion has a voice in the matter, which is always on the side of faith, and women in such subjects are governed almost wholly by their feelings. The entire generation at present alive may probably pass away before the inward change shows itself markedly in external symptoms.

None the less it is quite certain that the ark of religious opinion has drifted from its moorings, that it is moving with increasing speed along a track which it will never retrace, and towards issues infinitely momentous. What are these issues to be? "The thing that hath been, that shall be again."

Once before the civilized nations of Europe had a religion on which their laws were founded, and by which their lives and actions were governed. Once before it failed them, and they were driven back upon philosophy. Allowing for the difference of times, the intellectual phenomena were precisely the same as those which we have ourselves experienced. The philosophic schools passed through the same stages, and the latest of them arrived at the same conclusion, that the universe of things could be explained by natural causes; and as no symptom could be discovered of any special divine interference with the action of those causes, so there was no occasion for supposing that such interference had ever been or ever would be. The scientific triumph, as it was then regarded, was proclaimed as a new message of glad tidings to mankind. It was believed by politicians and philosophers, by poets and historians. It was never believed by the mass of simple-minded people, who held on in spite of it to the traditions of the old faith, till Christianity rose out of the dying ashes of paganism, restored conscience to its supremacy, and made real belief in God once more possible.

Human nature remains what it always was. The nature of God, and the relation in which man stands to God, are the same now as they were when man first began to be. The truth of fact is what it is, independent, happily, of our notions of it. We do not make truth by recognizing it; we can not unmake truth by denying it. So much of it as it concerns us practically to know we learn by experience, as we learn every natural lesson; and if man is not permitted to live and prosper in this world without an acknowledgment of his Maker, the scientific experiment will fail as it failed before. The existing forms of religion may dissolve, but the truth which is the soul of religion will revive more vigorous than ever. The analogy is the more impressive the more closely we compare the details of the two periods.

No one knows distinctly how the pagan religions began. Some say they were corruptions of patriarchal traditions; some trace them to fear and ignorance; some to consciousness of responsibility; some to the involuntary awe forced upon the mind by the star-spangled sky and the majestic motion through it of sun, moon, and

planets. All these influences probably were combined to excite each other, the last, as was most natural, giving shape and form to the emotion of piety. The number 12 and the number 7, occurring, as they do, in all the old mythologies, point unmistakably to the twelve months and to the seven celestial bodies visible from the earth, which have a proper motion of their own among the stars. However the idea was generated, it seized on the minds of men as soon as born with an irresistible fascination, and took direction of their whole being. The nobler nations assigned to God, or the gods, the moral government of mankind. The will of the gods was the foundation of their legislation. Law was to be obeyed because it was so ordered by the maker and master of the world. The early Greek or Roman directed his whole life by the reference of every particle of it to the gods as entirely as the most devout of Catholic Christians. Meanwhile fancy and imagination wandered in the expanse of possibilities, giving these airy creations a local habitation and a name. The law was stern and severe. A brighter aspect was given to religion in music and song and sacrifice, and legends, and heroic tales; and poets watched the changing phenomena of days and nights, and summer and winter, and heat and cold, and rain and thunder, and human life, and wove them all into a mythology, till there was not a river without its god, a grotto without its nymph, a wood without its dryad, a noble, heroic man without a deity for his father. All went flowingly so long as the world was young. The vast fabric of unreality grew on without intention of fraud; but the time came when intellect began to ask questions, and the stories which were related as sacred truths were seen first to be inconsistent, and then to be incredible. The first resource for defense was allegory. The stories about the gods were not true in themselves, but only figuratively true. Behind the ceremonial of the temples lay "the mysteries" in which the initiated were admitted into the real secret. So interpreted, Homer and Hesiod continued to be tolerable. But the strength of the traditions was weakened insensibly by allegoric dilution. When any thing might mean any thing, men began to ask whether any thing at all was known about the gods. They looked round them, and into their own souls, at the phenomena of real experience, and asked what lessons they could discover in facts which could not be disputed.

So began Greek philosophy. The tone at first was reverent. Order and uniformity was manifest throughout the universe, and where order was, it were assumed that there was an ordering mind.

Some thought that the origin of things was "spirit," others that it was "matter;" some that spirit and matter were co-eternal, others that matter had been created by spirit out of nothing. It was asked what the nature of spirit was. Was spirit self-existing outside the universe, or was it infused in material substance as the soul of a man is in his body? Was it conscious of itself? or was not the most perfect being a serene automaton which needed no consideration, and therefore never reflected upon itself? Again, was spirit intellectual merely, or was it just and good? and if good, whence came evil? Such questions cut deep, but they were not necessarily irreligious. Plato taught a pure theism. Aristotle believed matter to be eternal; he believed God to be eternal also, and the phenomena of existence to result from the efforts of matter to shape itself after the all-perfect pattern which it saw in God. Even Epicurus did not deny that the gods existed. He denied only that there was any trace of their interference with human fortunes.

The difficulty was to account for sin and misery, if a conscious Providence immediately directed every thing. The most popular religious solution of the problem was the doctrine of what was called plastic nature. Nature was supposed to be a force developing itself unconsciously and automatically, as the seed develops into the tree, or, as it was ingeniously expressed by Aristotle, "as if the art of the shipwright was in the timbers." Each organ of every living thing corresponded to its functions. But the operations of nature were not mechanical like human contrivances. Organization was governed by laws from within, not by intention directing it from without, and nature being imperfect, and only striving after perfection, being progressive and not yet complete, her creations partook necessarily of her infirmities, and were subject to decay and change. Such a conception of nature was an earlier form of Spinozism. The bird builds its nests, the spider stretches its web automatically. The human craftsman, as he becomes skilled in any art, does his work more and more spontaneously, and with less and less conscious reflection. When he is a master of his business, he makes each stroke as surely, yet with as little thought about it, as he lifts his food to his mouth.

With these and the like ingenious speculations, philosophers endeavored to answer the questions which they put to themselves about their own nature and the world they lived in; religion and the religious rituals all the while being neither abandoned nor denied, but remaining as a dress or a custom which each day was wearing

thinner. And human life all the while was real, as it is now, brief, struggling, painful, the plaything of accident, a fire-fly flashing out of the darkness, and again disappearing into it ; coming none knew whence, going none knew whither : yet while it lasted, with its passions and its affections, its crimes and its virtues, its high aspirations, its mean degradations, its enthusiasms and its remorse, its wild bursts of joy and agonies of pain, it was an important possession to the owner of it, and speculations about plastic nature would not be likely to satisfy him when he demanded the meaning of it. Yet demand the meaning of it man will and must. Life is too stern to be played with, and as the old creed died into a form, and philosophy proved so indifferent a substitute, dark and terrible notions can be seen rising in Greek poetry ; notions that there were gods, but not good gods ; notions of an inexorable fate ; notions that men were creatures and playthings of powerful and malignant beings who required to be flattered and propitiated, and that beyond the grave lay gloomy possibilities of eternal and horrible suffering. Gone the sunshine of Homer, this healthy vigor, unconscious of itself. Gone the frank and simple courage which met the storm and the sunshine as they came, untroubled with sickly spiritual terrors. In *Æschylus*, in *Sophocles*, in *Euripides*, even in *Plato* himself, the prevailing thought is gloomy and desponding. Philosophy, it was plain, had no anodyne to offer against the sad conviction of the nature of man's life on earth, or availed to allay anxiety for what might happen to him hereafter.

In this condition the Romans came into the inheritance of the world, and became its spiritual as well as administrative trustees. Their religion, too, had gone like the Greek. They had allowed the national divinities of Italy to be identified with the gods of *Hellas*. They had modelled their literature on the Athenian type. They had accepted Greek poetry and philosophy as containing the best which could be felt or known on the great questions which most concerned humanity. But for them some practical theory of life was necessary by which they could rule the present, and face the future. They were not a people to be troubled with subjective sorrows. They were earthly, unideal, material in all that they thought and in all that they did. The Roman proconsul, when reminded of "truth," asked scornfully, "What *is* truth?" That men had bodies he knew well ; whether they had souls or not was no matter of present concern.

Roman statesmen, called as they were to govern the human

race from the British Channel to the Euphrates, had no leisure for any such idle disquisitions. Their only care was that their subjects should obey their magistrates, live peaceably, thrive, and cultivate the earth. For the rest, each individual, so long as he indulged in no political illusions or enthusiasms, was free to dream or fancy what he pleased. Their own convictions followed the pattern of their government. They had no illusions. The material welfare of man was all that they understood or were interested in, and the creed on which they settled down found an exponent in the greatest of their poets. The practical misery of mankind had risen from wars and crimes. The Romans bade war and crime to cease. The spiritual misery of men had been self-caused by fantastic imaginations, by groundless terrors, by dreams of supernatural powers, whose caprice persecuted them in this world, and whose vindictive malice threatened to make them wretched in the next. Religion had been the curse of the earth, and though fools might still torture themselves with a belief in it, if they so pleased, Lucretius, speaking the very inmost conviction of the imperial Roman mind, informed them that religion was a phantom begotten of fear and ignorance. The universe, of which man was a part, was a system of things which had been generated by natural forces. Gods there might be, somewhere in space, created by nature also, but not gods who troubled themselves about men. All things proceeded from eternity in one unchanging sequence of cause and effect, and man had but to understand nature and follow her directions to create his own prosperity and his own happiness, undisturbed by fear of supernatural disturbance. If the sufferings and enjoyments of this world were distributed by a superintending providence, it was a providence which showed no regard for moral worth or worthlessness. The good were often miserable, the wicked flourished, and a power so careless of justice, even if it existed, did not deserve to be revered. But it existed only in the brain of man. Evils, or what were called evils, were a necessary part of an imperfect existence. But evil was disarmed of half its power to hurt when its origin was known, and the more carefully the laws of nature were studied, the more successfully man could contend against it.

Long before Rome became the world's mistress, the theory had been thrown out by Democritus: Epicurus had worked it into shape, and it had been the creed of a sect among the Greeks. As soon as it had become practically embodied in the Roman system of

government, it was developed into a plain confession of faith, and as the legions struck down the nationalities of Asia and Europe, the intellect of Lucretius declared the overthrow of their superstitions and proclaimed the sovereignty of science.

Unlike the Greek mythology, the system of Lucretius was not a thing of imagination. Splendidly as his genius illustrated the details of the Epicurean philosophy, the system itself was based on observation of facts astonishingly accurate, if we consider the age at which he lived; and his inferences were drawn in the strictest scientific method. Within the proper limits of physical science he anticipated many of the generalizations of the best modern scientific thinkers. His moral and spiritual conclusions are almost exactly the same as theirs. Spiritual philosophy grows out of general principles, and whether those principles be derived from a wide or limited induction, whether the facts appealed to be completely known or only imperfectly, when once the principles are assumed the same deductions will follow.

Lucretius opens with the most beautiful lines in Latin poetry, describing the sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis. His object was to create at once and indelibly the impression which he most desired to convey, of the horrors which had been occasioned by religion and the dread of the unknown. Had he lived in our time, he would have referred to the massacre of St. Bartholomew, to an auto-da-fe, or to the burning of a witch. Ignorant of the real causes of things, men had ascribed the calamities from which they suffered to evil spirits, whom it was necessary to flatter and appease. They were frightened as children were frightened at the dark. Their terrors would disappear with sounder and clearer knowledge.

As the modern astronomer believes that the solar, and perhaps the sidereal, system was once a mist of fiery dust which became condensed by motion into suns and planets, Lucretius conceives that space was originally filled with atoms like the motes which we see floating in a sunbeam in a dark room. The modern philosopher derives the first motion from a tendency of floating particles of unequal density to rotate. Lucretius postulates a downward tendency with lateral declinations from the properties of the atoms themselves. Motion once given, coherence begins, and matter in combination develops the phenomena which we experience. Atoms, germs, monads—call them what we please—are not things without function or property. They tend to assume forms, and in those forms to acquire new powers. The universe exists, and we

exist. To say that it exists, because God willed it so, is to say nothing. God is only a name for our ignorance. We conceive of him as more perfect than matter, as being the cause of matter, and we find no difficulty in making so large an assumption. But it is more easy to conceive that matter may exist with less perfect functions, than God with entirely perfect functions.

The earth, when first formed, was fertile, like a woman in her youth. She produced freely all kinds of living creatures, and in the exuberance of natural fecundity she threw out of herself every variety of combination which could consist with the nature of things. She produced plants, she produced animals; some strong, some weak, some with power to propagate their species in their own likeness, some without that power, some able to support themselves with ease, others with difficulty or not at all. Infinite varieties of living things were thus brought into existence to take their chance of continuance. The most vigorous survived. Lions were preserved by their fierceness and strength, foxes by their cunning, stags by swiftness of foot, man by superior intelligence, and other animals again by man's help, because he found them useful to him, as dogs and horses, sheep and oxen. While assigning to the earth these vast powers of productiveness, Lucretius, nevertheless, limits those powers with curious caution. The earth could create only beings consistent with themselves. Rivers could not be made to run with gold. Trees must bear fruit, not sapphires and emeralds. Horses might be made of many kinds, and men of many kinds; but Centaurs, half horse and half man, could not be made, because a horse grows to maturity with five times the rapidity with which a man can grow.

The readers of Darwin will miss the theory of the modification of species, which it was impossible for Lucretius to have guessed; but they will find nowhere the modern doctrine of the survival of the fittest stated more clearly and carefully. Those who deny most earnestly that any elemental power of spontaneous generation can be traced in operation at present, are less confident that it may not have existed under earlier conditions of this planet, or may not exist at present in other planets. The theory of Lucretius is not in the least more extravagant than the suggestion of Sir William Thompson that the first living germ was introduced by an aerolite.

THE NEW KING OF ITALY AND THE NEW POPE.

VICTOR EMANUEL and Pius IX. appeared at nearly the same moment on the stage of politics, and they quitted this stage at an interval of less than one month from each other. The reign of Victor Emanuel really began only in the spring of the year 1849; Pio Nono's sovereignty commenced in the year 1846. But this year 1846 had seen the beginning of those liberal reforms in Piedmont which led King Charles Albert to proclaim the constitution. Victor Emanuel was in a measure the continuer of the liberal policy inaugurated by his predecessor, and for this reason his reign may be said to have reached back to the establishment of liberty in Piedmont. In his government liberty ruled, and that national independence was at last won for which his father had battled in the plains of Lombardy, and for the sake of which he had withdrawn, after his abdication, to the gloomy solitude of Oporto, where he died. Hardly had Pius IX. ascended the chair of St. Peter when he gave his blessing to Italy in her uprising against foreign tyrants. Hardly had Victor Emanuel become king, when, scorning the pressure of Austria, he swore fidelity to the liberal constitution; and he never broke his oath. Pius IX. repented having for an instant loved Italy and contributed to arouse her to action, was cowed by the threats of the Jesuits and of Austria, fell under the influence of the reaction, and adopted as his supreme formula the motto, *Non possumus*, which reduced him to bury himself as a voluntary prisoner in the Vatican. Before he became pope, Pius IX. had been a *guardia nobile*, a gentleman, an elegant preacher, an amiable man. Not without his share of vanity, he took pleasure in the noisy rejoicings which his name created, and in the refrain of the popular song which proclaimed him head of the league of Italian princes. The philosopher Vincenzo Gioberti had prepared the ground for these ideas. The name of Pope Alexander III., who together with the brethren of the Lombard alliance had in the twelfth century resisted the threats of Barbarossa, was coupled

with the famous cry of Julius II., *Fuori i Barbari*. But Pius IX. did not have the warlike spirit of Julius II., and '47 and '48 were very different years from those of the ancient *Lega Lombarda*. The party of Charles Albert were not all disposed to recognize the supremacy of the pope, while the Jesuits, whom that king in 1847 had expelled from Piedmont, did not betake themselves to Rome, intending to give his Holiness liberal counsels. In this manner, when Victor Emanuel ascended the throne, he and the pope were already representatives of two powers which must clash, not so much from the nature of individual sentiments as on account of different ways of comprehending the duties of sovereignty. Pius IX. so much exaggerated the idea of his rights as sovereign, that his government not only came to be isolated from the other states of Italy, not only passed sentence of death upon those subjects who seemed to attack his supremacy, but reached at last the limit of human folly by causing the dogma of his personal infallibility to be proclaimed. Victor Emanuel, on the contrary, obeying the education received from his parents as well as his own sentiments, did not become alienated from Austria and from the church. As a constitutional king, he understood his duties in such a manner that his whole life as sovereign was a continued renunciation of what he desired in order to satisfy the vows and aspirations of his people, while he never ceased to divine and to anticipate them by the exercise of extreme care in choosing as counselors men who enjoyed the highest confidence of the country. In this unvarying victory over self, Victor Emanuel was really a great sovereign, just as much as by his intrepid valor on the field of battle he was a great soldier. In trying moments he was guarded by his rare loyalty and his remarkable good sense. He had the glory of fulfilling in himself, by a reign of thirty years, the dreams of almost all his ancestors from Amadeus VII.: the union of all Italy under the scepter of a national prince. It was said that the House of Savoy would gradually annex all Italy to its dominions just as an artichoke is eaten, leaf by leaf. Victor Emanuel risked his crown and his life in achieving the miracle of uniting liberated Italy under his name. To reach this highest aim, he made the most painful of sacrifices. First, he ceded to France Savoy, the cradle of his house, the tomb of his ancestors; next, he abandoned Turin, his true and much-loved city, which, after his death, was further doomed to be deprived of the last consolation of receiving his mortal remains in the royal sepulchre of Superga.

I was in Rome with two hundred thousand other Italians gathered from all the ends of Italy to render the last honors to our first king. Rome appeared to me in all her ancient grandeur, as I looked at the greatness of the scene presented by the long funeral cortége and the throng of spectators. But there was, however, a new source of agitation which in ancient Rome doubtless was never known. The emperors who died in the ancient city were for Rome alone; they could never have given a thought to what the rest of Italy or the rest of the world might think. They it was who caused the glory and the shame, the immortality and the oblivion. To-day the case is different. Italy is dominant in Rome. The Romans seem to endure her rather than to rule her. They are not like the Parisians, who rule France. But it was for me a cause of genuine emotion to see what deep roots the House of Savoy and New Italy have already struck in Rome. Only in seven years have the people of the city come to love the reality so deeply as by their unanimous, affecting, and sublime demonstrations to compel the son to let the ashes of the first King of Italy remain in Rome. In spite of the cry of disconsolate Turin, which claimed them as its own, they said, "He is our king. He has come to Rome, and there he ought to remain. We all swear we will defend his tomb." The whole people was abroad in the streets, lamenting and caring for nothing but its own unmeasured sorrow. To the throng of strangers which filled the city the Romans gave no heed. They only bade them share in their great and solemn grief. The shops and the theaters were closed for several days. On the day of the funeral, all Rome fasted—she seemed to have become a great temple, where her own obsequies were to be celebrated.

On this grand occasion, then, the Romans showed themselves truly worthy citizens of the capital of New Italy. The unanimity also with which all the provinces expressed their feeling of sorrow was even for us an unexpected proof of the oneness of sentiment and of the indissoluble character of Italian unity. In all the great cities of Italy will soon rise a monument to the memory of our first king, and the author of the independence and the union into one family of the peoples which compose Italy. In almost all the villages of the country were celebrated obsequies in honor of the dead monarch. But his most enduring monument is Italy, whose life among the nations began with him. What wonder, then, that so many distinguished representatives came from foreign states? What lover of Italy could be without a feeling of gratitude to the

sovereign who, after so many centuries of oppression, had restored her to life? Whoever, from a distance, considers Italy an ideal country and the Italians an ideal people, must regard Victor Emanuel as the ideal of kings. We have seen some signs of this flattering opinion in reading the foreign liberal press of the last few months. This doubtless will serve to incite us to show ourselves fit for the liberty and the respect already won, to stimulate the new prince to maintain intact the prestige of constitutional government, and to deserve all the affection and popularity for which his father is now lamented. Victor Emanuel had so well secured, in a few years of government, the position of his dynasty, that the succession of his son to the throne took place as the most natural thing in the world, without any protest, without any confusion, without any demonstrations; because the good sense of Italy acquiesced in it and desired it. Little was known of the new monarch, but first of all he was son of Victor Emanuel, and this was his decisive recommendation. It was known that in 1866 he had captured Custozza after a brave fight, and that by marrying the beautiful, intelligent, and amiable Princess Margherita he had promised the best of queens to Italy. He had held aloof from all political intrigue, had shown himself a reverent son, and in no wise eager to succeed to the throne. Hardly had he become king, when he knew how to speak and act like one. His proclamation to the Italian people, his address to Parliament, his letter to the Turinese, reveal greatness of soul; his earliest measures give hopes of a pacific reign, modest in display, anxious for the glory and the prosperity of the nation. A minister, aware that the prodigality of the late monarch had left the civil list burdened with debts, very compliantly proposed to King Humbert to introduce a bill into Parliament by which the country should assume all such obligations. But the king opposed the project resolutely, and maintained that he, no more than a subject, had the right of eluding the laws of inheritance. He took upon himself the burden of his father's debts, which he could pay by selling some estates and by the application of some savings. Both as a son and as a Piedmontese, his heart prompted him to accompany his father's remains to Turin. When the nation expressed the wish that they should be entombed in Rome, he renounced his own desire in order to do the bidding of the people. At the reception of the representatives of science, the words pronounced by the new sovereign show the genuine interest he takes in the advance of culture. He accepted the honorary presidency

of the International Congress of the Orientalists, which will meet the 12th of September next at Florence. Our hopes, then, are very bright, and the country is already beginning to console itself for the fearful loss of its great warrior-king, by the confident feeling that its glory will endure under the guardianship of its new monarch and of his adored wife.

What a difference between the sad agitation at the death of Victor Emanuel and the confiding attitude of the country toward the new king on the one hand, and the indifference with which the death of Pius IX. and the election of his successor were received in Italy! The clericals expected the millennium, and according to their vaticinations all Italy would be in convulsions, great discords would break out in Rome, the conclave could not meet there, the new pope must be a stranger who would march down into the land at the head of a formidable host of crusaders. The death of Pius IX. ought of course to be a matter of serious thought for philosophers, historians, and statesmen, and to make the devout shed tears over one whom they regarded as a martyr and a saint. But it shocked the Italian people but little. At Rome itself little account was taken of the event, and as little of the name of his successor. The pope, by shutting himself up in the Vatican, had not merely isolated himself from the secular world, from Italy, but also from the Roman people, over whom he had exercised his sovereignty. He no longer wished to see Rome after the King of Italy came; he continued indifferent to its sorrows and its joys. It is no marvel that Rome in its turn remained careless of the pretended sufferings of Pius IX., and of his death. The pontificate just closed has, however, a great significance in contemporary Italian history, not so much from the personal qualities of the pope himself, as from the impulse he gave to the Italian Revolution at the time of ascending the throne, and from the reactionary attitude he maintained ever afterward. After his first step, which the clericals considered a false one, he utterly refused to come to terms with liberal Italy, obliged it to do without him, and to treat him as a prince *tanquam non esset*. An entirely negative policy like his was one of the chief causes why Italian unity was allowed to become a reality. Had he said yes, instead of no, once or twice, we might now have a confederation of Italian states, a political mosaic, and not a compact and strong kingdom of Italy. Pius IX. ought therefore to be considered one of the principal architects of Italian unity, though no one less than he had willed it. To this merit of his toward Italy was added yet another toward the

Catholic Church. His hostile conduct toward the country caused him to lose his temporal power, and content himself with a spiritual kingdom alone. The strength of the latter, now unoccupied with mundane politics, might well increase. In the Middle Ages the voice of Hildebrand, armed only with maledictions, brought distant potentates down from their thrones. Pius IX., in spite of his illogical protests against the usurper of the temporal power, in spite of all the efforts he made to preserve it, in spite of the foreign armies called to attack Italy, of his secret conspiracies for the restoration of the Bourbons in Naples, Parma, France, and Spain, of the legacies left by his will to the dispossessed princes, and notwithstanding his incessant lamentation over his lost kingdom, labored in the very manner to lose it, and to liberate the church from a weight at once oppressive, ill adapted to it, and condemned by the Christian principle. Furthermore, he was author of the two new dogmas—that of the *sine labe concepta*, which has increased under his pontificate the worship of the Virgin, and that of Infallibility. In his reign the adoration of the Madonna has been greater than that of Christ. Christ was banished to the background, and the Virgin took the first place. Pius IX. changed, therefore, in an essential manner, the bases of Catholicism, and at last, by proclaiming his own infallibility in the Vatican Council, obscured the divine person of Christ by deifying to the eyes of the multitude the person who was his vicar on earth. As soon as infallibility was proclaimed, Pius IX. became a genuine idol for the *dévôts*. So it happened that the pope who appeared naturally most disposed to preserve the traditions of the past, showed himself one of the popes who have been least Catholic, because most radically reforming. When the canons of St. Peter, to rejoice over a pope's becoming infallible who had surpassed the twenty-four years reigned by St. Peter, despite the tradition which forbade any of his successors to exceed them, placed over the apostle's bronze statue an oil painting of the pontiff, who had cunningly had himself created infallible in order to live beyond the allotted time, Pius IX. not only did not oppose this indecorous proceeding, but allowed it and took pride in it. He was really persuaded of his own infallibility, and received seriously the homages of devotees, not so much in proof of affection for his person, as to denote the respect due to his new quality of infallibility. He was not greedy for himself or for his own. Unlike so many popes who got the name of *nepotisti* because in their pontificates their kin were enriched, he neglected almost entirely his own family, which was noble, but not by

any means wealthy. In his last will and testament his own relatives were nearly forgotten. The immense fortune he had made as pope passed almost wholly to the church.

He was a bad ruler and a dangerous pope, but a good and virtuous man. His own weakness rendered him instrumental in a good many novel proceedings which none of the cardinals who elevated him would have dreamed of. He had the reputation of a mild, pious man. No one at the beginning of the conclave imagined that Mastai would be elected. Lambruschini and Micara had greater ambition, but they checkmated one another. As neither succeeded, the votes were cast for Mastai. It is said that Lambruschini, turning to Micara, asked him, "Whom shall we make pope?" "Either you or me, if the devil gives the inspiration; but if we are inspired of God, the good Mastai." But with this nomination it is known that several cardinals were dissatisfied. Cardinal Bernetti is said to have exclaimed, "After the beadle (Pope Gregory) we are to have a girl for pope." But no one then could foresee the many caprices and the vitality of that "girl" who fainted at the news of her election.

The election of the new pope, Leo XIII., encountered few obstacles. The powers which had the right of veto renounced it. Italy exercised no pressure on the conclave. It merely expressed the desire that no intolerant or fanatical cardinal should be elected. Its desire has been satisfied. The Cardinal Gioacchino Pecci was truly the man for the situation. A keen and distinguished political writer, Ruggero Bonghi, had several months previously pointed to him as the most desirable man for pope, and accustomed the public attention to turn toward him, so that he was kept in view. Perhaps Bonghi had the same merit in the election of the pope Leo XIII. as another distinguished writer, the Sicilian orator Gioacchino Ventura, who recommended to Cardinal Pignatelli and the other members of the Sacred College their colleague Mastai Ferretti. Without doubt, the articles of Bonghi have helped or injured Cardinal Pecci according to whether the being pope is considered fortunate or otherwise. The cardinals saw in Pecci a man of energy and character, who, without embarking the church in risky adventures, would perhaps settle it firmly in its new position as a spiritual power, and in its new attitude in face of the Italian state. His past history had shown him to be a resolute man, penetrating and discreet. He was known to possess much literary and theological culture, and, when occasion called, to be a perfect man of the world.

Intrepid in attacking the brigands that infested his province of Benevento, prudent and charitable as Archbishop of Perugia, educated as nuncio at the school of Leopold, first king of the Belgians, a skillful administrator, he became Camerlengo during the last few months of the pontificate of Pius IX. In this office he suppressed a number of abuses, abolished privileges and sinecures, and regulated the administration without caring too much for the complaints made against him. He certainly will make no friendly overtures to the government, but he will not be, like his predecessor, under the influence of the Jesuits. It is believed that he will recognize as a necessity the accomplished fact of the fall of the temporal power, and that he will seek to compensate for this loss by fortifying as far as he can the spiritual authority of the pontiffs. He wishes, it is said, to discharge all the troops now quartered in the Vatican, and to cede to the government the forty thousand stand of arms kept there. We are assured that the new pope will consider himself no longer a prisoner, and that he will show himself in the streets of Rome. The auspices, if not deceitful, can be considered as good. From abroad, the reactionary faction have already sent some millions of money to the new pope, that he may not have the temptation to accept the three millions of revenue assigned him by the government. What will be the choice of Leo XIII.? It is difficult to foresee, since it is not easy for him to decide. To accept the alms of the devotees and refuse the stipend of the government means the maintenance of a perpetual hostility toward Italy. This no one believes to be in the designs of the new pope. To accept the annual payment from Italy means the recognition of the papacy as an Italian institution. To recognize what the church has considered an usurpation, would alienate the whole reactionary party in Europe which supported the pontificate of Pius IX., and lose the alms of the faithful. To receive the offerings of both parties would in the long-run be impossible. The economical reforms in the Vatican may show that the new pope wishes to put himself in such a condition that the three millions may suffice and render superfluous the always uncertain and precarious, though sometimes splendid, aid received from abroad. But this may be an illusion—a desire, rather than a hope on the eve of being realized. We must therefore wait for some positive facts before we can be sure of the true attitude of Leo XIII. toward Italy. What is certain is, that in Italy, where it was not received with much interest, the election of this pope was accepted with a confident feeling that to an adventurous policy would succeed one of calmness, moderation, and rea-

son. Our own hopes are shared by the foreign press. It is possible that the Jesuits and Ultramontanes are in excitement lest the day is approaching of an armistice between church and state. It is possible that not all the devout are pleased at an experiment of Christian charity for the civil power. But if the pope shall really try this experiment, it is not improbable that his pontificate may exert a beneficial moral influence on the Italians.

WAR.

"Bella—horrida bella!"—VIRGIL.

I.

WITH shuddering have ye heard, O listening skies!
With horror hast thou quaked, O blood-stained Earth!
While murderous War, of Hell the hideous birth,
Hath strode, with furious mien and wrathful eyes,
O'er wasted lands. What sounds of anguish rise!
What groans of thousands wailing o'er the dead,
Or wounded left to die! What myriads led
Captive, to whom their fate all joy denies!
'Tis as if demons, from Tartarean night,
Had sallied forth with leave to work their will;
And with Satanic hate and baleful might
Revelled in woes, yet all unsated still:
While Famine gaunt, and Pestilence, combine
Their blasting malice, hateful War, with thine!

II.

O sad, sad world! where oft foul passions reign,
And mortal lips breathe cruelty and hate!
Where, haply, base Injustice sits in state,
And Love and Truth lift up their voice in vain.
Is there no hope for man? O God! shall pain
And grief and tears make dismal ever all
That Thou hast made so fair? Shall the dread pall,
Dark, gloomy, deathlike, that so long hath lain
Spread o'er the suffering lands, forever rest
Unlifted, and mankind pass moaning on
Through cycles yet to come, hopeless, unblest?
As if thy love had left its work undone?
As if the cries of ages reached Thee not,
Or thy great Fatherhood had man forgot?

III.

No—Thou forgettest not. Throughout all time,
Though waves of ruin oft have wasted earth,
Counsels of love, that in thy heart had birth,
Have o'er all changes ruled with might sublime.
Thou canst call good from all things, e'en from crime;
On gory fields canst old oppressions break,
Bid hopes, through ages crushed, once more awake,
And a glad dayspring visit every clime!
Thine is the Power unseen by which is staid
The flood of woes, surge it howe'er so strong;
The Hand that on the helm is firmly laid,
And steers the bark when storms would drive her wrong.
Patience, O Earth! Thy realms shall yet behold
LOVE'S peaceful, joyous reign—true "AGE OF GOLD!"

THE UNITED STATES PROVISIONAL COURT FOR THE STATE OF LOUISIANA.

A REMINISCENCE OF THE LATE CIVIL WAR.

THE government of a country held in military occupation is a subject not much considered by lookers-on in time of war, but it is one of very great importance to the inhabitants, and not a little to the party holding it.

After the conquest of a country, next to guarding against a reconquest of it, comes the subject of provision for governing it. It is less observed than other measures more purely military, but it is not less indispensable than they in its character.

The system of provisional government in places of little importance, and where such a government is likely to be of short duration, is often very simple and imperfect; but where a district like that taken in Louisiana, embracing, in addition to large agricultural and other interests of a general character, the commercial emporium of a territory like that drained by the Mississippi River and its tributaries, comes into the possession of a conqueror, and continues in his occupation for years, a system of government more elaborate and carefully considered becomes necessary; and, accordingly, in Louisiana measures, provisional in their nature, were made on a scale wholly different from what were necessary or expedient in any other part of the country. In such a case no department or function of government is needed more urgently than the judicial. Controversies of various kinds are of constant occurrence, and must be decided promptly. Indeed, the very confusion that attends the change of power from one party to another multiplies them, and intensifies greatly the feelings with which they are waged. If the functions of government be suspended, the rule of physical force becomes absolute.

Such a state of things, while it is plainly intolerable to the in-

habitants of the country, reacts with disastrous effect on the governing power, increasing almost incalculably the difficulties and dangers of its position ; and, hence, it is the dictate of enlightened policy, as well as duty, to provide adequately for an efficient administration of government. The army of occupation having the only power in exercise there, the General commanding the department and his staff under him, were of course appealed to by those wronged or in distress. This was done naturally, without reflecting further than to see that they seemed to have the power of government, and to restrain and redress wrongs. They had it, and they alone had it, and of course they had the right and the duty to exercise it. The right and duty in such cases come directly from the possession of the power and the necessity for its exercise, and this is very manifest when the case is presented in a practical light ; they follow so necessarily and naturally that they are never questioned. Where society, by conquest and the suspension of its civil institutions, has lost its organization and is reduced to its elements, nothing is plainer than that it is the duty of those who have the power, however obtained and held, to protect the weak against the strong, and to maintain order and the rights of citizens among themselves. This right and duty in such a state of wants and means are as apparent as is, in the simplest case, the relation between cause and effect.

About June, 1862, and five or six weeks after the occupation of the city of New Orleans by the Federal forces under Major-General Butler, a court was established called the Provost Court of the Army of the United States for the city of New Orleans, having at first, as its name imports, powers only to decide questions relating to the army. From time to time other questions, not connected with the army, were referred to this court, and particularly such as related to matters of police and the punishment of crimes generally ; and the jurisdiction of this court over cases of this kind, from frequent repetition of the reference of them to it, became habitual.

Before the first summer after the conquest had passed away, this court exercised unquestioned jurisdiction of all criminal cases arising in the city of New Orleans and in other parts of Louisiana held in military occupation by the Federal arms.

Shortly after this acquisition of jurisdiction, civil matters, in the absence of courts formally endowed for that purpose, were referred from time to time to this court for decision.

Things remained much in this condition until August, 1862, the Provost Court, under Major Joseph M. Bell, a member of General Butler's staff, being the only one, and that exercising beneficently jurisdiction acquired in the manner above stated, in cases of almost every description—making orders in the nature of injunctions, decreeing divorces, administering estates of deceased persons, appointing guardians of infants and administering their estates, and appointing, removing, and controlling trustees of other trusts.

In August, General Shepley, then recently appointed military governor of Louisiana, set about providing a system of courts which should be more adequate to the wants of the State. In providing a judiciary for the State, the governor found it easier to re-establish courts which had been in use there before than to devise and set up new ones, and, availing himself of the habits of the people in the past, he re-established courts which had previously been in use there. This was easily done, for he had only to direct that a certain court, theretofore known, should be opened for business, and for that purpose to appoint some competent person a judge to hold it, and in the same manner to supply it with a clerk and other officers, and he had at once in existence and ready for business a court, the exact character, extent, and limit of whose powers and functions were well understood, and had been ascertained and settled by a course of adjudications running through the years in which it had been in existence and operation.

Accordingly he appointed judges and other officers to the Second, Fourth, and Sixth District Courts of the parish of Orleans, courts of general jurisdiction in civil cases, and set those courts in motion. This action seemed like setting in motion those old courts under the new motive power of the Federal government, breathing into them the breath of a new life. It was, in effect, an appropriation, to the use of the new governing power, of old pieces of governmental machinery found in the Confederate State at the time of its conquest, which had not long before been wrested from the Federal State government under which they had been originally created and brought into use.

This was the condition of things when, in December, 1862, the officers of the United States Provisional Court for the State of Louisiana arrived in New Orleans from New York.

This court was constituted by the President of the United States by executive order, of which the following is a copy:

EXECUTIVE ORDER,¹

ESTABLISHING A PROVISIONAL COURT IN LOUISIANA.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, }
October 20, 1862.

The insurrection which has for some time prevailed in several of the States of this Union, including Louisiana, having temporarily subverted and swept away the civil institutions of that State, including the judiciary and the judicial authorities of the Union, so that it has become necessary to hold the State in military occupation; and it being indispensably necessary that there shall be some judicial tribunal existing there capable of administering justice, I have, therefore, thought it proper to appoint, and I do hereby constitute, a provisional court, which shall be a court of record for the State of Louisiana, and I do hereby appoint Charles A. Peabody, of New York, to be a provisional judge to hold said court, with authority to hear, try, and determine all causes, civil and criminal, including causes in law, equity, revenue, and admiralty, and particularly all such powers and jurisdiction as belong to the district and circuit courts of the United States, conforming his proceedings, so far as possible, to the course of proceedings and practice which has been customary in the courts of the United States and Louisiana—his judgment to be final and conclusive. And I do hereby authorize and empower the said judge to make and establish such rules and regulations as may be necessary for the exercise of his jurisdiction, and to appoint a prosecuting attorney, marshal, and clerk of the said court, who shall perform the functions of attorney, marshal, and clerk, according to such proceedings and practice as before mentioned, and such rules and regulations as may be made and established by said judge. These appointments are to continue during the pleasure of the President, not extending beyond the military occupation of the city of New Orleans, or the restoration of the civil authority in that city and in the State of Louisiana. These officers shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the war department compensation as follows:

Such compensations to be certified by the Secretary of War. A copy of this order, certified by the Secretary of War, and delivered to such judge, shall be deemed and held to be a sufficient commission. Let the seal of the United States be hereunto affixed.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President :

WILLIAM H. SEWARD,

Secretary of State.

This court was called into existence originally by the necessities of the government in respect to its foreign relations. The foreign-born population of Louisiana (always quite numerous) have never been accustomed to naturalize like the foreign population of

¹ Under this order Judge Peabody made up the corps for his court by appointing Augustus D. B. Hughes, at first, and afterward, John T. Peabody, of California, clerk; Isaac Edwards Clark, of New York, marshal; George D. Lamont, of Lockport, N. Y. prosecuting attorney. Mr. Lamont was afterward a justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, and died holding that office in 1876.

the Northern States, and the large numbers there from Spain, Italy, the countries and islands of the Mediterranean and other parts of Europe, and from Mexico and Central and South America still remain subjects of foreign governments.

Those non-citizens, naturally opposed to the interruptions and losses occasioned by the war, and the transfer of the government from the local to the Federal authorities, were generally in sympathy with the Confederates, and were very willing themselves to evade, and to aid others in evading, the requirements of the government as administered by the Federal authorities; so much so, that their claims and complaints had become very numerous and fruitful subjects of controversy.

The questions raised by them, urged at first by the consuls for their respective governments before the military authorities at New Orleans, and afterward by their ministers at Washington before the general government, had become so numerous and perplexing that the Secretary of State found it impossible to attend to them there, and also thought the foreign relations of the government greatly endangered by the course they took.

Mr. Seward, then Secretary of State, said that from the time of the capture of New Orleans, in May, 1862, to the establishment of this court, more than half of his time had been occupied most anxiously with these questions, many of them of the most intricate and delicate character; and it was thought by him to be indispensable that there should be some tribunal or person on the spot capable of deciding and ending such questions of a semi-international character, and liable at all times, while they remained undecided, to become subjects of international controversy. To effect that he procured the establishment of this court, entirely independent, with powers unlimited, and decisions conclusive in all cases.

It will be remembered by some of our readers that a case of this kind occurred in the summer of 1862, a short time prior to the establishment of this court, which Mr. Reverdy Johnson was sent to New Orleans by the Federal government, at the instance of the State Department, to investigate. That case arose on the claim of a Greek commercial house, Rodocorachi & Franghiadi, to a quantity of sugar which had been seized by the military authorities on the ground that it had been bought or was to be used in aid of the rebellion. The case having been decided adversely to the claim of the Greek house by the military authorities at New Orleans, was pressed before the Department of State at Washington by the representative

of the Greek government there, and had become a matter of grave interest with the two governments.

Made up as to its *personnel* in the North, and sent, organized for immediate business, to Louisiana, it attracted much attention, as well for the novelty of its constitution as for the variety and extent of its jurisdiction and powers, which are only limited by the limit of human acts and transactions capable of becoming the subjects of judicial investigation. They embrace "all causes civil and criminal, including causes in law, equity, revenue, and admiralty."

The parts of the State held by the Federal arms, outside the parish of Orleans, had no courts, civil or criminal, and no process from the courts in the parish of Orleans went thither. No local courts could well be created there, for our tenure of the country was not always permanent, but fluctuated from time to time. At one time, and for months together, a large and wealthy tract of country, embracing several parishes or counties, would be held by the Federal army, and at another time, another part of the State, of equal extent, would be so held, and these districts, one after another, by the retirement of the Federal army from them, returned to the occupation and control of the Confederate army. This had been the case at different times to such an extent that, perhaps, no part of the State, except the city of New Orleans, was uniformly held by the Federal arms after its first capture by them. A central court, therefore, with powers to bring litigants to itself, and whose operations practically would expand and contract with the flow and ebb of the army, was a great desideratum, and almost indispensable to the administration of justice in those parts of the State.

The executive power of this court was one of its most attractive features. For this purpose it had always at its command the entire physical force of the United States within the department. The marshal of the court, bearing its process, had a pass everywhere within the Federal lines, and was furnished every facility and all the power demanded for the execution of its orders. Commanders of stations, military and naval, were instructed to afford him every aid. On land, a military escort as large as necessary for his purpose, and on water, transports and gunboats, were at his command, and transportation to the utmost limit of the capacity of the government at the particular place. He even penetrated the enemy's lines for miles, sometimes with a large escort of hundreds and perhaps thousands of men, cavalry and infantry, and brought from within those lines into the custody of the court cotton, sugar, and other

property demanded by the process he bore, for adjudication between litigants. Private boats navigating the Mississippi and other rivers, and the bayous, lakes, and other waters of the State were ordered to land him, and at his signal to stop and take him on board, wherever he required them to, even at places at which they were not otherwise allowed by the military regulations of the department to land.

A short time before this court terminated its labors, a deputy marshal having process to serve in the vicinity of Morganza, a military station and depôt on the Mississippi River, above New Orleans, obtained access through the guard to the general in command there, and asked for an escort to take him to the point in the interior where his process was to be served. The general examined the process of the court held by the marshal, and said that the escort was at his service; that it would require a thousand cavalry to escort him there safely; that he had them, however, and they would be ready for him whenever he desired to move. A deputy marshal of the court, during the siege of Port Hudson, in 1863, said that he thought an escort he had on one occasion embraced several thousand men.

No review of the judgments of this court by any other was allowed, and cases originating there were heard and determined there in the first instance, and then in review; and in all cases, as well those originating there as those brought there on appeal from other courts, the rights of parties were finally settled there; "his judgments to be final and conclusive," says the executive order speaking of the judgments of Judge Peabody. The power to hear and determine finally all cases involves the power to hear and determine finally cases originating in other courts, as well as those originating in the court in question, and accordingly cases were brought to this court on appeal from other courts, and were there determined finally. From the United States Circuit Court a case pending there on appeal from the District Court of the United States was transferred to this court, and there heard and decided. The Grapeshot, George Law, claimant, was a case of this kind transferred from the Circuit Court of the United States, where it was pending on appeal from the District Court. (See *The Grapeshot*, 9 Wallace, U. S. Rep. 120.)¹

Commissioned broadly to administer justice, and no rule or law

¹ This vessel, the Grapeshot, had become famous several years before, in connection with the capture at the Canary Islands and return to the United States

for its action being prescribed, it was left to the court to decide by what law it would be governed. It decided, naturally, to adopt, as the rule of its action, the law theretofore of the State of Louisiana, as it seemed probable that that law, having had the sanction of the previous government, would be found best suited to the business, wants, and interests of the State. This, however, the court announced would only be the general rule, and the court would decide in each case whether any reason existed for a departure from the law of the State, and would make exceptions wherever sufficient reason for it existed. Exceptions had to be

of one Louis Baker, charged with the murder of Bill Poole, and his trial subsequently in New York before Judge Peabody. Poole was a leader of the roughs of the Native American or "Know-Nothing" party of the day (about 1857), and Baker was a representative man among the roughs of the foreign element in New York. Meeting each other at Stanwix Hall, a famous drinking saloon on Broadway, in New York, at night, surrounded, as usual, by their respective retainers, the famous Stanwix Hall tragedy occurred, in which, in the midst of the most indiscriminate shooting with revolvers, numbers were wounded and Poole was killed by Baker. The most intense excitement was aroused throughout the city by this act. Baker, aided by his friends and admirers, fled, and search of the most exhausting character was made for him everywhere and by every body and especially in the marshes of New Jersey, whither he was understood to have gone, by persons in the Native American or "Know-Nothing" interest. Hundreds were out days and nights, and some for weeks, on this hunt. Baker, after having kept himself concealed for a time in these recesses, went on board a vessel in New Jersey waters bound to the Canary Islands, and sailed in her for those islands. His pursuers got wind of this, and patriotism was called on to volunteer in the pursuit. George Law, "Live Oak George," as he was called, was at that time high in favor with the Native Americans, and he volunteered to furnish a vessel and fit her out and send her after the fugitive at his own expense. He did so, and sent this barque Grapeshot, a swift sailer, as her name imports, hoping to overtake Baker before his arrival. This she did not do, but the two vessels arrived at almost the same time. The Grapeshot boarded the vessel in which Baker was, feeling himself out of all danger, and seized their prize before he had landed, and, transferring him by force to the Grapeshot, brought him back to the United States, where he was tried, in the midst of the most intense excitement, several times without obtaining a verdict. After the first or second trial, the prosecution obtained a change of venue, on the ground that the public prejudice was so great that a fair trial could not be had in the city of New York. The second or third trial was had at Newburgh, in New York, and on that trial Judge Peabody, as one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, presided, and for weeks had this barque Grapeshot and her Quixotic adventure before him in evidence. Shortly after opening this court in New Orleans, years afterward, nearly two thousand miles from the place where he had been familiar with her fame, and five thousand by any route which could then be traveled, he was met by the Grapeshot again before him in a litigation.—EDS.

a That is the case which Mr. James T. Brady, one of the counsel for the defense,

made frequently in the altered condition of things brought about by the war and conquest, and the power to make them was one of the most beneficent possessed by the court.

Immediately after it opened, the court was resorted to by litigants and filled with business of the first magnitude, and by none was it received with greater favor than by those who, being disloyal and unfriendly to the government, had great distrust of its institutions generally. Only loyal people who had taken the oath of allegiance to the Federal government were allowed to bring suits in any of the courts. But other persons, not loyal, were liable to be impleaded as defendants at the suit of loyal adversaries,

and his biographers have made famous by an anecdote he was very fond of telling, and which he told repeatedly to juries in cases where it seemed *apropos*. As the judge and counsel, and the sheriffs with their prisoner, were crossing the Hudson River on their way to Newburgh for that trial, throngs of men crowded the street leading from the ferry to get a glimpse of the most distinguished criminal they had ever heard of, just returned from the Canary Islands. The high sheriff, leaving the prisoner in charge of his deputies, gave his arm to Judge Peabody, to escort him through the crowd. Mr. Willett, the sheriff, happened to be known to somebody in the crowd, and seeing him in immediate contact with some one not known to them, it was assumed that that person must be the prisoner, and the exclamation went up from numerous mouths: "There he is—see him fastened to the sheriff—what a blood-thirsty-looking fellow he is. That's he—that's the murderer," etc., etc., which, considering that Judge Peabody was a gentleman of very mild manners and expression, struck Mr. Brady as very ludicrous.—Eds.

There was much that was very remarkable about the case of these political roughs. Poole received the bullet of Baker in his heart, where it remained. He lived with it there, lodged between the coronary vein and the coronary artery, sixteen days—a case without parallel in the history of science—and died finally, not from the effect of the bullet in his heart, but from an affusion of fluid coming from the wound made by it in the pericardium and producing Pericarditis, or (perhaps to coin a word) Hydro-pericardium. He was considered convalescent by his attending surgeon to the fourteenth day, and on that day, seeming to be well, went out of doors in disobedience of the directions of the surgeon. His friends having heard that he had been out, called to congratulate him to the number of some hundreds, and all shaking hands with him with the lusty vigor of his class—he was a butcher by trade—the muscular exertion produced effects on the wound in the pericardium, then far advanced in the process of healing, which caused his death. A post-mortem examination showed that the hole made by the bullet on entering the heart was healed, and so far as that was concerned, the surgeon says he might have been alive and well at this day.

He had probably the largest funeral attendance that had ever occurred in the city of New York, or has even to this day, unless that of President Lincoln be an exception. The streets through which the procession passed were crowded densely for miles by a motley throng of his admirers, and men, women, and children, attracted thither by curiosity.

Dr. Frederick Putnam, the surgeon, shows to this day the bullet taken from Poole's heart after his death.—Eds.

and the parties plaintiff had the right to select from among the courts of competent jurisdiction the one they preferred. The disloyal people had great distrust of the local courts and judges. Considering themselves under the ban of the existing government, they apprehended unfair treatment from the judges, between whom and themselves, as partisans of opposing parties or factions, animosities, sometimes of a virulent character, had existed. They had no distrust of the kind in respect to this court, officered as it was by strangers to their local feuds; and when they were brought into court by loyal plaintiffs, they were content, it was said, if they were brought into this instead of one of their local courts, where they feared they might have to encounter prejudice.

The leading purpose for which this court was created—the determination of controversies liable to bring about international complications—was fully accomplished. The complaints of the foreign population, through the representatives of their governments, were never heard of at the State Department from the time it went into operation, it was said by the officers of that department; and as a tribunal for the decision of questions arising between man and man, it was, throughout its existence, resorted to by business of the first importance in very large measure. Its remarkable powers, and the fact that its decisions were conclusive in all cases, were not made subjects of objection to it. The court, however, in view of the fact that no appeal lay from its decisions, always entertained motions for rehearing and review with great liberality, and almost without restriction.

Other courts of the kind may have been created by generals in command of armies of occupation, but it is believed that no account of any bearing any comparison with this in the extent of its powers and completeness of its organization is to be found.¹

¹ Dining with Judge Peabody one day, shortly after this court had been terminated by act of Congress, Mr. Seward was talking with Chief Justice Chase across the table about the trial on impeachment, of President Johnson, then recently terminated, and being in excellent spirits, spoke with force and emphasis of manner as well as language. Mr. McCulloch, then Secretary of the Treasury, being present, rallied him playfully on his freedom of speech and manner, as showing lack of reverence; and, referring to the presence of the Chief Justice, asked him if he had not forgotten that he was in the presence of the Supreme Court of the United States, that august tribunal. Mr. Seward, appreciating the pleasantry in the best of humor, affected to spurn the idea that he was to be influenced by the presence of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and asked what there was in that presence that should restrain him. His court, said he, has some power in time of peace, no doubt, but it is limited to an appellate jurisdiction always, and that in a very small class of cases, and in

The district courts of the several parishes had been a part only of the old system of judiciary for the State. That system had also embraced a court of review, known as the Supreme Court of Louisiana; the court of last resort in all cases, civil and criminal.

From all the courts of the State appeals had lain in former times to the Supreme Court above mentioned. Accordingly, those courts, considering that court as still a part of their system, held that their decisions were subject to review by the Supreme Court, and on appeals being taken in accordance with the practice theretofore existing, those courts treated them as regular, and stayed proceedings on the judgments appealed from until decision by the appellate court.

The Supreme Court had not been organized or set in motion since the establishment of the Federal authority there.

In this state of things application was made to this court for the transfer of causes thus suspended, to this court, that the appeals might be heard and disposed of. The court had no doubt of its power to make the order and dispose of the appeals in that manner; but it was said that the old Supreme Court was about to be organized, and as the United States Provisional Court was occupied with business of the first magnitude, the court declined for the present to make the order, deeming it better that those appeals should be heard in the Supreme Court, rather than that the business pending in this court should be obstructed by them.

He intimated that such orders would be made in future, however, unless some other means of disposing of those appeals should be furnished to litigants in due time.

The necessity for a court which should have power to review these cases, and the appeals accumulated from former years, led to measures for the organization of the Supreme Court of Louisiana in 1863, and Judge Peabody, having already under his previous commission much greater powers than would be needed in that position, was made chief justice of that court.¹

those it is bound by law prescribed for its guidance: and turning to Judge Peabody, he said, "Why, Peabody, all the power of his court is not a circumstance to what you had in Louisiana, and I made you judge there. Why should I be awed by the presence of the Chief Justice, I would like to know?"—EDS.

Chief Justice Chase had always told Judge Peabody, familiarly, while the court was in existence, that he did not approve of the act of the President in giving him such unlimited powers as he had, and that he would never have consented to give to any one such powers if he had been consulted.—EDS.

¹ An incident illustrative of the condition of things occurred in connection with

The State of Louisiana in times of peace had very large agricultural products and commercial transactions, and numerous and large litigations, having, in those times, in the parish of Orleans alone, eight or ten courts, and in each of the other parishes in the State, of which there were forty-five, at least one local court of record of general jurisdiction.

These courts, well adapted to the wants of such a community in times of peace perhaps, were not so well suited to times of war, when industrial and commercial pursuits are in a great measure suspended, and resorts to courts are much less frequent, and for causes very different, and when the amount of judicial force required is much less, but the flexibility and power of adaptation called for is much greater.

The United States Provisional Court, on the contrary, had a written charter with reference to the occasion, and was eminently adapted to the wants of the locality in the then condition of things. Its powers of calling to itself litigants, wherever residing, of expansion to cover whatever of the State was held by our arms, and of contracting its operations territorially, as the territory held by our arms should be contracted; the comprehensiveness of its jurisdiction, both territorially and as to subject-matters and parties, and the conclusiveness of its decisions, in each case terminating the litigation, and its unlimited power of execution, were features most of them peculiar to it, and giving it immense powers for good.¹

The United States Provisional Court for Louisiana was brought to a close (Judge Peabody having resigned some time before) by act of Congress of July 28, 1866 (see United States Statutes at Large,

the organization of that court. A gentleman of high character, a resident of Louisiana, and highly esteemed, was appointed one of the associate justices of that court and accepted the appointment; but shortly afterward, having occasion to visit his family in a part of the State not at that moment held by the Federal army, was received by residents there with such kind of hospitality as to make it seem necessary to his safety and the peace of his family that he should free himself of the odium of having accepted office under the Federal government, and he sent his resignation in great haste with an urgent request that it be accepted at once, without any action which should show publicly that he had ever been appointed; and that the fact be kept secret if possible. That request was speedily complied with, and it is believed that to this day the gentleman desires to have the secrecy maintained.

¹ In the case of the United States *vs.* Reiter a conviction for murder having been had by a jury in this court, a motion was made in arrest of judgment on the ground that the court was not sanctioned by law. Two points were made:

First. That the court was not legally constituted originally; the President and Federal government not having authority to establish such a court.

vol. 14, p. 344), by which its judgments were transferred to and became the judgments of the United States Circuit and District Courts of that district.

Second. That if it was originally authorized by law, the power to continue it had been terminated by allowing a State constitution to be adopted, and a State government to be in some measure organized under it.

After elaborate argument the court decided both points in favor of the authority of the court, and concluded a long opinion by stating the conclusions at which it had arrived as follows:

1. That at the time of the establishment of the United States Provisional Court for the State of Louisiana a considerable part of the territory of that State was held by the forces of the United States in armed belligerent occupation.

2. That in a country so held the authority of the occupying force is paramount, and necessarily operates the exclusion of all other authority in it.

3. That government from some source is a necessity, and while the power to give and administer government is exclusively with a party occupying a country, there can be no doubt that the right and the duty are his to furnish a government and supply that want.

4. That the actual military occupation of that territory by the United States has continued from that time to the present, and still continues, and the right and duty of government, therefore, continue with the United States.

5. That the establishment of the United States Provisional Court for Louisiana, by the President, as commander-in-chief of the forces of the United States, while they held the territory in which it was to exercise its functions, was an act warranted by law.

6. That so long as the authority of the United States shall continue, the right and the duty of it as the party dominant there to afford to the country a government will continue.

7. That said court has, from the time of its foundation to the present time, rightfully exercised its functions in territory in which the government of the United States has been by force of its arms sovereign, and will continue rightfully to exercise them there so long as its commission shall remain unrevoked and the power of the United States shall continue to support it in the exercise of them.

This case is reported in 4 Am. Law Register (N. S.) 534.

NOTE.—The authority of this court and the validity of its acts were considered in the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of *The Grapeshot*, 9 Wallace, 129, and fully sustained.

See Albany Law Journal, vol. 3, p. 348.

REASON AND SENTIMENT.

IN an age like the present, when the demands of physical science are almost universally admitted to be supreme, it may not be amiss to pause in the midst of our scientific enthusiasm, and as nearly as possible determine how far such an opinion is founded in fact, and also whether the supremacy of scientific thought is altogether an unmixed blessing.

In the first place, if science is the universal panacea which it is sometimes represented to be, the inquiry is important, because it will tend to confirm an opinion which, if true, can not be too generally circulated and accepted.

In the second place, if the claims to supremacy which scientists are so fond of asserting, are even in a measure questionable, it is equally important that we should understand precisely where we stand in this respect.

In pursuing this inquiry, there is not the slightest necessity for deprecating science, or for refusing to the enlargement of reason that measure of appreciation which rightfully belongs to it. In the light of facts and the conditions of human growth and development, we need only to ask ourselves how far the spirit of scientific thought meets the demands of human nature in its totality, and also how far our hopes for the future depend upon conditions which lie outside the domain of science and pure reason.

If the progress of civilization is mainly dependent on scientific thought independently of other causes, we can only acknowledge unreservedly our allegiance to science, and at once dismiss all theories of progress based on the idea that there is in man a human soul, which has its own laws of growth and development.

If, however, an examination into the principles of human progress proves the importance attaching to sentiment, and at the same time demonstrates its indispensability as a factor in the problem of civilization, it seems only reasonable that we should enter a protest against that hasty generalization which would relegate to a subordinate and insignificant position the demands of our emotional

nature. Admitting all that scientists can justly claim, there is a sense in which the world which science examines, ponders, and criticises is not the real life of things. It reveals the underlying laws of nature, but it does not touch that subjective state of feeling which vitalizes and beautifies the world in which we live; it measures the heavens and analyzes the chemical substances of the sun, but it fails to provide adequately

“ For those obstinate questionings
Of sense and outward things,
Fallings from us, vanishings ;
Blank misgivings of a creature
Moving about in worlds not realized.”

That we are largely indebted to science for our present position, no one who examines the subject intelligently will deny; but it is one thing to appreciate intelligently, and quite another to worship blindly. In the whole history of the human race there is nothing more impressive or encouraging than the scientific attainments of the last half-century. Indeed, if we study carefully the history of the inductive sciences, and draw a comparison between the attainments of the present age and the first attempts of Greek speculative thought in relation to physical inquiries, we can not but feel how great has been the world's progress in this direction. The distance is so immense, and the method of interpreting nature so different now from what it was in the time of Thales, that it seems almost impossible to fairly appreciate the magnitude of the advance and the greatness of those dearly-bought victories by means of which science has ascended step by step to her present position. It is only proper that we should make these admissions, and cheerfully acknowledge the debt which the world owes to science; but in view of the present disposition of scientists to inaugurate a system of philosophy which crushes out the finer sensibilities of our nature, we are fully warranted in demanding of the representatives of science that they should pause in their iconoclastic warfare on the demands of our emotional nature. It is perfectly true that reason has always been and must always be the great motive-power which impels humanity forward in its march of progress; but there is a wide difference between the philosophy which regards reason as an indispensable element of progress, and that narrower estimate which would ignore the demands of our emotional nature in order that reason may have a wider sweep of action.

The regulating function of reason is one thing, the tyrannical

suppression of much that is best and most beautiful in human character quite another. The one estimate properly appreciates the end and aim of reason, the other estimate makes reason unreasonable by attempting to cultivate one set of faculties through the starvation of other faculties which are quite as important and indispensable.

One process builds gradually through an adaptation of all the parts into a complete and perfect whole, the other process seeks rather for a rapid and unnatural development in one direction, at the same time destroying with one sweep that vast emotional fabric which existed before thought commenced, and which must necessarily continue as long as human consciousness lasts.

It is highly important that the principles governing the development of thought should be clearly defined, and civilization be recognized as a process subject to the operation of law; but it is no less important that in the recognition of these laws we should realize the practical uselessness of thought, except so far as it is vitalized by sentiment, and, under the diffusion of culture, rendered a component part of our individual, social, and national life. That the world is governed by law, and that there can be no philosophy of history without recognizing this principle in the order of human events, are now no longer theories, but convictions. We have passed once and forever from that earlier estimate which denied the possibility of a science of history.

In the higher forms of religion, no less than in the more advanced systems of philosophy, we hear less of the miraculous and more of those orderly processes by which the world is governed, and in obedience to which the great problem of human destiny is gradually being worked out.

Following the events of history in their regular succession, and carefully noting the relationship between causes and effects, we are daily becoming more and more convinced that even the most sudden upheavals of society are due to the operation of law, and are therefore not, as formerly supposed, the result of arbitrary conditions or fortuitous circumstances. In its course of development, the world, like the individual, has its different stages of growth and decay, but under them all we discover the important fact that every thing is accomplished according to laws which, in their grand and mighty sweep, point to the immensity of ages past and the grandeur of an eternity yet before us. In the midst of the ever-changing panorama there are certain indestructible forces

which move on through the centuries, connecting and controlling, through their everlasting chain of sequences, the wonderful drama of human life. As intelligent beings it is well that we should realize and appreciate them, but it is not well that in our appreciation of these laws we should follow the lead of some of our scientists, and in subjugating ourselves beneath the yoke of crushing fatalism, come at last to that negation and despair beside the portals of which

“ An immense solitary spectre waits :
It has no shape, it has no sound ; it has
No place, it has no time ; it is, and was,
And will be ; it is never more or less,
Nor glad nor sad. Its name is Nothingness.”

On the contrary, in stating the supremacy of law, we simply declare a principle which underlies all science and philosophy, but in doing so we by no means deny the validity of those claims pertaining to our higher or spiritual nature ; we do not in any way contravene the claims of sentiment as a factor in the problem of human progress. Admitting the supremacy of law, and the importance of reason under the dominion of law, it still remains true that on every page of history we are met by the fact that the world never has been impelled by reason alone. Underlying all historical records we discover a substratum of feeling on which every thing depends.

In this respect, the more careful the scrutiny, the more clearly will we be convinced that all great changes and revolutions have been far more the result of feeling than thought. It is in these great crises, produced by the outburst of sentiment, that we realize the importance of feeling ; and, as at the last night of Troy, when Venus illumined the darkness, and Æneas saw the gods at work, so do we, in these revelations of human nature, discover those signs which indicate the greatness no less than the divinity of man's emotional nature. Goethe, the high-priest of culture, despises Luther, the soul-inspirer of the Protestant Reformation ; but the fact is, the world owes much more to the warm and impetuous zeal of Luther than it does to the calm serenity of Goethe's intellectual life. In our attempts to construct a philosophy of history, it may be true that we sometimes interpret the different phases of a nation's character with purblind eyes, and in our efforts to catch some shade of meaning beneath the external form, frequently mistake the shadow for the substance. It may be that we merely succeed

in rescuing a page or two of history from the great book of human fate, and thus build falsely on facts and conclusions which are imperfect, because other pages of history which we need for their explanation have been destroyed by the ravages of time, or lost amid those storm-winds which sometimes sweep across the earth.

That this is sometimes the case, and that our conclusions are sometimes extremely imperfect, we may readily admit; but that the philosophy of history demonstrates, beyond all question, the importance of sentiment, is a fact admitting of no dispute.

It is true that, if we accept the axiom of ancient logic, which laid it down as a principle that contradictories radically exclude one another, and that between them there can never be a compromise, we must at once abandon all hope of establishing a harmonious relationship between thought and feeling. Fortunately for us, however, we are not compelled to accept a prospect so diametrically opposed to the demands of our higher nature. It is perfectly true that the ancient axiom is correct when applied in the sense that truth and falsehood, vice and virtue, are radically and irreconcilably opposed; but it is not true when applied in the sense that things relatively opposed can not be adjusted and made to harmonize.

It is undeniable that there are times when it is necessary to immolate our feelings on the altar of self-sacrifice and duty, but it is not true that the advancement of civilization demands the prostration of our finer feelings beneath the Juggernaut of modern stoicism. If we agree with Herbert Spencer that the emotional bias is one of the principal subjective difficulties with which sociology has to deal, we must at the same time admit that the difficulty is not to be settled by attempting to ignore it; and further, that no system of social science can be complete which does not recognize and provide for those subjective difficulties, the importance of which Mr. Spencer appreciates so fully.

That the emotional bias does present difficulties which can not easily be surmounted, no one who candidly examines the subject will hesitate to admit. In contemplating the diversified phenomena of society, we are simply amazed at the magnitude of the problem and the complexity of the subjects with which we are called upon to deal. Acted upon, to a great extent, by the cosmic influences by which we are surrounded, and blending strangely in our thoughts and feelings with our fellow-men, the study of man-

kind makes up a problem of such manifold complexity that it may well have been for a long time considered insoluble.

By many, a solution of the problem is still considered impossible; but this opinion is obviously unfounded, in view of the fact that, if the phenomena of society are subject to laws which constitute a part of the divine government of the world, there is no reason why time and a patient discovery of these laws should not place sociology on a basis sufficiently accurate to entitle it to the name of science. To be a science it must, however, deal with man as the possessor of a human soul, the demands of which pure reason can never satisfy; it must recognize that, although reason is the faculty which renders progress possible, sentiment is no less a divine quality implanted in our nature for the purpose of ennobling and beautifying the conditions of human existence.

"An Orphic song indeed,
A song divine of high and passionate thoughts
To their own music chanted."

Intellect is that which individualizes man, sentiment is that which socializes him, and makes him distinctly a member of the human family.

Intellect without sentiment could only produce barrenness and isolation.

It enabled Prometheus to defy Jupiter, and, in the glorification of endurance and heroic suffering, caused all the world to bow in admiration before his character; but it can never give to human nature that well-rounded completeness which constitutes the proper ideal of humanity.

As an illustration of this principle, we need only to remember that it is mainly through the enlargement and purification of sentiment that Christianity has so completely transformed the world. Of course, it would be the merest absurdity to argue that Christianity is not consonant with reason. It would be an insult to our common-sense to even hint that a religion which has withstood the assaults of the most searching criticism is not, strictly speaking, founded on reason; but that its greatest triumphs are due to the emotional sweetness and purity of the gentle Nazarene, few who candidly examine the subject will deny.

Long before the dawn of Christianity, Buddha, Pythagoras, Plato, and others had exhibited great power in dealing with the problem of human life, but not until Jesus of Nazareth spoke were

the depths of the human soul fairly revealed, and the importance of sentiment satisfactorily demonstrated.

In all of the earlier philosophies, notwithstanding their cogent reasoning and depth of thought, the regeneration of society was made to depend too exclusively on the action of intellectual forces, whereas Christianity inaugurated a new era by recognizing the uselessness of thought, except so far as it was vitalized by sentiment, and thus woven into character. Under the philosophies antecedent to Christianity we recognize a process governed by conditions which could not otherwise than fail to regenerate humanity.

Under the new impetus given by Christianity to the world, we as clearly recognize the introduction of a new factor into the problem of human progress.

The value and importance of reason is neither destroyed nor diminished, but the sphere of sentiment is enlarged, and the world made richer and better for the change. We pass from the cold, analytical processes of pure reason to the sanctification of human feeling, and the encouragement of those broad and generous impulses which have done so much toward the amelioration of suffering and the enlargement of our higher and nobler affections. Laying aside those conditions which rendered it necessary that the beauty of Greek art should be rather male than female, and that the virtues most prized by the ancients should be those which were masculine in their character, we pass under the influences of Christianity to that saintly ideal in which we see nothing but love and tenderness, gentleness and compassion.

Paganism, even in its highest and noblest conceptions, never rose above the glorification of the masculine qualities of strength, courage, and endurance; whereas Christianity glorifies those gentler virtues which call forth our finer feelings, and, by the enlargement of our sympathies, completely changes our views of life and destiny.

In other words, were it possible to conceive a state of society in which the present established forms of the Christian religion had passed away, the world would still owe an everlasting debt to that ideal which has traversed the ages, and infused its beneficent influences into every sphere of thought and action. There is a sense in which it sometimes happens that the religion of one age becomes the poetry of the next; but in our holding fast to the position assigned by Christianity to sentiment, we may depend upon it we pursue the only course demanded by the higher conditions of culture and the deeper necessities of the human soul.

Let science and philosophy be perfectly untrammelled in their investigations, but let them, at the same time, remember those demands of our emotional nature which render it strictly true that "poetry is the breath and fine spirit of all knowledge ; it is the impassioned expression which is in the countenance of all science." To some extent it may be true that the present disregard for sentiment follows naturally from the spirit of the age in which we live, it being only according to the fitness of things that an age of steam and electricity should not be an age of art. Undoubtedly it would be unreasonable to expect that our industrial energies should give place to those conditions necessary to the highest contemplation of the beautiful ; nor is it necessary that it should be so. Confined within their proper limits, the energy and industrial enterprise of the present day are among the most encouraging signs of modern civilization. The real danger is, that we allow ourselves to be misled by a shallow philosophy, which, under the garb of scientific authority, would ruthlessly sacrifice our higher interests to the absorbing demands of a debasing materialism. Having rendered unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, the demand of the present hour consists in the necessity of our emphasizing, in the strongest possible manner, the richness, fullness, and importance of those possibilities of human feeling which relate us to a higher existence, and which, being brought to the light, clearly reveal the divinity there is within and behind them. Dwarfed, as the human soul is, by the overshadowing materialism of the present day, we need to cultivate assiduously every influence which tends to assist us in the contemplation of the beautiful and true ; we need to realize distinctly that there is an ideal no less than a real side to civilization, and that, in the long-run, it is the ideal which determines our character and our place in history.

THE BIBLE.

I.

EGYPTOLOGY AND THE BIBLE.¹

TILL quite recently, our knowledge of ancient Egypt was confined to three sources: 1. The Pentateuch. 2. The remains of Manetho, a priest under the reign of the first two Ptolemies (between 300 and 250 B.C.), who wrote in Greek a history of the Pharaohs, from the sacred records of Heliopolis. The work is lost, but some fragments and a catalogue of thirty royal dynasties, from Menes down to Nectanebo, 343 B.C., have been preserved through Josephus ("Against Apion"), Julius Africanus ("Chronographia," A.D. 220, indirectly through Syncellus, A.D. 800), and Eusebius ("Chronicon"). 3. The accounts of Greek travellers who visited Egypt after the fifth century B.C., Herodotus (B.C. 454), Diodorus Siculus (B.C. 58), and Strabo (about B.C. 30). Herodotus was not a critical historian, but a story-teller who believed and told what he saw and heard with the simplicity of a child, without raising the question of veracity. Yet he was no holiday traveler; he had an intense curiosity, and gathered a vast deal of information, which has been partly verified by modern research. The information of Plutarch and the elder Pliny on Egyptian matters is derived from secondary sources.

These sources of information have been greatly enlarged in the present century by the study of monumental inscriptions and papyrus rolls. The Egyptians were most industrious scribes, and their literature, though far behind the Greek and Roman in genius and general interest, is very extensive in theology, government, medicine, astronomy, mathematics, and poetry (except the drama).

The hieroglyphic and the shorter hieratic and demotic inscriptions on temple walls, tombs, pyramids, in pictures and sculptures, were

¹ Geschichte Aegyptens unter den Pharaonen. Nach den Denkmälern bearbeitet von Dr. Heinrich Brugsch-Bey. Leipzig, 1877.

a sealed book till the discovery of the famous Rosetta Stone (1799), which is now in possession of the British Museum. This stone contains a decree of the priests in honor of Ptolemy Epiphanes, in the Egyptian language (both in hieroglyphic and demotic characters), and a Greek translation. By means of this translation, and with the aid of the Koptic language, it was possible to construct the hieroglyphic alphabet, and to interpret the language. The name of King *Ptolemy*, which, like all the royal names, is inclosed in a round frame or cartouche (□), gave the first clue to the alphabet. Another bilingual inscription, with the cartouche of *Cleopatra* (which has five sounds in common with *Ptolemaios*), was afterwards discovered on a small obelisk at Philæ. The French Egyptologist, Jean François Champollion (1790–1832), and the English scholar, Thomas Young, independently led the way in the deciphering of the hieroglyphic signs, which are partly idiographic or pictorial, partly phonetic. The German Egyptologist, H. Brugsch, summed up all the results in a complete hieroglyphic and demotic dictionary (1867), and the English Egyptologist, S. Birch, in a hieroglyphic dictionary and grammar (in the fifth volume of Bunsen's "Egypt's Place in History").

The papyrus rolls were discovered in tombs and mummies, and transferred to the Egyptian museums in Bulak, Turin, London, Paris, Berlin, Leyden. The most important are the Turin papyrus (published by Lepsius, 1842 and 1858); the list of kings from the Temple of Abydos (published by De Rouge and Mariette, 1864); and the papyrus Harris, published by Birch, which contains the chief contribution to the history of Rameses III.

From these sources, modern French, German, and English scholars have endeavored to construct a consecutive and chronological history of Egypt. The latest and most complete attempt of the kind, based almost entirely on the dismembered monumental records, is Dr. Brugsch's "History of the Pharaohs," which we have placed at the head of this article, and which will no doubt soon be translated into the English and French languages. It supersedes the same author's earlier French work on the same subject.

The history of Egypt is not an unbroken current. It is a monotonous, dreary waste, like the desert, with a few oases and peaks of prominent kings and events. The hieroglyphic inscriptions are filled with figures of kings worshiping animal gods, strange names, high-sounding titles, and eulogies of kings and governors, their vic-

tories and meritorious deeds. The people are simply a mass of nameless slaves, used as machines in war and peace.

What are the results of the latest Egyptological researches for Bible history? The relation of Egypt and the Pentateuch has been discussed by Dr. Hengstenberg in the apologetic interest in his book, "Die Bücher Mosé's und Aegypten" (1841), and in a purely historical and critical interest by Professor Ebers, "Aegypten und die Bücher Mosé's" (vol. i., 1868). The titles of their books are characteristic. Hengstenberg, the theologian, puts the Pentateuch first; Ebers, the Egyptologist, puts Egypt first, and views the Pentateuch from the Egyptian point of view; yet both come substantially to the same conclusion of the genuine "Egypticity" (if we may coin this word from the German *Aegypticität*) of the Bible records on Egypt, in opposition to the older Rationalists. "The history of Joseph," says Ebers, "even in its details, is thoroughly consistent with the true relations of ancient Egypt" (Preface, p. xii.). Many new illustrations are furnished by Brugsch, and will be noticed as we proceed.

There are four points of contact between the history of ancient Egypt and the early history of Israel: the chronology, the visit of Abraham, the history of Joseph, and the exodus under Moses.

I. THE CHRONOLOGY of Egypt seems irreconcilable with the traditional views on the chronology of the Bible. But both chronologies are still in a state of confusion, and cannot be satisfactorily settled with our present means of information. The Egyptians, like the Babylonians, Indians, and Chinese, were extravagant in their claim to antiquity. The priests who informed Herodotus four hundred and fifty years before Christ, claimed an age of eleven thousand years for their nation, from their first king, Menes, to Sethi (Herod., Bk. II., Ch. 142). But leaving out of view altogether the mythical ages of the gods, and beginning with the first historical king, Menes, there is much room for divergent opinions. The lists and figures of Manetho have come down to us in a fragmentary and mutilated state, and in two widely different recensions, through Syncellus, who lived in the age of Charlemagne. They differ from a chronological fragment of Eratosthenes, to which Bunsen gives the preference as far it goes. They are partly confirmed, but also partly made worthless (as Brugsch asserts), by monumental records. Manetho's reigns and even his dynasties can not all be successive (he himself does not represent them so), but some of them must be synchronous, in ac-

cordance with some monumental inscriptions and with the natural division of the country into Upper and Lower Egypt. This at once greatly reduces the five thousand or more years which the champions of the successive theory suppose to have elapsed between Menes and Alexander the Great. Besides, it is impossible on either theory to ascertain the precise length of the several reigns. In the first eighteen dynasties not one solitary date has been fixed with certainty. Brugsch allows to each Pharaoh an average of thirty-three years, or only three reigns in a century; while others with greater probability diminish the average length of reigns one half. Accordingly, the Egyptologists vary in their estimates about three thousand years.

The first Pharaoh, Menes, or Mena, began to reign, according to Boeckh, B.C. 5702; Unger, B.C. 5613; Mariette, B.C. 5004; Brugsch I., B.C. 4455; Brugsch II., B.C. 4400; Chabas, B.C. 4000; Lepsius and Ebers, B.C. 3892; Bunsen, B.C. 3623; Birch, B.C. 3000; Poole, B.C. 2700.

Brugsch admits (in the Preface to his latest work) that Egyptian chronology is still utterly uncertain, and needs reconstruction. We must therefore wait for further light and a better agreement among Egyptologists.

And as to the Bible chronology, theologians are still divided between the long system of the Septuagint, which would put the creation 5400 years before Christ (Hales, 5400; Jackson, 5426), and the short system of the Hebrew text, which brings it fourteen hundred years later (Ussher, 4004 B.C.; Petavius, 3983 B.C.). There is no agreement till we come down to the age of Solomon (1000 B.C.).

Fortunately, religion and the authority of the Bible do not depend on chronology, any more than on astronomy or geology, or any other science.

II. ABRAHAM'S VISIT TO EGYPT (Gen. 12: 10-20).—This visit was brief, and occasioned by a famine. The friendly reception of Abraham, a Semitic nomad, and the use of camels (v. 16), which does not appear on the early monuments of Egypt, suggest that the visit took place under the reign of one of the Hyksos, or Semitic shepherd kings (fourteenth to seventeenth dynasty), but this brings it down too late. It occurred probably earlier—in the beginning of the twelfth dynasty. In this record we first meet the name of Pharaoh, which is used in the Scriptures as a generic name for king, as we use "Czar" for the Emperor of Russia and the "Sublime

Porte" for the government of the Sultan.¹ The brief description of the visit of Abraham agrees well with all that is known of the age of the Pharaohs in that remote period. The objection of Von Bohlen, that no horses are mentioned among the presents of Pharaoh to Abraham (12 : 16), is turned into an argument for the historicity of the account by the fact that no horse appears on monuments prior to the period of the Hyksos, while at a later period the Bible often mentions Egyptian horses (Gen. 47 : 17 ; Ex. 9 : 3 ; Deut. 17 : 16 ; 1 Kings 10 : 28). The fear of Abraham lest he be deprived of Sarah by Pharaoh, and be slain for her sake, derives confirmation from several documents which show that the despots of Egypt were capable of such conduct, even in the time of their highest civilization. According to the story of The Two Brothers—the earliest Egyptian fiction extant, from the age of Rameses II., found among the papyrus d'Orbiney in the British Museum—the Pharaoh of the time sent two armies to capture a beautiful woman and murder her husband. In another ancient papyrus of the twelfth dynasty, preserved in Berlin, it is stated that the wife and children of a foreigner are confiscated by the king as a matter of course. The favorable reception of Abraham is illustrated by the picture in one of the tombs of Beni Hassan, which represents the arrival and distinguished reception of a Semitic nomad chief with his family and dependents, seeking the protection of the governor of the province under Osirtasen II.

III. JOSEPH IN EGYPT (Gen. 37 : 29).—The whole inimitable story of Joseph—his sale as a slave, his temptation by the unfaithful wife of Potiphar, his imprisonment on a false charge, the dreams of the butler and baker, the two dreams of Pharaoh and their interpretation, the subsequent elevation of the patriarch and his family—are shown to be by Ebers thoroughly Egyptian. They might have been written by himself, and incorporated by Moses in his Genesis. Many inscriptions from the times speak of weighty dreams of the Pharaohs, which were traced to the inspiration of the gods. The occupations of butler and baker are pictured on monuments. Seven was a sacred number with the Egyptians as well as the Hebrews, and often appears in the Book of the Dead, the papyrus Harris, and

¹ The word *Pharaoh* was formerly derived from the Egyptian article *Pi* or *Ph*, and the Coptic *Ouro*, i.e., *king* (Jablonski) ; or from *Pi* and *Ra*, the Sun-god, whom the King of Egypt represented (Rosellini, Lepsius, etc.) ; but, according to the latest view, it means "the great House," and is equivalent to the Turkish designation, the Sublime Porte" (De Rougé, Brugsch, Ebers). See Ebers, pp. 263-265.

other documents. The cow is the symbol of Athor, the goddess of fertility (Venus Genetrix), who is represented with a cow head. Fertility and sterility, plenty and famine, depended then, as now, upon the rise of the Nile, from which the seven cows of the dream of Pharaoh ascend. One of the oldest papyri translated by Goodwin relates the story of a foreigner raised to the highest rank at the court of Pharaoh. Brugsch (p. 246) discovered an inscription in the tombs of Baba at El-Kab, from the age of Joseph, and finds an unmistakable allusion to the seven years of famine in these words: "I gathered grain, a friend of the god of harvest. I was watchful at the seed-time. And when a famine arose *through many years*, distributed the grain through the town in every famine." Brugsch thinks that there can be not the least doubt that the "many years" refer to the historical fact of the seven years' famine at the time of Joseph—the only famine of such length recorded in history.¹

These and similar coincidences are independent of the age to which we assign Joseph.

IV. THE EXODUS OF THE ISRAELITES.—We need not be surprised that the monuments of Egypt are silent concerning the miracles of Moses and the national calamity and humiliation which overtook the king and his army in pursuit of a despised race. The Hebrews, however, are mentioned in Egyptian papyri under the name of "Aperu," or are included under the name of "foreigners" or "lepers," and it is quite possible that some fuller confirmation of the Mosaic account may yet be discovered.

Josephus and the Church fathers and older divines assumed that the Hyksos or shepherd kings of Manetho were the Israelites, and that their expulsion by the first sovereigns of the eighteenth dynasty is the Egyptian version of the exodus. But this view is now generally given up as untenable. The Hyksos and the Israelites, though of the same Semitic race, must be distinguished, and the exodus be put after the expulsion of the former. Zoan (Tanis, Avaris), the capital of the shepherd kings, on the north-eastern border of Egypt, was built seven years after Hebron (Num. 13:22)—that is, about or before the time of Abraham. Manetho caricatures the exodus of the Israelites as an expulsion of lepers and rebels, which he distinguishes from the expulsion of the Hyksos.

Who, then, was the "new king of Egypt, who knew not Joseph" (Ex. 1:8), who inflicted heavy burdens upon the Israelites, and

¹Ebers, in his article "Egypten," in Riehm's "Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Alterthums" (1876), p. 330, is not so positive about this reference, but deems it very probable.

commanded them to build "for Pharaoh treasure-cities, Pithom and Raamses" (Ex. 1:11)? And who was the Pharaoh who perished with his army in the Red Sea (chap. 14)? In other words, who was the Pharaoh of the oppression, under whom Moses was born and educated by one of his daughters; and who was the Pharaoh of the Exodus, under whom Moses, being then eighty years old, received his divine commission, and delivered his people from bondage? On this question the Egyptologists are divided between two opinions, some putting the events under consideration in the eighteenth, others in the nineteenth dynasty.

1. Amosis or Aahmes I., the first sovereign of the eighteenth dynasty (B.C. 1706 or 1525), is the Pharaoh of the oppression; Thotmes (or Tutmes) II., about a century later, is the Pharaoh of the Exodus.

Amosis captured Avaris or Zoan, and completed the expulsion of the Hyksos; he would therefore be likely to oppress and enslave the Israelites who lived in that most fertile district. The reign of Thotmes II. was short and inglorious, and his death was followed by a general revolt of the confederated nations which had been conquered by his father (Thotmes I.). He was married to his more energetic sister, Hahason, who succeeded him as queen-regnant. No attempt was made to recover the lost ascendancy of Egypt until her younger brother, Thotmes III., in the latter part of his long reign of forty-six years (1610-1556 B.C.), subdued Syria and Mesopotamia to the banks of the Tigris, shortly before the date when, according to this hypothesis, the Israelites entered the land of promise. But would this conqueror, in his march to and from Syria, not have attacked the hated Israelites in the wilderness? And would he have allowed them to occupy Canaan? Is the great prosperity of Egypt and its supremacy in Western Asia, which followed the reign of Thotmes III., compatible with the permanent possession of Canaan by the Israelites? Canon Cook, in the *Speaker's Commentary*, tries to answer these questions, but not satisfactorily.

2. Rameses II., the third sovereign of the nineteenth dynasty, is the Pharaoh of the oppression, and his son, Menephthah or Mernephthah, is the Pharaoh of the Exodus. This is the view adopted by the majority of recent Egyptologists—Lepsius, De Rougé, Ebers, Brugsch.¹ It would put down the exodus to about B.C. 1317.

¹ Brugsch (p. 549) speaks very confidently: "The new Pharaoh, who knew nothing of Joseph, who founded and adorned Rameses, the capital of the district of Tanis, and the city of Pi-tum, the capital of the district afterwards called Sethroites,

Rameses II., the Sesostris of the Greeks, who blended him into one person with his father, Sethi I., ruled sixty-seven years (B.C. 1388 to 1322¹), first as co-regent with his father, whose name he afterwards erased from the monuments. He had many wives and concubines, and 119 children (59 sons and 60 daughters), whose pictures and names are preserved on a temple wall at Abydos. One of his daughters must have adopted and educated Moses. He represents the highest power and glory of ancient Egypt. He was the great conqueror and builder.² He was among the Pharaohs what Louis XIV. and Napoleon were among the rulers of France. He is the central figure that meets us in colossal statues, and innumerable cartouches and bass-reliefs among the ruins of Tanis, Memphis, Abydos, Thebes, Luxor, Karnak, Aboo-Simbel, and in the Syenite torso of the British Museum. There is scarcely a ruin in Egypt and Nubia that does not record the memory of his conquests. He is called on the monuments "the bull powerful against Ethiopia, the griffin furious against the negroes." He fought a single-handed fight against overwhelming odds, in the presence of both armies. His pride towered to the height of the gods. His statues have superhuman proportions, his face more than Egyptian beauty. All his works are self-glorifications. His courtiers and wives are represented as performing acts of adoration before him.

Among his many structures mentioned on the monuments and in papyri are fortifications along the canal from Goshen to the Red Sea, and especially at Zaru (Pe-Tum) and Pe-Rameses. These must be the same with "the treasure-cities, Pithom and Raamses," which the Israelites built for Pharaoh, according to Ex. 1:11, for "treasure-cities" are magazines or depots of ammunition and provision. About the identity of Pe-Rameses and Raamses there can be no doubt. It was the capital of a rich district and a frequent residence of King Rameses, where he held a magnificent court, reviewed his army, and from which he started on his victorious expeditions against the nations of Western Asia. His statue was found there seated between two gods. What is more natural than

with temples, is no other, *can be no other*, than Rameses II., of whose buildings at Zoan the monuments and papyrus rolls speak in perfect harmony. . . . He is the Pharaoh of the oppression, he is the father of that unnamed royal daughter who found the child Moses on the banks of the river."

¹ The Egyptologers differ. Lepsius dates his reign from B.C. 1388, Brugsch from 1407, Mariette from 1405, Bunsen from 1352, Poole from 1283.

² Maspero ("Hist. Ancienne," p. 225) calls him "le roi constructeur par excellence."

that such a powerful despot and passionate builder should employ the Hebrews on the borders of his empire in hard work, and make them harmless during his absence? The Hebrews, moreover, are expressly mentioned under the Egyptian name *Aperu* (or *Apurin*) in several official reports on the Leyden papyri, two of which are certainly from the reign of Rameses II., and they are described as persons who, together with the soldiers, were employed in drawing stones for the fortified enclosure of Pe-Ramesson, and to whom their rations of corn were delivered. There is no good reason why these *Aperu* should not have been subjects, but simply captives of war. Brugsch (p. 563) mentions also, as a remarkable fact, that one hundred years after his death the name of "the island of Moshe," or "the bank of Moshe," occurs among the towns of Middle Egypt. And among the daughters of Rameses II. is one called *Meri*, no doubt the same with the Princess *Merris*, who, according to Jewish tradition, saved Moses.

Mernephthah I. was the thirteenth son of Rameses, and began to rule probably B.C. 1325 or 1322. He marks a period of decline, in which the conquests of his two great predecessors were gradually and ingloriously lost. Few monuments were erected in his reign; even his father's tomb was left unfinished. This is just what we would expect after the catastrophe in the Red Sea. It is also mentioned that Mernephthah lost a son who is named on a monument of Tanis, and Brugsch connects this fact with the death of the first-born; but on this not much stress can be laid. Herodotus informs us (Bk. II., Ch. III) that the son and successor of Sesostris, whom he calls Pheron (probably the famous Pharaoh of the Hebrew record, before whom Moses appeared), undertook no warlike expeditions, and was smitten with blindness because he impiously hurled his spear into the overflowing waves of the river, which a sudden wind caused to rise to an extraordinary height. This reads like a confused reminiscence of the disaster in the Red Sea. I am surprised that this striking confirmation from the Greek historian is not mentioned in the books I have consulted.

The only serious difficulty in this view is the chronological. For if Mernephthah's reign began B.C. 1325, we have less than 315 years between the exodus and the building of Solomon's temple (B.C. 1010), from which must be deducted 40 years for the wilderness, the period of Joshua, and the reign of David, so as to leave us not more than about 150 years for the period of the Judges. But

the uncertainties of Egyptian and Hebrew chronologies deprive the objection of decisive weight.

Whatever view we take of the Pharaohs of the age of Moses, it must be admitted that the latest Egyptological discoveries and researches are not in conflict with the Mosaic records, but receive even much illustration and confirmation from them, which is all the more convincing because it is incidental and undesigned. The Bible has nothing to fear from Egyptology.

PHILIP SCHAFF.

II.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO JOHN.

FROM the beginning of the third century to near the close of the seventeenth, the Fourth Gospel was, by a common and substantially a unanimous consent, attributed to the Apostle John. This authorship was then questioned at first by an English critic by the name of Evanson. The discussion was soon transferred to Germany, where it waxed warm, and whence it was again transferred to England and this country.¹ It may now be regarded as the most hotly contested question in biblical criticism. The controversy has been intensified by prejudices and feeling on both sides. It is indeed impossible to discuss it with cool indifference, as a mere matter of curious literary interest. If this Gospel was written by the Apostle John, we have the testimony of an undoubted eye-witness; not his conclusions, but his account of facts in respect to which he could not well be deceived—certainly not unless we are prepared to believe that Jesus was himself a deliberate deceiver; testimony of an eye-witness whose honesty not even the most resolute skepticism would or could well call in question. This testimony would establish beyond question such facts as the miraculous feeding of the five thousand, the healing of the man born blind, the resurrection of Lazarus, and the death and resurrection of Jesus himself. In other words, it would establish beyond the possibility of reasonable question the truth of historical Christianity. Accordingly, Renan, who to a certain extent accepts the authenticity of the Fourth Gospel, is compelled to maintain that the pretended resurrection of Lazarus was a pious fraud, to which Jesus lent himself because it was necessary to the success of his mission, and

¹ For some account in detail of these discussions, see Godet's Commentary on St. John's Gospel, Introd., Chap. II.

because his growing religious enthusiasm justified to his conscience this means, for the sake of the end to be accomplished by it. Moreover we have in this Gospel a report of words of Jesus which leave no alternative but to accept him as in a peculiar sense the Son of God, or to regard him either as a religious impostor or a religious enthusiast. The Synoptics leave some opportunity for discussion as to the place which Jesus assumed to fill; the Fourth Gospel does not. Thus the question of the authorship of this Gospel is not merely a question in literary criticism, but even more one respecting the nature of Christianity. Accordingly, we find on the one hand that the advocates of its apostolic authorship more or less rest their belief upon the inherent beauty of the book; its opponents, on the other hand, do not conceal the true ground of their opposition to it, viz., that it presents what they call a mythological view of Jesus, and a dogmatic view of his teachings; in other words, that it represents Jesus distinctively as the incarnate Son of God, and portrays as the central truth in his teaching the necessity of vital faith in him. Both these aspects of truth are indeed presented in the other Gospels, but not with the same clearness nor with the same prominence as in the Fourth Gospel. Hence the latter is assailed with peculiar vigor by the opponents of evangelical Christianity, and is, for the same reason, maintained with equal vigor by evangelical believers. It does not come within the province of this article to enter into the details of this controversy. I propose simply to ask the unbiased reader to glance at some of the more striking characteristics of the Gospel, compare with them some of the more notable features in the character of the Apostle John, and see how the one compares with the other. There is such a thing as literary chirography. A study of the handwriting of the Fourth Gospel may help to form a correct judgment as to whether it is the product of the pen of John or of an ecclesiastical forger.

Imagine, then, that we have just discovered this ancient manuscript—a manuscript which unquestionably dates from the beginning of the third century, probably from a still earlier period, and which we have abundant evidence was then unanimously attributed to the Apostle John. We enter upon its examination that we may form for ourselves a judgment who is its real author. In this examination there are three characteristics which force themselves upon our attention as predominant: (1) The claims which it presents; (2) Its literary character; (3) The indications which it affords as to the personality of its author.

1. *Its Claims.*—It assumes to be written by an eye-witness. In the opening chapter, the writer says distinctly of the subject of his biography, "We beheld his glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father." In the epistle attributed to him he reiterates this statement even more explicitly: "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the Word of life; . . . that which we have seen and heard declare we unto you." In his account of the crucifixion he emphasizes the fact that he is an eye-witness of the events described: "He that saw it bare record, and his record is true; and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye might believe." And yet again in the closing chapter, generally regarded as written subsequently to the rest of the volume, and as supplementary to it, the writer is identified with the unnamed "beloved disciple." "This is the disciple who testified of these things, and wrote these things: and we know that his testimony is true."¹

In reading the book, we constantly come upon indications that the work is by an eye-witness, or by one who writes in order to give that impression. No one of the evangelists' narratives more abounds with graphic touches, slight but significant, such as indicate the vivid remembrance of one who was not only an eye and ear witness, but also who treasured up, in a remarkably retentive memory, incidents which mere tradition would not have preserved. John the Baptist "looks upon Jesus," and points him out to his disciples by his peculiar gaze; Jesus "turns" and sees them follow; wearied with the journey, he sits "thus on the well;" there is "much grass" where he feeds the five thousand; when Mary anointed Jesus, the "house was filled with the odor of the ointment;" when Judas went out to complete his betrayal, "it was night;" the night "was cold," and Peter stood with the servant of the high-priest, warming himself at a fire of coals in the courtyard. Of all the Gospels, the Fourth Gospel is the one which reports most fully the private conferences between Jesus and the twelve, and the only one which reports his "asides" and his personal feelings in explanation of his public acts. These features in the narrative do not prove that it was written by an eye-witness, but they indicate that it was written either by an eye-witness, or by one who desired to produce that impression; either by one of the twelve or by a deliberate and skillful forger.

¹ John 1: 14; 19: 35; 21: 24; 1 John 1: 1-3.

2. *Its Literary Character.*—The differences between this Gospel and the three Synoptics are very considerable. The three Gospels give an impression of a ministry almost exclusively Galilean: the Fourth Gospel narrates almost exclusively a ministry in Judea; the three Gospels indicate one which might have been completed in a single year; the fourth indicates three years as the duration of Christ's ministry; the three Gospels report chiefly Christ's ethical discourses; the fourth reports chiefly his doctrinal discourses; love to man's neighbor is the predominant theme in the three Gospels; faith in a divine Saviour is the predominant theme in the fourth; the three Gospels portray the work of Jesus Christ; the fourth portrays his person and character; the three Gospels repeat the same incidents and instructions in slightly different language; the fourth repeats scarcely any thing found in the other three, and when, as in its account of the feeding of the five thousand, it does repeat, the manifest object of the repetition is to introduce a report of a discourse of Jesus which is omitted in the other narratives.

It is, however, safe to say that these differences are just such as might be expected if the Fourth Gospel were written after the other three, and by some one familiar with them, or with the traditions embodied in them. For this Gospel presents precisely the aspect which would be presented by a book written for the purpose of supplementing the accounts already possessed by the primitive churches, and of portraying an aspect of character not adequately portrayed by the earlier writers. It presents, too, exactly that aspect which would be presented by a narrative written after the rapid growth of the church, and its significant victories over heathenism had given the writer a better conception than his co-disciples possessed of the spiritual character of the new religion. Matthew, Mark, and Luke might perhaps have believed that the privileges of Christianity were to be confined to Jews and Jewish proselytes. Whatever of Christ's words they report which indicate a broader scope, it is by no means clear that they comprehended them. But no one can doubt that the author of John's Gospel, when he wrote, believed that the atonement of Jesus Christ was for all humanity, his religion for all classes, races, and conditions of mankind. It is the Fourth Gospel which tells us that he was the true light, which lighteth *every man* that cometh into the world; that God so loved the *world* that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should have everlasting life; and that

whosoever comes to him he will in no wise cast out; it is the Fourth Gospel which reports Christ's interview with the woman of Samaria and his subsequent preaching to the Samaritans, which brings out more clearly than either of the others the grounds of Christ's practical abrogation of the Pharisaic law of the Sabbath, which dwells more than any other Gospel on the spiritual aspects of his kingdom and the divine nature of the King.¹ All this we might expect from one writing after more than half a century of catholic Christianity had interpreted the nature, mission, and words of Christ to his church.

Let me add that a forger would not have suffered his narrative to stand in such a marked contrast with the previous and recognized narratives already in the possession of the churches. He would have commingled the ethical with the doctrinal, the human with the divine. He would have repeated in a modified form some of the incidents and teachings already reported by the other evangelists, that he might thus give a color of authenticity to his narrative. The very contrast between the Fourth Gospel and the other three, on which skeptical writers rely to prove its untrustworthiness, is an indication that it can not be the work of fraud. If that aspect of Christ's character and teachings reported by John's Gospel was not recognized by the primitive church as true, or if the author was not himself known in the age in which the narrative was produced, and so known that his simple name was a sufficient guarantee of the accuracy of his narrative, an account so dissimilar from those already in the possession of the churches would have received little credit, and no general, certainly no universal, acceptance.

3. *The Personality of its Author.*—A further examination of this Gospel will give us some clear and definite impression respecting the character of the author. He is evidently thoroughly familiar with Jewish manners and customs. He knows whereof he writes. He has lived in the country and mingled with the people. His knowledge is not that of a student of books, nor that of a mere casual traveler. But he writes for those that are not familiar with Palestine or its social life. He inserts parenthetical explanations of Jewish customs. He explains to his Gentile readers the use of the firkins of water at the wedding feast, "for purifying, after the manner of the Jews;" the wrapping of the body of Jesus, "as the manner of the Jews is to bury;" the refusal of the Pharisees to

¹ e.g., John 1:9; 3:16; 6:37; chaps. 4, 5, 10, 14, 15.

enter Pilate's hall, "lest they should be defiled." "The feast of Tabernacles is the Jews' feast of Tabernacles, the Passover is the Jews' Passover, and the Preparation for it is the Preparation of the Jews. These references are so incidental as to indicate a writer thoroughly familiar with Jewish life; yet they are so marked as to indicate equally clearly a writer whose readers were not Jews, but Gentiles.

The indications are not less clear that the writer, whoever he may have been, was not himself a sharer in Jewish prejudices. Jew he may have been; an intolerant Jew he certainly was not. He is familiar with the Pharisees and with the Pharisaic law, but he has no sympathy with the one and no admiration for the other. We can hardly be mistaken in thinking that his native prejudices are adverse rather than favorable to the inhabitants of Judea. More than any of the other evangelists, his language respecting them indicates his aversion to them. He is the evangelist who reports the mobs in Jerusalem against Jesus, and the secret councils for his assassination, and the deliberate judgment of Caiaphas that it is better for the rulers to kill the Galilean rabbi than to hazard their own offices, and the persistent persecution of Jesus; he it is who with delicate sarcasm stigmatizes Caiaphas as high-priest for "that same year;" the very language which he employs in describing the religious festivals of Judea as "feasts of the Jews," indicates an author not in sympathy with the religious formalism of Judea; the very phraseology with which he characterizes the reluctance of the Jews to enter into Pilate's judgment-hall indicates a writer having little sympathy for the formalism which was never a characteristic of the Galilean Jews, and always was a characteristic of the more intense and bigoted Jews of the southern province of Judea.

Nor can we be mistaken in surmising that the author was by nature and temperament ardent, impulsive, vehement. The intensity of his nature has been tamed by age, experience, or grace, or the three combined; but the indications of his native character crop out in occasional utterances. The records of Matthew, Mark, and Luke are absolutely colorless. They are without epithets. Their simple and artless narratives are left to produce their own impression. This is less true of the Fourth Gospel than of the other three. The intense indignation which the writer feels against Judas Iscariot he is at no pains to conceal. He it is who reports Jesus as declaring early in his ministry, "One of you is a devil;" he it is

who characterizes Judas Iscariot as a thief; he who twice declares that Satan entered into Judas Iscariot.¹ These are the most notable exhibitions of his feelings; but one can hardly read through the entire narrative without realizing in its tone and spirit the evidence that the author was a man of intense and passionate earnestness, kept under marvelous self-restraint.

Finally, it is clear that the author is a man of some native capacity for culture, and of large education. He is familiar with the Greek language and with the Greco-Oriental philosophy. He writes with a pure and flowing style. His introduction could have been penned only by one who had become habituated to those forms of philosophic thought which some cities of Greece, notably Ephesus, had imported from Alexandria and the further East. It could only have been written for readers who were familiar with that philosophy, and could best be approached by its phraseology.

We find, then, in the direct claims and the incidental allusions of the Fourth Gospel indications that it was written by one who was an eye and ear witness who was with Jesus from the commencement to the close of his ministry; in the broad differences between the Fourth Gospel and the other three Gospels, indications that it was written after the others and by one who was familiar with them or with the traditions embodied in them, and who wrote to supplement their accounts; in the general catholic and spiritual atmosphere of the book, indications that it was written after history had begun to interpret the words and works of Christ and to make clearer his transcendent and incomparable character; and in the style and phraseology of the book, indications that it was written by one who was familiar with Jewish customs but did not share Jewish prejudices, who possessed an ardent nature which had been brought under the power of a strong self-control, and who to a native capacity for culture added that familiarity with Greek literature and philosophy which only long residence in a thoroughly Greek society could impart.

Now, so far as our limited knowledge enables us to judge, John's life and character remarkably correspond with these indications of the Gospel which was so long unanimously attributed to his pen. His parents were well-to-do Galileans, and he probably received a fair education in his childhood. He has indeed been characterized by those critics who wish to make out that his char-

¹ John 6: 70, 71; 12: 6; 13: 2, 27.

acter is inconsistent with the idea of his authorship of the Fourth Gospel as ignorant and unlettered, on the authority of Acts 4:13. This is, however, a quite gratuitous assumption. In connection with every Jewish synagogue was a parochial school, in which the pupils were taught reading, writing, and the rudiments of such natural sciences as were then in existence. The Jewish children of the common people were far better educated than those of Greece or Rome. There is every reason to believe that John received this common education of the age and community in which he lived, and there is absolutely no reason whatever to suppose the contrary. It was only by the Pharisees that John was considered ignorant and unlettered, and they affixed the same stigma upon Jesus himself.¹ To the Pharisees, the only learning worth the name was learning in the traditional lore of the church: Of this the Galilean fisherman was ignorant. In the eyes of a Pharisee of Jerusalem, Plato himself would have been ignorant.

John's early education as a Galilean would also have given him familiarity with Jewish customs, and yet would have prejudiced him against rather than in favor of the inhabitants of Judea. He was a native of Galilee; this province of Palestine was innocent of that formalism and narrowness which characterized the southern province of Judea. The people had lived in amicable relations with their heathen neighbors, and had intermarried with them ever since the days of the treaty of amity between Solomon and the King of Tyre.² The line of commerce between Damascus and the Mediterranean lay directly across this province. Mineral springs of real or fancied value near the southern coast of the Sea of Gennesaret made it the summer resort of the wealthy Romans of the entire land. Thus history and location, commerce and social relations, combined to make the inhabitants of Galilee indifferent to the rigid formalism of the Judeans, and comparatively free from their narrow race and religious prejudices. Indeed, the two assertions that John was ignorant and unlearned, and at the same time a narrow and bigoted Jew, contradict each other. Jewish bigotry and reverence for the traditional lore of the Jewish Church always went together.

Equally evident is it, on a careful study of his life and character, that John possessed originally a vehement and impetuous temper. His character has been strangely misconceived. He is with reason identified with the unnamed "disciple whom Jesus loved," and who

¹ John 7:15, 48.

² 1 Kings 9:10, 11. See Abbott's Dict. of Rel. Knowledge, art. "Galilee."

at the Last Supper rested his head on Jesus' bosom. The Epistles attributed to him breathe a spirit of love; the Gospel attributed to him is of all the Gospels the most spiritual in its tone. From these premises the character of John has been constructed; it has been supposed that he was by nature peculiarly tender, gentle, loving, and spiritually minded; that his was a woman's character; he is so portrayed in art, and to some extent in literature; and the special friendship which Christ has been supposed to have entertained for him is attributed to a character by nature peculiarly lovable.

There are, however, other considerations which any such view totally ignores. James and John were called by Jesus Boanerges, "the sons of thunder;" it was John who prohibited a strange disciple from casting out devils in Jesus' name, because he followed not the twelve; it was John who desired to call down fire from heaven upon the Samaritan village which refused to entertain his Master; it was James and John who, with their mother, applied secretly to Jesus for the highest offices for themselves in his anticipated kingdom; it was John who followed Jesus into the courtyard of the high-priest when all the other disciples forsook him and fled; John who stood with the Galilean women near the cross, at the time of the crucifixion; John who, with Peter, defied the edict of the Sanhedrim after the death of Jesus, prohibiting them from teaching or speaking in his name.¹ These are not the acts of one whose nature was characteristically timid, gentle, or spiritually minded. By nature John was ardent, courageous, impetuous, and not more broad-minded or spiritually minded than his co-disciples.

But he was of all the twelve the most receptive. When Christ foretold his passion, Peter remonstrated with him. When Jesus spoke of the heavenly mansions, and of his departure to prepare a place therein for his disciples, Thomas expressed his doubt and his perplexity by the question, "We know not whither thou goest, and how can we know the way?" When Jesus pointed to himself as the manifestation of the Father, Philip, dissatisfied, asked for a direct revelation of the Father. When Jesus promised to his disciples a spiritual manifestation of himself, Judas (not Iscariot), after the manner of modern theology, desired to have that manifestation explained to him before he could accept the truth. When Jesus rebuked Judas Iscariot for complaining of Mary's act in anointing her Lord, Judas was angered.² But we look in vain in

¹ Mark 3 : 17 ; Luke 9 : 49-56 ; Matt. 20 : 20 ; John 18 : 15 ; 19 : 26 ; Acts 4 : 19, 20.

² Matt. 16 : 22 ; John 14 : 5, 8, 22 ; John 12 : 4, with Matt. 26 : 14.

the Gospels for any instance in which John expressed any rebuke of Christ, or any opposition to him, or any doubt of his teaching, or demanded any other evidence of its truth than the simple word of his Lord. Of all the disciples the most receptive, he was the one whose character underwent the greatest and most radical change.

Of the disciples the most courageous and the most sympathetically intimate with the subject of his biography, he was of them all the one to adhere to Jesus in his dangerous ministry in Jerusalem, and the one, therefore, to record what all the others have omitted. He was also the one to interpret Christ's actions by his own suggestion of Christ's unuttered thoughts. Writing after the other Gospels had been written and were already being widely circulated, his omission of events and teachings which they had recorded is not only explicable, but natural, and to be anticipated. His later and prolonged residence in Ephesus, of all Greek cities the most Oriental, would have made him familiar with the best Greek culture, and with the mystic philosophy of the Greco-Oriental school. Finally, writing after the destruction of Jerusalem, after the dispersion of the Jews had begun, after the descent of the Holy Spirit had interpreted the mystical promises of another Comforter, after churches had been organized as far west as Rome, in which Gentile and Jew met on equal terms, after, in a word, the history of the church had interpreted the prophecies and instructions of its Lord, it would have been strange indeed if he had not given a deeper, truer, and more catholic exposition of Christ's Gospel than could have been written during the first half-century in Palestine, and by writers whose comprehension of Christ's teaching had not been broadened by residence in a foreign land and an observation of Christ's redeeming work in a pagan community.

The internal arguments against John's authorship of the Fourth Gospel strangely ignore the changes which time and spiritual culture make in character. If these are taken into account, the Fourth Gospel is just such a narrative as we might anticipate from the Son of Thunder, tamed by three years of life with Christ, and instructed by half a century of history.

I do not, however, press the argument. I simply trace the features of the writing and the writer, and leave the reader to his own conclusions.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

LEARNED WOMEN OF BOLOGNA.

III.

ANNA MORANDI MANZOLINI, PROFESSOR OF ANATOMY AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF BOLOGNA.

THE art of making anatomical preparations in wax was first discovered towards the end of the seventeenth century. Some writers ascribe the honor of the invention to G. Desnoves, by birth a Frenchman, Professor of Anatomy at Genoa; others, and we think with more reason,¹ to a certain Gaetano Giulio Zumbo, a gentleman of Syracuse. It is true that the latter worked with Desnoves at Genoa, but we read in an essay on the Florentine Galleries, by Pelli Bencivenenini, that Zumbo was so celebrated for his profound anatomical knowledge and skill in making wax preparations, that some years before we hear of him in Genoa in connection with Desnoves, he was employed in Florence at a high salary by the Grand Duke Cosmo III.

One of his principal works consisted in a series of small figures colored from life, representing the human body in every stage of corruption. There is still to be seen in the Specola Museum, in Florence, a head partly dissected so as to show the different organs, similar to that he afterwards made in Genoa and exhibited in Paris, and of which Professor Desnoves claimed the invention, asserting that Zumbo had only worked under his direction.

Some fifty years later there flourished in Bologna a famous anatomist named Ercole Lelli,¹ who devoted much attention to

¹ Lelli began life as an arquebuse maker, and his artistic studies pursued simply with a view to the decoration of arquebuses with arabesques and human figures, led to his becoming a painter, wood-carver, and sculptor, working with equal facility in clay, wax, plaster, wood, and marble, and in all showing singular anatomical skill. The clever wooden statues supporting the canopy of the professor's chair in that cedar-paneled lecture-hall where Galvani immortalized his name will have attracted the attention of all visitors to Bologna. These are Lelli's, and they represent the human body as it appears when stripped of all exterior integuments. While engaged on these figures, Lelli skinned no less than fifty subjects with his own hands, in order to insure precision in every detail; but his scientific ardor well-nigh cost him his life, for the prolonged contact with dead bodies brought on a most dangerous illness.

this branch of art, and who in 1742, aided by the liberality of Pope Benedict XIV., began his six years' task of constructing a complete collection of anatomical models, of which a portion still exists in the Bolognese Institute.

Requiring skilled assistance in this work, he employed a certain Giovanni Manzolini, a good anatomist, expert draughtsman, and painter, and who possessed, too, the secret of mixing certain ingredients in his wax that gave it greater consistency and firmness. Now this Manzolini, a nervous, despondent man, full of hypochondriacal fancies, had taken to wife some ten years before a bright, clever young girl of great artistic promise, named Anna Morandi, who had long proved herself the best and most energetic of help-meets. Thus it fell out that when Lelli began to employ Manzolini on his great anatomical work, Anna, desirous to spur on her weak-minded, indolent husband, so dependent on her in every way, applied her abilities also to modeling in wax, and profited so well by her husband's instructions, that she materially aided him in all the lighter portions of the work, and surpassed him in delicacy of detail.

After three years, when already one half of the great collection was completed to Lelli's entire satisfaction, poor, foolish Manzolini determined to throw up the unfinished work, having taken the idea into his weak head that Ercole Lelli intended to keep his (Manzolini's) name in the background, and appropriate to himself all the honor, glory, and profits of the undertaking.

There does not seem to have been the slightest foundation for this fear, since Lelli frankly acknowledged that he could not have completed the work without the aid of Manzolini's talents; but the latter was one of those hypochondriacal, weak, and narrow men who always consider themselves the victims of deep-laid conspiracies, while moaning out his wrongs to all who would listen to him. He does not seem to have even had the straightforwardness to ask Lelli to increase his remuneration. Luckily for him, he had a tower of strength in his wife. It is strange how often one sees a gifted, high-spirited woman pouring out the treasure of her affection on some weak, shiftless man.

When, therefore, Manzolini parted from Lelli and began to work at his own house, Anna quickly perceived, by the way in which he wasted his time in lamenting his hard fate, and the envy (apparently imaginary) that condemned him to obscurity, that there was small

chance of the anatomical preparations he had undertaken being finished by the appointed time.

So, having much at heart the honor and interest of her pusillanimous husband, she determined to apply herself seriously to the study of anatomy, instead of confining herself merely to the execution of the details in wax. At first she experienced great difficulty in conquering her natural repugnance for the revolting work of dissection, and we learn that her physical sufferings were great; nevertheless "love cast out fear," and she steadily persevered in the task until she not only became a first-rate practical anatomist, but made various original discoveries.

Manzolini was well content to encourage her in her difficult enterprise, and grateful for this proof of her affection (since, with all his faults, he seems to have heartily loved and appreciated his gifted wife), aided her by his own knowledge and experience, and made her study all the best works on anatomy. Very soon, then, we find her skillfully exercising her scalpel by her husband's side, and able to give scientific explanations of the preparations they worked upon together.

Meanwhile, a physician of high standing, named Galli, had opened in his own house a school of obstetric science for surgeons and midwives, and for their better instruction confided to Anna Manzolini the execution of a series of wax models of infants in every stage of gestation. Having completed this task in a masterly manner, Anna now began to give anatomical lectures herself. In these, besides imparting the knowledge acquired from her husband, she communicated many discoveries she had herself made in the course of her studies, and which had hitherto escaped the attention of the most experienced anatomists of that day. Anna showed peculiar skill in all dissecting experiments requiring great minuteness and delicacy, and demonstrated both theoretically and practically the wonderful structure of the human body, and the exact formation and position of the bones, nerves, and ligaments of different animals.

By the novelty of her method of demonstrating these truths and her rare excellence in dissection, Anna's name became celebrated throughout Europe, and no traveler of any distinction in science or learning passed through Bologna without seeking her acquaintance or attending her lectures. Not a few of these travelers have rendered eloquent testimony to the extent and depth of her acquirements.

In the year 1755, Anna's domestic happiness was shattered by the death of the man she so tenderly loved. Despite his weakness of character, Manzolini seems to have been a good and affectionate husband, and it is certain that his wife was devotedly attached to him. In all time it has been a common spectacle to see energetic, high-souled women lavishing their love on men in every respect their inferiors. Possibly, by the eternal law of compensation, it is the strong maternal instinct and wealth of pitiful tenderness possessed by such women that binds them to those who need their support. It is not so with the other sex. Talented men often enough love silly women, but generally their love yields to contempt when the glamour of illusion is dissipated.

Anna's grief, however, did not distract her from her profession, to which she devoted herself with unremitted zeal. Honors of all kinds were showered upon her. In the first year of her widowhood, she was elected a member of the Scientific Institute of her native city, of the Clementine Academy in 1758, of the Literary Society of Foligno in 1760, and of the Florentine Academy of Design in 1761. All these distinctions, however, were barren of material advantages, and Anna's means were of the narrowest. It is true that the Bolognese Senate had, soon after Manzolini's death, conferred upon her the chair of anatomy, but this professorship was only worth 300 francs per annum (less than £12), and she had two little boys dependent on her exertions. All writers testify to the purity of her life, and record with what jealous care the still handsome and attractive widow preserved an unsullied reputation.

In 1765 it is not astonishing to find her petitioning the Senate to raise her salary to the magnificent sum of 500 francs a year, but it is surprising to read that the Senate, not seeing fit to accede to her modest request, she was obliged to accept aid from private individuals.

One Senator, Count Ranuzzi, less niggardly than his colleagues, agreed to grant her a monthly stipend, with board and lodging in his own palace, in exchange for her anatomical collection, library, and instruments. Apparently this bargain was merely a delicate fiction, designed to lighten Anna Morandi's sense of obligation to her benefactor, for we read that her collection and other possessions were carefully arranged in the apartments assigned to her, and that at her death she bequeathed them, with other things, as a legacy to the Institute of Science.

Visitors to Bologna interested in anatomy will find this collec-

tion very complete and valuable, and of great artistic merit. Anna Morandi was the first to reproduce in wax such minute portions of the human body as the capillary vessels and the nerves.¹ Here, too, even with those minutest parts that are barely visible to the naked eye, may be seen accurately reproduced in wax the organs of smell, hearing, touch, sight, and taste. In all these, Anna far surpasses the best efforts of the celebrated Ercole Lelli, and of her husband and master, Manzolini. She delivered her lectures in that fragrant cedar hall which is one of the sights of Bologna, and in which Lelli's wonderful anatomical wooden figures supporting the canopy over the professor's chair attract general admiration.

Now and then Anna sought recreation from her graver studies in the execution of purely artistic works in wax; among these is a crucifix with a Magdalen weeping at the foot, and she also took great pleasure in making life-size portraits of her friends, also in wax. At the request of many admirers, she modeled excellent portraits of her husband and herself, and these are still to be seen in the Anatomical Gallery of the University of Bologna. She has represented herself, scalpel in hand, in the act of dissecting the human brain.

Our English sculptor Nollekens made a successful bust of Anna Morandi, which is still preserved in the Palazzo Ranuzzi.

It is not a little touching to read that this celebrated woman, who had pleaded in vain for a yearly addition of £8 to her slender pittance, refused many lucrative offers from other cities of Europe, preferring poverty in her beloved Bologna to wealth elsewhere. From London she received repeated and tempting offers. The Empress of Russia invited her to her court, proffering the most munificent and advantageous conditions. Two Italian universities tried to entice her away from Bologna, and from Milan she received a blank agreement, which she was asked to fill up with any terms she liked to name, if she would only consent to exercise her profession in that liberal city.

While returning to all these invitations the unvarying reply that she preferred retaining her Bolognese professorship, she showed

¹ Ranieri d'Arpinello, in his "Historical Fragments," does indeed mention a young girl named Alessandra Giliani, who, in the early part of the fourteenth century, had discovered a method of cleansing and preparing the nerves and arteries in a miraculous manner, so that they were rendered impervious to decay. She is said to have died at the age of nineteen, from the effects of over-study. No well known writer, however, authenticates this account.

her gratitude by forwarding to the respective museums sets of her anatomical preparations in wax, accompanied by full explanations.

So, poor and honored and hard-working, Anna continued her labors until her death in 1774, at the age of sixty-eight, leaving two sons, who do not seem to have inherited any portion of their parents' talent.

Anna Morandi Manzolini was buried in the Church of St. Proculus, where a lengthy Latin inscription marks her grave and testifies to her well-earned fame.

IV.

CLOTILDA JAMBRONI.

Two names only remain on our list of lady professors at Bologna—those of Clotilda Jambroni, Professor of Greek and Greek Literature, and of Doctor Maria Delle Donne, Professor of Medicine and Obstetric Science. They were the last women to hold university professorships in Italy. The second only enjoyed a local fame, but the first had a European reputation as one of the best Greek scholars of the last century. To her, therefore, this chapter must be dedicated.

No biography of this celebrated Clotilda Jambroni has yet been written, and the cause of this neglect must be sought in the fact that the years of her public life were those in which the attention of the world was almost exclusively absorbed by the political and military events of Napoleon Bonaparte's marvelous career, and when the Italian peninsula was the battle-ground on which the destinies of the whole of Europe were decided.

So, strange as it may seem, very few particulars are to be obtained of the early life and circumstances of this gifted woman, the friend of Mezzofanti, the correspondent of our own great Hellenist Porson, and of the principal scholars of the day in her own and other countries. The writer of this article ransacked all the book-shops of Clotilda's native city, without being able to find any memoir whatever of her who was undoubtedly one of Bologna's most learned daughters, and who—little more than half a century having elapsed since her death—may almost be said to belong to our own time.

However, by diligent research in public libraries and the kind assistance of literary friends, the materials for this slight notice have

at last been collected, though many discrepancies exist among the various particulars thus gleaned.

One account from a private source gives a picture of Clotilda Jambroni's early life, tending to prove that only the strongest in-born love of learning enabled her to rise above her surroundings, and apply herself to the conquest of knowledge. It tells us that Clotilda, born in 1758, was the child of Paolo Jambroni, cook to the Benedictine fathers of St. Proculus, who, to eke out his modest earnings, was in the habit of taking lodgers in his own house. Among these lodgers was a Spaniard, the Jesuit father Emanuel Aponte, who, on the suppression of his order in Spain, settled in Bologna, and was appointed Professor of Greek at the University. He was a scholar of much repute, and the author of a Greek grammar, the best and most popular of any then in existence. Another inmate of the house was a young law student from Parma, who was studying Greek with the reverend professor. We are told that Clotilda, then in her teens, acted as waiting-maid to these gentlemen, and was in the habit, while exercising her domestic functions, of keeping her ears open to catch every crumb of knowledge that fell in her way. One day, while the young student—no very apt pupil—was floundering through an imperfectly studied task, Clotilda, who was moving about the room, duster in hand, suddenly came forward, and not only supplied the missing words, but gave good proofs of having understood the gist of Aponte's previous lessons to the student. The father's astonishment equaled his delight, and he immediately volunteered regular instruction in Greek to this surprising little handmaiden. After some hesitation on the part of her parents, the proposal was accepted, and Clotilda daily amazed her teacher by the ease with which she surmounted the difficulties of Homer's tongue.

Now this is decidedly a very attractive version of the beginning of Clotilda Jambroni's career. A young, bright-eyed, eager girl, entirely ignorant, but thirsting for knowledge, and imbibing Greek like a water plant as she pursued her domestic drudgery! It is a romantic picture, upon which we should like to dwell; but, alas! the inexorable tyranny of facts compels us to state that it is unsupported by authentic evidence, although, as is often the case, some truth is interwoven in the fiction. It is true that Aponte lived in the Jambronis' house, but whether as friend, lodger, or merely as neighbor, is not recorded. Neither is it certain that Paolo Jambroni was a cook, and if he were, he must have ranked as a *cordon bleu*,

for, at any rate, his circumstances were easy enough to allow him to give a university training to his son Giuseppe, who in after years became a distinguished archæologist, held various political and diplomatic posts under the Napoleonic government, and acquired much reputation as a writer on art, as well as on lighter subjects. This lad Giuseppe was Aponte's pupil, and it was while the reverend father was engaged in drumming the Greek elements into his unwilling head, that Clotilda's secret studies and passion for learning came to light.

But alas for romance ! Giuseppe was his sister's junior by fifteen years, so that even supposing him to have begun Greek at the age of ten, Clotilda must have been at least five-and-twenty when she sat working at her needle in her brother's school-room. This, although she did come to his rescue much in the manner recounted in the previous version, puts the whole matter in a different light.

Some narrators tell us that from her childhood Clotilda had shown an invincible love for classical studies. In that case, her yearnings for knowledge must have been well kept down and repressed by the usual *non*-education of Italian women, if it was not until her little brother began Greek that she made known her hunger for the instruction he so unwillingly received. Her mother, fearing, we are told, that study would unsex her daughter, strongly objected to allow her to benefit by Aponte's eagerly offered lessons, but at last poor Clotilda was allowed to have her way, and to plunge into the invigorating studies that lifted her out of the drearily stagnant life of an Italian unmarried woman of five-and-twenty, into a new and enchanting world with boundless horizons.

After rapidly mastering the difficulties of Greek, Clotilda, still assisted by Father Aponte, next applied herself to Latin, and then, with a mind invigorated by the classical writers, to the literature of her own land, to the French, English, and Spanish languages, and to scientific studies.

Her mother's fears proved groundless, for we are expressly told that Clotilda was a great proficient in every kind of needle-work, that her work-basket had its place beside her favorite books in the humble room in which her few leisure hours were spent, and that she loved to pass from lofty literary speculations to the gentle, feminine labors befitting every good housewife.

In every record of Italian learned women, it is amusing to note how their eulogizers emphasize the fact of their scholarship being

no obstacle to their love of needlework. Evidently the thimble is the only atonement for ink-stains on feminine fingers!

Neither in our own land is that idea entirely exploded. No one can deny that needlework is a good and useful occupation, but if a woman have the capacity for other and higher things, why may she not leave sewing to her less gifted sisters?

Do not the first principles of social economy teach us that every human being should apply his or her energies to that work for which he or she is best fitted? Thus, all waste of labor is avoided. As well divert a river to water one plant, as give to a giant a task that a pigmy might accomplish! As time went on, Clotilda's parents seem to have allowed her to give herself up entirely to study, for we soon find her attacking the sciences, especially physics and mathematics, in which she soon obtained great proficiency. She often passed entire days and nights over her books, without allowing herself more than a few minutes for repose. One can well imagine with what ungovernable ardor an intellect powerful enough to have withstood the stultifying effects of twenty-five years' ignorance would rush onwards and upwards, when once the cramping barriers were removed. But what, we wonder, became of the work-basket in those days? Surely the dust must sometimes have accumulated on it!

So, for seven years, probably the happiest of her life, Clotilda worked on steadily. Then, in 1790, when she was thirty-two years of age, came the first public recognition of her merit when, having been persuaded by Count Niccolò Java Ghisilieri to recite some verses she had written before the Academy of the *Inestricati*, she was forthwith elected a member of that society. We learn that she further justified their choice by publishing, on the occasion of the marriage of their president, her friend, Count Ghisilieri, an epithalamium in Greek. In this, after gracefully alluding in classic metaphor to the assistance the noble bridegroom had lent her in her pursuit of fame, by promoting her election as one of the *Inestricati*, she describes how Apollo and Minerva united to choose a bride for their ardent and beloved votary. The Italian paraphrase of these verses, also from Clotilda's pen, is polished, elegant, even sometimes majestic, but totally lacking poetic fire.

In the following year, the Society of the *Fervidi Filodramatici* (Fervid Philodramatists) admitted her in its ranks, and within a few months a similar honor was paid to her by the Clementine Academy of Bologna, the Etruscan Institute of Cortona, and by the Arca-

dians of Rome. On entering the last-named society, she had to conform to the rule of assuming a name suitable to the artificial realm of Arcady, and accordingly selected that of Doriclea Sicionia.

Here it may not be out of place to say a word about Clotilda Jambroni's poetical compositions. They consist of complimentary odes, in Greek, Latin, and Italian, to various noble patrons;¹ of a Sapphic ode, an elegy in Greek and Latin, and an ode in honor of Napoleon Bonaparte—a *pièce de circonstance*—which was translated into twenty different tongues. Towards the close of her life, she also wrote an ode on the return of Pope Pius VII., which, as she was a very devout Catholic, was probably more heartfelt and less artificial than her other compositions. Her verses were much admired and lauded by the *litterati* of Bologna; but poetic taste was at its lowest ebb in those days, and the chief merit of Clotilda's verses would seem to have been their polished diction. A modern Hellenist, now occupying a high post in the University of Bologna, mentions that Clotilda's Greek compositions, though showing much mastery of the language and possessing a great wealth of classical allusion, are still wanting in the true Grecian flavor, and here and there betray fundamental errors of accent and a mingling of dialects which, however excusable in her day, are painfully apparent to the modern scholar.

Of course, when viewed by the light of the present state of philology, which of late years has made such enormous advances, Clotilda Jambroni's attainments dwindle into comparative insignificance; but we can not doubt that, measured by the standard of her own time, she was one of the best Grecians not only of her own but of other countries. It is certain that she was held in high esteem by many illustrious contemporaries well fitted to decide on her merits. Our own Porson, for example, and the German scholar Wolfius, loudly proclaimed her a marvel of knowledge; and Cardinal Mezzofanti and the poet Vincenzo Monti judged her a better Hellenist than her preceptor, Father Aponte. One of her foreign correspondents, the Frenchman D'Ausse de Villoison, said of her that in all Europe there were but three men capable of writing as she wrote, and not more than fifteen capable of understanding her.

Towards the end of 1793, Aponte having resigned the Greek chair, Clotilda Jambroni was appointed his successor, and for five

¹ There is among these a congratulatory one to Countess Spencer on the birth of a daughter.

years fulfilled the duties of this post with the highest credit. During that period, the tide of Napoleonic victories had swept over Europe, and effected mighty changes in the map of Italy.

Bologna, wrested from the Papal See, had been first incorporated in the Cispadine Republic, and then, in the summer of 1797, both the Italian republics raised by Napoleon on the ruins of the various states and principalities he had overthrown, were fused into one, bearing the title of the Cisalpine Republic.

We imagine that in the last two years of Clotilda's tenure of the Greek professorship her office must have been almost a sinecure. They had been years of turbulence for the learned city. In the first days of the republican government, on the downfall of the papal power in Bologna, all went merrily as marriage-bells. The Italians had yet to learn the value of Bonaparte's high-sounding promises. He had rid them of their old rulers, and so they believed that he had given them independence.

The first draught of liberty is apt to intoxicate; so Bologna went mad for a time, and behaved as though liberty were the end of, instead of only the means toward, good government.

The first transports of delight at the new state of things were soon succeeded by discontent, as one heavy requisition after another was levied on the town. For the joy-bells of the early days of the new government was but too soon substituted the chink of the money-bags, incessantly emptied to supply the conqueror's ever-increasing demands.

On the withdrawal of the French troops, there followed a period of anarchy, with which that galvanized corpse, the Senate of Bologna, was altogether powerless to cope. No time this for quiet study. Men's heads were filled with other matters than letters and science. The young, especially, went mad in the name of liberty, and, disdaining learning as a slavery unworthy of free and enlightened citizens, thought to prove themselves better men the greater follies they committed. The use of arms, the art of war, were the most pressing objects of study; and in the year 1797 we find the Senate of Bologna opening a school for sword and sabre practice, within the precincts of the University itself. Thus the art of fencing was placed on a level with the highest branches of scientific instruction.

We fancy that Clotilda's class-room must have had but a scant attendance in those days, and the clashing of rapiers, with the "one, two, three" *stamp* of the fencing-master, must have been

sweeter music to the ears of the excited students than Homer's stately measures or Menander's harmonious fragments.

Under these circumstances, it was perhaps no very hard struggle for Clotilda to resign her post in 1798, when required by the government to take the oath of eternal hatred to monarchy, exacted from all who held any public office.

Popular feeling then ran so high upon this point that Clotilda believed that her refusal to take the oath placed her life in danger, and, hastily leaving Bologna, devoted her enforced leisure to a tour in Spain with her venerated teacher, Father Aponte.

The only circumstance we find recorded of these travels is that, in the face of much opposition on the score of her sex, she was elected a member of the Royal Economic Academy of Madrid.

She returned to Italy about 1801, when the Italian Republic had been placed on a firmer basis; and in 1804, Bonaparte, without resenting the political opinions of this distinguished woman—a somewhat exceptional instance of magnanimity in the conqueror—rendered justice to her gifts by reinstating her in the Greek chair.

In 1806, the professorship of Greek literature—till then distinct—was added to that she already held; and, on the occasion of this promotion, Clotilda delivered an inaugural oration, the only one of her prose compositions to which the writer has been able to obtain access. It treats of the intimate connection between science and literature, and gives many illustrations, showing how the epochs in which science flourished most luxuriantly were also those of the greatest progress in literature.

Beginning with an eulogium of the Alexandrian schools, and of that pride of womankind, the famous Hypalia, she passes in rapid review the grandest periods of the world's culture from that time to her own day.

Naturally, the address winds up with an eloquent eulogium on the Corsican hero, and the assertion that in no respect would the age of Napoleon have any cause to envy that of the Alexanders.¹

¹ She also alludes affectionately to her distinguished young friend, Dr. Maria Delle Donne, who had recently taken her degree of M.D., and who was the last woman to fill a professor's chair in any Italian university. This lady, who only died in 1840, may be said to have been the Mrs. Garrett Anderson of Bologna. By the kind assistance of a village doctor, who early discovered her talents and rare capacities for his own profession, she fought her way upward from poverty and obscurity, and at the age of twenty-two obtained her diploma from the University of Bologna. Napoleon granted her an interview on one of his visits to that city, and received so favorable an impression of her talents and knowledge that he instituted expressly

This oration shows a great range of reading, somewhat pedantically displayed, and its style, at least to nineteenth-century ears, is not a little high-flown and affected. Neither is there apparent any great originality of thought, and the oratorical flights in this address never rise to real eloquence. With all her undoubted learning, there is not even the smallest flash of genius in any of Clotilda Jambroni's productions.

Her professional career was not destined to be of long duration, for in 1808 radical changes were made in the system of public instruction in Italy, and by a vice-regal decree the chair of Greek literature was suppressed in all the universities. On that event, Clotilda Jambroni withdrew entirely from public life, and retired into the bosom of her family. Her health—particularly her eyesight—had been much impaired by her long and unremitting exertions. None of her lectures were published; chiefly, it is said, from her exceeding diffidence in her own powers.

Her latest compositions were the Greek verses in honor of the pope's return, already mentioned, and various Greek odes for the use of her scholars.

Of her private character but little is to be learned; but that little is all in her praise. We are told that the tenderness of her heart equaled the strength of her mind; that she was a model of religion, virtue, and charity; and that she led a retired, peaceful life.

Her bust in the University of Bologna, representing a very long-nosed, grim-visaged, elderly lady, gives far from a flattering idea of her personal attractions. Still, from private sources we glean that, if not beautiful, she was exceedingly sympathetic. However, this is a vague and elastic expression, commonly used by Italians as we use the term "interesting" in describing those to whom no amount of friendship can attribute beauty; it is therefore hard to estimate its precise force and value.

We are further told that Clotilda was a tall woman, of a well-knit figure, dark complexion, grave demeanor, and amiable manners. All authorities allow that her life was irreproachable, and no love passions seem to have ruffled the philosophic calm of her existence. As one authority grandiloquently phrases it: "Clotilda's

for her a chair of obstetric science, with the privilege of giving her lectures in her own house. Her life was a long career of usefulness and benevolence, and many of the women who attended her classes were indebted to her for the means of pursuing their studies. She was one of Clotilda Jambroni's most valued friends.

heart, closed to vulgar passions, opened readily to generous sentiments."

She is known to have been an affectionate daughter and a warm friend. Quietly absorbed in intellectual pursuits, the sentiment of friendship would seem to have satisfied all cravings of her heart. Her gratitude was boundless towards those who had assisted in the cultivation of her powers; and on her venerable preceptor, Father Aponte, she bestowed a truly filial devotion. She never left him during his life, and at his death erected a tomb to him at her own expense in the cemetery of Bologna.

It may be interesting to record that the distinguished patriot and man of letters, Marquis Gino Capponi, remembers having paid a visit to Clotilda while Aponte was still alive; but the subject of this little memoir did not excel as a conversationalist, and the marquis preserves no very vivid impression of her personality.

At the age of fifty-eight, and in the summer of 1817, Clotilda's studious life came to an end, and all the learned world of Italy joined in the lamentations of her native city. A marble bust by Jadolini, with an inscription recording her merits and worthily gained honors, marks her place of burial in the Certosa cemetery, outside the walls of Bologna.

She bequeathed her papers to her brother, Giuseppe Jambroni, who, as I have before mentioned, in spite of his inability to master the Greek grammar, became a man of considerable note in literary and archæological circles. It was his intention to write his sister's life; but, although he survived her eight or ten years, he never carried his purpose into effect.

The Abbé Filippo Schiassi delivered an eloquent panegyric on her memory, immediately after her decease, within the walls of the university of which she had been an ornament. Mezzofanti penned a letter on the same subject; but to this day no memoir has yet been written of one who undoubtedly ranked among the best Hellenists of the last century. Besides and beyond this, her sex gives Clotilda Jambroni a claim on the interest of all who seek to promote woman's education, and woman's right to a fuller share of that inheritance of knowledge from which some of her brothers would still exclude her.

THE MORAL PROBLEM.

I.

AS yet, there has been no solution of the moral problem that has been generally accepted. This is discouraging, but ought not to prevent further effort, unless it can be shown that such a solution is impossible. For such a solution, the problem without us, involved in the phenomena of the heavens, and the problem within us, involved in the circulation of the blood, waited thousands of years.

Doubtless there are problems forced upon us which we can not solve. For any creature, rational but finite, this is probably unavoidable. The problems Whence? and Whither? in regard to this universe, have confronted man from the beginning; but aside from revelation, the first man was as near a solution of these problems as the wisest philosopher of the nineteenth century. As related to space, to time, and causation, men are necessarily brought to a recognition of the element of infinity. They know that that element exists, but wherever they find it problems arise which no finite faculties can solve.

But the moral problem, as it should be stated, involves no such element. Nor is it, like some astronomical problems, so related to the element of time that a solution can come only by observation through long periods, and requiring the co-operation of successive generations. To the first generation a knowledge of the relative positions and of the longer periodic movements of the heavenly bodies was impossible. That the stars we call fixed, and once supposed to be so, have motion we now know, but what their movements are, either absolute or relative, we do not know, nor can we till time shall reveal them. But for the solution of the moral problem every man has the elements within himself.

Aside from moral disorder, the difficulties in the way of the solution of the moral problem are mainly from two sources. The first is from the fact that as mental phenomena are more central, they are more difficult of observation and arrangement. The second is from the complexity of the moral phenomena. With the exception

of consciousness, concerning which there is as yet no agreement, the moral phenomena are more central than any others; and, as higher, they are more complex. It is not perhaps strange, therefore, that an accepted solution has not yet been found.

What, then, is the moral problem? The moral element being assumed, it is to deduce *conduct* from construction and environment—principles from construction, modifications from environment. That this is the problem appears from the analogy of the body. In the body, the use of each organ is determined by its structure, and the use of the body as a whole by its construction. In the mind there is, indeed, no construction by relation of parts, yet there is so far its equivalent in the distinction of the different faculties and active principles, that the use of these must be determined by their nature and relations. The same thing is shown by the history of the science. The sermons of Bishop Butler on human nature, by common consent the greatest single contribution to the science, were simply a more accurate account than had before been given of the nature of the springs of action, and of their relation to each other; and every advance in the science since has been made in the same way. Man is more than his faculties or active principles: he can survey those faculties and principles; can comprehend the nature and relations of each; can assign to each its place, and can see that each does its own work in its own place; and until he does this, he can not fully know or rationally control himself. It is to be added that, if conduct were not to be deduced from construction, mental science would not be, to the extent to which it is acknowledged to be, a necessary prerequisite of moral science.

But if the problem be to deduce conduct from construction, we need to know what conduct is. By conduct is meant a course of action that originates in rational choice. In morals it is pre-eminently a course of action that originates in the choice of a supreme end. The lower animals are incapable of conduct. It supposes reasons placed before the mind and comprehended, in distinction from blind impulses that act from behind. Such impulses may, however, become the basis of conduct when their end is comprehended and they are intelligently adopted as guides.

With this view of conduct, we affirm that if we can know ourselves perfectly, together with the relations in which we are placed, we can find, through such knowledge, the conduct which we ought to pursue. Such conduct would be based on philosophy, and no other can be. Conduct, in obedience to precept, may be virtuous,

but it rests upon faith ; and so does that from impulse, when impulse is rationally adopted as a guide.

What, then, is the actual construction of man, intellectual and moral, as he is related to conduct ? And what is the conduct to be deduced from such construction ?

Accepting the division of the mind, now universally adopted, into the intellect, the sensibility, and the will, we need to know the province of each. In respect to the intellect and the will there is general agreement. It is conceded that all knowing is by the intellect, and that all choice and volition are by the will. Is it as fully conceded that all feeling belongs to the sensibility ? This may be doubted. The sensibility is of great diversity. The desires, the affections, the emotions, the passions, are forms of the sensibility. But in addition to these, there is feeling connected with every form of our activity, with that of the intellect and the will. Is it conceded that this feeling, too, is from the sensibility ? It should, and must be, if the division is to be made thorough-going. From the intellect, including, if we adopt that division, both the understanding and the reason, we have the enjoyment that comes from the pursuit and the acquisition of truth ; and, in the light of science as it is now revealing to us the marvellous constitution and movements of that portion of the universe that comes within our range, this is among the more intense and higher forms of enjoyment. This enjoyment is the reflex of the activity of the intellect, and is inseparably connected with it. It is of a quality peculiar to itself, belonging to man as rational, and so can be had in no other way. That this enjoyment is *a* good there can be no doubt. Is it from the sensibility or from the intellect ? It is a feeling, an enjoyment, and, as was just said, if our division is to be made thorough-going, it must be from the sensibility. But from the will we have an enjoyment still higher and more intense. Virtue is from the will, as knowledge from the intellect ; but the satisfaction from virtue, the peace and calm delight, have been the theme of philosophers and poets from the earliest times. This satisfaction is the reflex of the activity of the will. Is it from the will, or shall we hold to our distinction, and say that it is from the sensibility ? The latter is our only consistent course if we are to have a sensibility at all ; for, having it, and defining it to be the faculty of feeling, it would seem preposterous not to refer to it one of the highest forms of feeling we have. Besides, remorse, the opposite of this satisfaction, and certainly to be classed with it, is always spoken

of as a feeling, and as one of the highest and most acute forms of the sensibility.

Accepting then, in full, the three-fold division of the mental powers, we say that all knowledge is from the intellect, all feeling from the sensibility, and all conduct from the will. Of these, the intellect must act first, the sensibility next, and the will last. This is the order, and in this order there is dependence of the higher upon the lower, the intellect being lowest. But there is also interdependence, the feelings reacting upon the intellect, and the will upon both. But though thus interacting, and though there may be combined products with separate names, yet there will be nothing that can be properly called knowledge that will not be from the intellect, nothing that is *a* good, or the reverse, that is not from the sensibility, and nothing that can be called goodness, or the reverse, that is not from the will.

Holding this distinction in full, we shall be able to avoid some ambiguities, more especially in the use of the word *good*, that have been an obstacle in the way of the progress of the science. According to this, moral good can not be made to stand for goodness, as is done almost universally by some distinguished writers. Goodness will be from the will, and moral good will be the reflex of goodness in the sensibility. It will be *a* good, a good of the highest kind, and one that can be enjoyed in no other way. Neither can good, used as a noun without the article, nor *a* good be identified with goodness. To this, as done by Kant, I have referred in another place,¹ and on turning to Professor Bowen's account of Kant's "Ground of Ethics," in his recent work on "Modern Philosophy," I find the same ambiguity running through that, and, as it seems to me, obscuring the whole discussion. I agree with Kant, as quoted by Professor Bowen, that "there is nothing in the world, and we can not even conceive any thing out of the world, which is absolutely good, that is good *per se* in all respects, and without exception or limitation, excepting a good will." Such a will is *good*. As an intelligent choice and purpose to produce good it is goodness, which is the only thing that is good under all circumstances, but it is not *a* good at all, whereas Kant makes it to be not only *a* good, but the absolute good. This absolute good Professor Bowen explains to be "a purpose or intention," but how it is possible, except through an ambiguity of terms or transcendental mist, for any one to suppose

¹ The Law of Love. Preface, p. 9.

“a purpose or intention” to be the absolute good of man it is not easy to see. With this division fully carried out, there can be no comparison between goodness and *a* good.

From the same division made thorough-going, we may also see what is meant when we say that we perform an act for its own sake. This is often said. When a young aspirant said to D'Alembert, “I have done this in order to have a seat in the Academy,” D'Alembert replied, “He who would succeed in a course of study must pursue it for its own sake.” Certainly knowledge may be pursued as an instrument, and for an ulterior end. It may also be pursued with no thought of any thing beyond the knowledge itself. It is then said to be pursued for its own sake, and the activity of the mind in thus pursuing it is thought to be of a higher order. But is there not in this case a pure pleasure, a satisfaction of a high order, and if there were no such pleasure, no satisfaction of any kind, would the knowledge be pursued? Most persons would say no. But if so, then when we say that we pursue knowledge for its own sake, we do not mean exactly that, but that we pursue it for the sake of the satisfaction there is in that mode of the activity of our faculties. Of course there can be no activity in the first instance, because of the reflex of that activity. The first activity, if it be from the impulsive nature, must be instinctive, or, if from the rational nature, from some apprehended good; still, if there were no satisfaction as the result of the activity, it would not be continued.

But is the same true of virtue as of knowledge? It is constantly said that we are to pursue virtue for its own sake, otherwise it will not be virtue. On the other hand, I hold that virtue pursued for its own sake, if that were possible, would not be virtue. Aside from religion, virtue is the love of our neighbor as ourselves; that is, the choice of his good for the sake of that good. Disinterested action has the good of others, and that alone, in view. Of this we are capable, and only this is the love to them that is the fulfilling of the law. True, there is, as a reflex of that activity of the will which is virtue, a satisfaction of so high an order that virtue has been said to be its own reward. This satisfaction is inseparable from the virtue, it can be had only through that, but from the very nature of love it can not be its motive. What conscience or the moral law has to do with this will be shown further on.

But while every thing that can be called *a* good is, as we have seen, from the sensibility, the sources and quality of good are so different that its kinds need classification. Good differs, in the first

place, as it is derived from impressions made upon us from without ; or from activities that originate within. There is also an intermediate kind, as from a fine landscape or picture, in which there must be the action of a cultured intellect with comprehension, combined with impressions from without. Good wholly from impressions from without is sensual ; that partly from such impressions is sensuous ; and that wholly from activity that originates within is determined in its quality by the principle from which the will acts. If it act from a selfish ambition, the quality of the good will be low ; if from love to God and man, it will be angelic.

We next need to know what the active principles are from which the will may act, and their relation to each other. This is beaten ground. Still, it is but recently that an attempt has been made at the classification of them on a scientific basis as higher and lower. Till they shall be thus classified we can not have a complete system of moral science. The principle on which this is to be done is the same as that on which we classify the great forces of nature and the human faculties throughout—the principle of the conditioning and the conditioned. If a force in nature or a principle of action in man be a condition for any other, it is lower than that.¹

In accordance with the above, we find that the appetites, as the condition of the support of life and of growth, must be the lowest of all. The instincts are sometimes supposed to be lower, but as supplementing the appetites they are conditioned upon them. The instinct by which the calf when it is dropped is directed to the udder of its mother presupposes, and is conditioned upon, an appetite for food. Not that all instincts are related to appetite, but so far as they are, they are conditioned upon it ; and that gives us our principle of classification.

We next come to the desires, as of life, of property, of knowledge, of power, and of esteem. For these desires as a class, our principle of classification holds beyond question. Does it also hold among the desires themselves? That it should is less important, and perhaps may be doubted, but it seems to hold in a general way. Life is the condition of all other desires. The having of something, not property in the sense of accumulation, is the condition of gaining knowledge. Life, property, and knowledge are the conditions of gaining power, and all these, if not necessary condi-

¹ See "Outline Study of Man," p. 14.

tions, may be made adjuvants in gaining esteem. Originating in connection with these desires, and acting with them, we have the secondary and more general desires of liberty, of society, and of good. These I speak of as secondary, because they could be conceived of only through the action of the others.

It has not occurred to those who have treated of the springs of action, or the active powers, as they have been called, to include rights among them. That they are 'among our most powerful springs of action can not be questioned. Nothing excites stronger feeling than the violation of a right. Men fight for their rights, and these are the only things they feel justified in fighting for. That rights have not been included among the springs of action may have arisen from its not having been noticed that the idea of rights can originate only from the action of conscience in combination with that of some impulsive principle. But so it is. It will be found that for every original principle there is a corresponding right. Man has, for example, an original desire for property; he has also the right of property, and the idea of this right is originated by the combined action of the desire and of conscience. No man can be prevented from legitimately carrying out a natural principle of action without having the idea of a right, and of a right violated. Hence, rights having in them the element of desire are springs of action; and having also the element of conscience, the action becomes intensified and ennobled. We therefore put down as springs of action next above the desires, those rights that spring from the desires, as the right of life, of property, of education, of power, that is freedom, and of reputation.

We next reach the natural affections. These differ wholly from the desires, because the desires appropriate and have self for their centre, while the affections have others for their object and go out from self as a centre. These involve the element of desire, but it is desire for the good of another; and that they are conditioned upon the desires is plain, because there can be no giving if there has not been first a receiving. The natural affections have a wide range, and, as impulsive, we share them with the lower animals. As the element of desire enters into the natural affections, the rights from them need not be distinguished from those already mentioned.

The next principle in order is rational self-love. This has for its object our own good. In common with the principles of action already mentioned, this involves an instinctive tendency, and, in

addition, a rational apprehension of the good as valuable in itself, together with a comparison of the means of attaining it. In the lower principles of action there is a direct correspondence between the principle and its object, and so no comparison. Here there is comparison, and, if self-love be true to its own function, a choice of that which is highest and best for us. This gives us from the principle itself of self-love, in addition to the good from the active principle adopted, a rational satisfaction and sense of dignity in securing our own highest good. This we have, because there is in self-love and in securing our highest good both rational activity and dignity.

This is a different account of self-love from that given by Bishop Butler and Dr. Wayland. They both class self-love with the active principles, but say that we never act from it, and that it gives us no enjoyment. They say that it consists in a comparison of the different active principles and the choice of that which we think would be most for our good, and that then all activity and all satisfaction are from the principle thus chosen. Hence the estimate placed upon activity from self-love has been inadequate. When a being comes to have a rational self, there is involved in that the activity of reason and conscience and the moral affections, and a conception of the highest good that is possible for a rational and moral being of a given capacity. It is this good that is the proper object of self-love. It is a high and ineffable good, and the pursuit of it is as much a duty as the pursuit of the good of our neighbor. Why not? God estimates the good as highly. He is as desirous it should be attained, and has intrusted the attainment of it especially to us. Indeed, if not attained by us, it can not be attained at all, and so the duty becomes imperative. But, as I have said, there is in the choice and pursuit of such a good a consciousness of dignity and worthiness wholly apart from any good that may come from the activity of any particular desire or affection.

The above needs attention from the tendency there is just now in certain writers to confound self-love with selfishness, or, if that be not done, to disparage efforts for our own good as compared with those for the good of others. Such efforts are not to be degraded from the high plane of duty. This confounding of self-love with selfishness is not due solely to a defective analysis, but also, and largely, to the failure of self-love in its proper function. Almost universally self-love has adopted some principle lower than the highest, consequently an inferior good, thus losing the good appro-

priate to its own action, and involving the certainty of selfishness in relation to others. Indeed, the choice of such inferior principle of action as supreme, and of such inferior good, is itself selfishness. No man can do it and give God and duty and his fellow-creatures their proper place.

With this higher estimate of self-love, we inquire for the principle that should be placed next above it. According to Bishop Butler, this is conscience. "Reasonable self-love," says he, "and conscience are the chief or superior principles in the nature of man."¹ With this Dr. Wayland agrees. That this classification should have been adopted by these eminent men seems surprising, since they both recognize benevolence, or love, as a principle of action, and seem to make it pre-eminent. Bishop Butler says, "From hence it is manifest that the common virtues and the common vices of mankind may be traced up to benevolence, or the want of it."² He also makes, in different places, the distinction between benevolence as a sentiment and as a principle. Dr. Wayland also says, "The Scriptures declare that the whole moral law is contained in the single word love," and he deduces practical morality largely from that.

This failure to place benevolence among the higher and rational principles of action may, perhaps, be accounted for from the fact that benevolence is a sentiment as well as a principle, and that it was formerly regarded, and still is by some, chiefly as a sentiment. As a sentiment it has its place, of course, among the impulsive powers. But between natural affection, or any mere sentiment that may be called benevolence, and the principle that has unfortunately been called by the same name there is a difference in kind, and they can not be too carefully distinguished. From the want of care at this point there have been differences between individuals and between sections of the church, and there have been controversies and long articles in consequence. Some, and the New England divines more generally, have regarded benevolence as identical with the love commanded in the Scriptures, and which is said to be the fulfilling of the law. Hence they have made benevolence include all the virtues. Others, and more generally those further south, have regarded benevolence as a sentiment, and hence, in part at least, could not accept that doctrine. A man so eminent as Dr. Archibald Alexander says, "No doubt much that

¹ Twelfth Sermon at the Rolls.

² Third Sermon at the Rolls.

deserves the name of virtue consists in good-will to others and in contributing to their welfare ; but it is not correct to confine all virtuous action to the exercise of benevolence. We can conceive of benevolence in a being who has no moral constitution. Something of this kind is observable in brute animals.”¹ Here “good-will” is, indeed, spoken of, but the preponderating element is plainly that which the brutes may share with us, and so a sentiment ; and it is easy to see that persons so regarding benevolence, and those excluding sentiment altogether, or at least making it consist wholly in rational choice, might seem to differ fundamentally when they were really in accord.

To avoid an ambiguity thus mischievous, I prefer the scriptural term love, qualifying it when necessary by the terms moral and rational—moral, as that which is commanded by the moral nature ; and rational, as that which reason recognizes as highest in itself, and as having for its object the highest possible good. Of this love the central element is choice—the choice of the good of others for the sake of that good. If it be not for the sake of that, it is not disinterested, it is not love. This choice is to be made in view of the capabilities or worth and the liabilities of others, without reference to their moral character, or to their relation to us as friends or enemies. In no other way can we understand the command of Christ to love our enemies ; in no other way can we follow his example. Here is no sentiment, no impulse from behind, but an apprehension of reasons placed before us. It involves the will, and if it do not so involve it that impartial efforts would be made for the good of others as for our own, it is not the love which our moral nature demands and which the Scriptures require as the fulfilling of the law.

Whether such a love or benevolence as this includes all the virtues is a fair question, and the only one that can be discussed with a satisfactory result. On this question Bishop Butler may be so quoted as to say Yes, and No. He has almost, if not quite, uniformly been made to say No, but he really says Yes ; and as his authority is of such weight, it may be well to show this. In his essay on the nature of virtue, he says, as quoted by Dr. Alexander, (“Moral Science,” p. 166), “Without inquiring how far and in what sense virtue is resolvable into benevolence, and vice into the want of it, it may be proper to observe that benevolence and the want of

it, singly considered, are in no sort the whole of virtue and vice." Here he says No. On the other hand, in his sermon on the love of our neighbor, he says, "It is manifest that nothing can be of consequence to mankind or any creature but happiness. This, then, is all that any person can, in strictness of speaking, be said to have a right to. We can therefore owe no man any thing but only to further and promote his happiness according to our abilities. And therefore a disposition and endeavor to do good to all with whom we have to do, in the degree and manner in which the relations we stand in to them require, is a discharge of all the obligations we are under to them." Again, and in addition to a passage already quoted that would apply here, he says more fully, "It might be added that, in a higher and more general way of consideration, leaving out the particular nature of creatures and the particular circumstances in which they are placed, benevolence seems in the strictest sense to include in it all that is good and worthy: all that is good which we have any distinct, particular notion of. We have no clear conception of any positive moral attribute in the Supreme Being but what may be resolved up into goodness." Here the bishop says Yes quite as distinctly as he had before said No. He then goes on to speak of benevolence as entering into our love of God. This some are slow to accept. He says, "That which we call piety, or the love of God, and which is an essential part of a right temper, some may perhaps imagine no way connected with benevolence; yet surely they must be connected if there be indeed in being an object infinitely good." He then proceeds to give his theory of the mode of this connection.

This contrariety of statement by Bishop Butler is explained by his view of the necessity of the specific moral sentiments to supplement ignorance. Ignorant of consequences, man needs a more immediate guide than a regard to them could be, and hence is wisely so constituted as to approve immediately of certain qualities, as justice and veracity, for their own sake. Hence it would be virtuous for such a being as man to act from these without regard to consequences, and yet he would hold, as quoted above, that all such virtues might be traced up to benevolence, or moral love, in such a way that that would really be the only thing that conscience would approve.

Resolving thus, as Butler evidently would in a perfect being, all the virtues into love, it was a mistake fatal to any system of morality, as a system, not to include it among the rational and governing

powers. That he did not do this is the more surprising when we find him saying, in the sermon quoted above, "Thus, when benevolence is said to be the sum of virtue, it is not spoken of as a blind propension, but as a principle in reasonable creatures, and so to be directed by their reason; for reason and reflection come into our notion of a moral agent." Even this passage, however, shows an inadequate conception of the nature of benevolence if it is to be identified with the love commanded in the Scriptures, and is quite compatible with his classing it as a particular passion with ambition and revenge, as he does when he says, in his eleventh sermon at the Rolls, "All that is here insisted on is that ambition, revenge, benevolence, all particular passions whatever, and the actions they produce, are equally interested or disinterested." A rational choice of the good of others for its own sake, and an impartial devotement of ourselves to the promotion of that good, is disinterested in the only sense in which that word can have any meaning, and is wholly different from any particular affection, whether acting by itself or under the direction of reason.

But if all the virtues may be resolved into love, and legitimate self-love is, as has been said, a virtue, why may not that be resolved into love, thus giving us but one governing principle? In the highest generalization, defining love to be the choice of the good of conscious being, impartially and for its own sake, a regard for our own good equally with that of any other of our fellow-creatures would be included. Still, since each one has, as Butler remarks, appetites, passions, temptations, interests that can not be shared by others, and since each one is by necessity entrusted in a peculiar manner to himself, it is better, for practical purposes at least, to make self-love a principle by itself.

THE FUTURE OF THE ERIE CANAL.

IT has been stated that the Erie Canal, which was once a controlling power in the commerce of New York State, is now in the condition of "decadence." A rival of superior power has appeared in the railroad, and the canal is no longer able to maintain its ascendancy. The instrument that has been so potent in giving New York City its commercial importance is passing away.

The great rival to the canal began to be considered [as a means of general transportation about fifty years ago. At first it was considered necessary to transmit the power of a locomotive engine to a train of cars by means of a rack and pinion or cog-wheels. This method was actually put in operation and worked several years in England. Other methods were devised, all of which failed to make the locomotive a fit power for general traffic. About 1820 it was suggested the power of the locomotive could be applied through the adhesion of the wheels to the rail; on this principle the Stockton and Darlington Railway was opened for traffic—mostly coal. In the first edition of his treatise on railways, Mr. Wood gave experiments made by himself and others as to the efficiency and extent this medium of transmission could be depended on. Considering the average state of the rails, Mr. Wood gave it as his opinion that $\frac{1}{5}$ of the weight on the driving-wheels was all it was safe to assume, in providing power to meet all conditions of the rails. In 1827, the experiments with locomotives on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway showed this medium was greater than Mr. Wood had supposed. In my report to the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, in 1827, on the Carbondale Railway, I ventured to assume this ratio as 1 in 17 ($\frac{1}{17}$) as a basis of tractile power. In 1848, in my report on the Hudson River Railroad, I stated it as 1 to 8 ($\frac{1}{8}$) as the result of experience up to that time. At the present time it is generally considered as equal $\frac{1}{6}$ of the insistant weight on the driving-wheels. It is seen this established feature has not been suddenly invented; it has been discovered in the progress of railway experience, developed by the operations of railways, and has come to its present

maturity by slow degrees. To the appropriate limit of the weight on the driving-wheels, this medium of transmitting the tractile power of a locomotive to haul a train of cars on a railway is the most economical and full consumption of power known in the history of steam as a moving power. It is well known there is no difficulty in constructing a locomotive to work fully up to the adhesion of its driving-wheels.

I fully concur with Mr. John G. Stevens in what he says in a recent article¹ of the improvements that have been made in the rail track and machinery, but I consider these have mostly grown out of the development of the essential fact of the adhesion of the locomotive wheels to the rail. It is this fact that has opened up and established the economy of railway transport. It is not material what kind of body or vehicle is to be moved; the efficiency of the tractile force is the same, it being provided the locomotive has a rail on which it can move. The use I propose to make of this principle of adhesion will appear on a later page.

Mr. Stevens gives specimens or statistics of the cost of transportation on railways and on canals. On page 121 of *Scribner's* (November number) Mr. Stevens says: "In 1875, on the trunk lines, the rate averaged about eight mills, and in 1876 only six, the Pennsylvania road reporting under six, and the Philadelphia and Erie at five, the New York Central being stated at seven, and the Lake Shore at five and a half. . . . It will be remembered, moreover, that the above applies to the whole tonnage, both through and local, and that the former cost less to move than the latter. . . . It is the opinion of the managers of the New York Central and the Pennsylvania railroads, that the net cost of through freight will not exceed four (4) mills. For the purposes of comparison with the expense by canal, it will be safer, however, to make no deduction on this account, but take the rate of six mills as the cost of through tonnage. In the computation of canal expense, as given below, the interest on the boats is included. It is therefore proper, in making a statement of comparative cost of the two modes, to make an allowance for the interest on railroad equipments; a rate of half a mill will cover this, thus making the total railroad expense six and a half mills." This six and a half mills per ton per mile makes no provision for capital invested, except for the running machinery. After discussing incidental advantages by rail, Mr. Stevens proceeds to

¹ *Scribner's Magazine*, November, 1877.

examine the cost of canal freights, and states the rates in years long gone by, and then comes down to the period from 1870 to 1876. He says, "From this experience the rule under present conditions would be five and a half mills. . . . If the prices of labor and materials should continue to fall, the rate might possibly be placed at five and a quarter mills. This is, however, a minimum, and it is doubtful if it could attract the capital necessary for the construction of new boats." Of course, if freights do not pay, the navigation will be abandoned. Mr. Stevens goes on to ascertain how much must be added to current expenses of the boatmen to pay for the maintenance of canal repairs. For this he adds one and a half mills to canal freights, making the total of "six and three quarter mills by canal, as compared with six and a half by rail." In this, I suppose, Mr. Stevens, though he does not state it, includes repairs of railroads in current expenses. We have, then, canal freights at six and three quarter mills, and railroad freights at six and a half mills, as including all expenses except interest on capital invested in the railroad and canal, other than the boats and machinery.¹

¹ The State Engineer (John D. Van Buren), in his report for 1877, gives a detailed statement of the cost of canal freights. In this report (1877, at page 42) he presents the following statement, on boats towed by animal power :

"Estimate of the cost of transporting wheat from Buffalo to New York on Erie Canal, with animal power ; season, 210 days ; number of trips per year, seven, or thirty days per trip.

Investment.

Cost of boat to carry 230 tons of cargo.....	\$4,000 00
" horses, 4 @ \$125.....	500 00
" harness, 4 sets @ \$15.....	60 00
Total investment.....	<u>\$4,560 00</u>

Annual Expenses.

Interest on investment @ 7 per cent.....	\$319 20
Reserved fund to replace boat in 10 years.....	289 60
Repairs of boat, 8 per cent of cost.....	320 00
Insurance on boat.....	20 00
	<u>————— \$948 80</u>

Crew, including Board.

1 captain	\$90 00
1 steersman.....	20 00
2 drivers @ \$12.....	24 00
1 cook.....	10 00
	—————\$144 00
	× 7 trips.....\$1,008 00

It will be noticed the State Engineer, in the statement below, includes both canal and river expenses. In order to compare with canal, it will be necessary to inquire how much is chargeable to river expenses.

The State Engineer (Van Buren) remarks, that he considers the above estimate as a maximum of economy, and rather more than can be relied upon as a basis of average economy. It is therefore evident it must be taken with some allowance. The statement includes the use of boats and expenses of crew from the time they enter the river until their return to the canal. What this time exactly is, I do not see stated; though the whole time for a round trip on both canal and river is stated at 30 days. The time of passage from Buffalo to Troy is given at $10\frac{1}{2}$ days, and the return passage at two miles per hour equals $7\frac{1}{6}$ days, which together is, say, $17\frac{1}{2}$ days. If 3 days be allowed as time required in harbor at Buffalo (which is probably sufficient), we have $9\frac{1}{2}$ days left for the boat on the river.¹

Keep of horses, including shoeing, $4 \times 25 \times 7$ months, }	\$900 00
“ “ “ “ $4 \times 10 \times 5$ “ }	
Reserve fund to replace horses in 6 years.....	69 90
	<hr/> 969 90
River and harbor towage, 60×7 trips.....	420 00
Commissions, 25×7 trips.....	175 00
Insurance on cargo, 35×7 trips. ¹	245 00
Wharfage and incidentals, 7×7 trips.....	49 00
	<hr/> \$3,815 70
Tons transported eastward, $230 \times 7 = 1,610.00$ }	
“ “ westward, $57.5 \times 7 = 402.50$ }	2,012.50
	<hr/>
Cost per ton moved from Buffalo to New York, 495 miles.....	\$1,896 00
Cost per ton per mile from Buffalo to New York.....	3.83 mills.”
¹ The rent of boat and expense of crew (deduced from State Engineer's report) is \$8.42 per day $\times 9\frac{1}{2}$ days.....	\$79 99
Certain terminal expenses should be charged according to mileage on canal and river portion of the route, of which—	
Commissions on cargo.....	\$25 00
Insurance on cargo.....	35 00
Wharfage and incidentals.....	7 00
For a total distance of 495 miles.....	<hr/> \$67 00
As 495 is to 67, so is 150 to.....	\$20 30
To which add river and harbor towage.....	60 00
	<hr/> 80 30
Total for deduction.....	<hr/> \$160 29
Total cost by State Engineer's estimate.....	\$3,815 70
$\$3,815.70 \div 7 = \545.10 per trip.	
$\$545.10$, less river portion $\$160.29 = \384.81 .	
Remains for canal portion, say, $\$384.81$.	

It is proper to mention the State Engineer regards his estimate as the minimum cost of freight, and that the average would be something more. As he takes a basis from the examination of the arrival at Troy from Buffalo of seventy-two (72) consecutive loaded boats, there does not seem ground for any material errors; but not to overstate the question, I add 10 per cent to his estimate—then we have $5.55 + \frac{1}{10} = 6.10$ mills per ton per mile as the cost of canal freight, including repairs of canal. This is about .65 mills below the estimate of Mr. Stevens for canal freights. As he states, the cost by rail is 6.50 mills, and by canal 6.75 mills. I show above, by canal, 6.10 mills.

The comparison shows that the approximation is very close, and either method can afford to neglect the most careful application of its means of economy. Both cases illustrate the great progress made in the means of transportation.

There was a time when it was said a horse would draw one ton on a good turnpike road, ten tons on a railway, and thirty tons on a canal. Now this rule is greatly changed to the benefit of railways. How is this? It has come about by the discovery of means to apply steam-power to the railways, while the canal has been left dependent on horses. Take away the steam, and substitute horse-power on the railway, and the canal would still maintain its eminence. Mr. Stevens does not admit the practicability of using steam on the canal, unless it can be adapted to vessels of about 100 tons. I shall endeavor to show that steam can be used with economy in towing canal-boats, and that its application will be on the same principle as is adopted to tow a train of cars.

A locomotive steam-engine on a rail is well known to have large tractile power that can be appropriated to haul a train of cars. If this tractile power is applied to a boat in a canal, it will be exerted with essentially the same efficiency as though it were attached to a

Tons carried in round trips, per State Engineer, 287.50—230 tons east and 57.50 west. It is not supposed the west-bound was for the whole distance. I have no means of being exact on this point. As the shorter of the west-bound freights are now wholly carried by rail, I estimate this west-bound freight at 75 per cent of distance. $57.5 \times .75$ is 43.13, and this will make tons east and west aggregate 273.12 tons. Now $384.81 + 273.12 = \$1.40$ per ton carried.

Cost per ton per mile, $\$1.40 + 345 \dots \dots \dots 4.05$ mills.
Add Mr. Stevens for maintenance of canal (which I do not admit, as I shall

notice hereafter) at $1\frac{1}{2}$ mills. $\dots \dots \dots 1.50$ “

Cost per ton per mile, including repairs of canal. $\dots \dots \dots 5.55$ “

train of cars on the railway. The only drawback in the case of the canal is the loss by the slight angle of the towing medium, or tow-line, that is required from the necessity of laying the track for the locomotive on the bank of the canal. This loss is said to be about four per cent, and is the same for an engine as for a horse on the towing-path.

There is an impression in the minds of some men that there is some peculiar difficulty in applying the power of a locomotive steam-engine to the towing of a canal-boat.

When the Liverpool and Manchester Railway Company applied for a charter, there was great doubt and skepticism as to the possibility of so using the medium of the adhesion of the wheels as to effect the economical transportation of freight. These doubts are now wholly removed. Those who now doubt the possibility of applying the same tractile power to tow a boat, will as surely have their doubts removed when the plan is put in operation. The main cause of these doubts arises from the fact that the boat must move at comparatively slow speed. But this in no way affects the well-known power of the locomotive to exert its traction on any body that is to be moved, whether a boat in the water or a train of cars on a railway. Boats are moved through water by the tractile power of the steam-tug, worked by a screw, which is a far less effective application in tractile force than by the locomotive through the adhesion of its driving-wheels to the rail.

The only peculiarity is, the locomotive must be adapted to a lower rate of speed. The driving-wheels, instead of being four or five feet diameter, as used on the railway, will be for a boat little more than half this size. It is quite practicable that such a locomotive will work off its power in towing a fleet of boats with as much economy as it can be worked on a rail. On the rail it will move at higher speed—perhaps four times as great; but the fleet of boats will carry four or five times the tonnage. No man familiar with mechanical power can fail to see that the locomotive exerts its tractile power just as efficiently in towing a fleet of boats as in towing a train of cars. The only difference is, in the case of the fleet it must be adapted to a slower motion than is expedient on the railway train.

POWER REQUIRED FOR TRACTION.

The first point is to ascertain the resistance of a boat moving at a certain velocity, or the tractile power required. To determine

On this question, the State Engineer (Van Buren) had a series of experiments made on canal-boats moved at different velocities. The results are given at page 58 in his recent report. I regard it as very creditable that the State Engineer has given so full an examination to determine the resistance of boats moving on the canal.

In his table opposite page 58, the tractile power to move a loaded boat 2.45 miles per hour, and allowing for current 2.68 miles per hour, required a traction of 543 lbs. It may therefore be taken, from this experiment shows, that for a boat making $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles per hour, 543 lbs. is the traction required.

It is proper to remark, the table referred to does not conform to the theoretic power due to speed; for, in a case of a similar boat at 2.79 miles per hour, the power of traction was 316 lbs. The latter being a slower speed, is more likely to be correct. The case is—as 2.79^2 is to 316, so is 2.50^2 to 617 lbs., the traction that should have been indicated. It is, therefore, prudent to take the last as basis for traction.

By the same table, it appears that boats towed by a steam-tug have a greater resistance at same velocity, than was found when towed by horses. This the State Engineer accounts for as arising from the counter-current caused by the steamer; this counter-current meeting the boat, and thereby increasing the resistance. As a floating tug is to be used in the case of towing by a locomotive on the rail, there is no necessity of considering this aspect of the experiment.

EXPERIMENTS IN FLEETS.

At page 53, same report, the State Engineer says: "The boats being fastened in pairs close together, one ahead of the other, the total resistance is much less than for two single or separate boats; and besides, the number of the crew can be very much reduced below what is required for two such boats." . . . "It is evident that most of the advantages of an enlarged boat are secured by coupling two ordinary boats in this manner; both boats can be steered by one wheel, and can pass sharp curves with the same ease as single boats." The economy of towing a fleet in line is further demonstrated by same table of experiments by State Engineer, as may be seen in his remarks on page 58, as to the results of tractile economy of two coupled boats as compared with single. He finds 700 lbs. by single boats and 1900 lbs. by coupled boats, or the

coupled boats are 70 per cent of the single. This reduced, will make the power for the boat in fleet $617 \times .70 = 432$ lbs.

It is therefore abundantly evident that a large gain in the economy of traction is obtained by towing in a fleet. But as I wish to be quite on the safe side, I shall take this at an average between the traction of single and a fleet, which is 525 lbs. To assume five boats in the fleet will require a tractile power of $525 \times 5 = 2625$ lbs.

POWER REQUIRED IN LOCOMOTIVE.

It has been stated that one sixth of the weight on driving-wheels may be relied on for the tractile power of a locomotive engine on a rail. If this be taken at 20,000 lbs. (a moderate locomotive) it gives 3333 lbs. tractile power. Deduct for angle of tow-lines 4 per cent, and we have 3200 lbs. as effective power for towing boats, or a surplus of 575 lbs.; sufficient for an additional boat, or for a fleet of six boats. That such an engine will tow five loaded boats $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles per hour, can not be doubted by any man familiar with this class of power.

A RAILWAY NECESSARY.

In order to apply the locomotive most efficiently to the towing of boats on the canal, it is necessary to have a railroad on each bank. It is not sufficient to lay a rail on one bank, as this would not allow convenient passage of fleets past each other, when moving in opposite directions. I will not take the space necessary to explain this, as I think it will be obvious. A track must be laid on each bank. The distance for this, from Buffalo to the lower Mohawk aqueduct, is 340 miles. The remaining distance to tide-water at Troy (five miles) has too many locks to allow economy in towing in fleet, and animal power must be used.

A railway on each bank of course will require $340 \times 2 = 680$ miles of rail. Add to this for side tracks, 100 miles. Total, 780 miles of rail track.

ESTIMATE FOR RAIL.

Gauge of track, 3 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet. For this object a 50-lb. iron rail of good quality would be sufficient for this purpose. To prepare the rail bed, the canal banks must all be brought to their full height.

The bed may be prepared and track laid down	
on the 780 miles for about.....	\$5,000,000
100 locomotives of the class required.....	600,000
Shop accommodations.....	500,000
Telegraph line.....	70,000
Draw-bridges at towns.....	100,000
	<hr/>
	\$6,270,000
Add for contingencies and superintendence, 20	
per cent.....	1,254,000
	<hr/>
	\$7,524,000
Interest on $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions at 7 per cent is	\$525,000.

BOAT MILEAGE.

In the year 1877 there were cleared from Buffalo 6938 boats. The same number may be taken as returning, making boat clearances of 13,876. No doubt the way boats would make the total clearances considerably over 14,000 boats, or a boat mileage of $14,000 \times 345 = 4,830,000$ boat mileage. With the increase of traffic by the introduction of steam power, this may be assumed at 5,000,000 boat mileage.

A locomotive of power to tow five canal-boats at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles per hour will cost for current expenses, including repairs of track, about \$18 per day, or 6 cents per mile, per boat. To this must be added a sum sufficient to pay interest on cost of investment. As before stated, this will be \$525,000 per year. As this railway may do considerable business with the local traffic, and especially during the suspension of navigation, I estimate that at least one half of this interest will be provided for from the local traffic. There is then \$262,500 that must be obtained from the profits of towing boats. I shall say more about this local traffic on another page.¹

¹ \$262,500 divided by 6,000,000 miles = 4.38 cents per mile. This added to current expenses of locomotive (6 cents) is, say, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents per mile for towage.

In the report before referred to of the State Engineer, the estimate for this by animal power is :

For keeping and shoeing horses and renewal of horses.....	\$969 90
Wages of two drivers, $24 \times 7 =$	168 00
	<hr/>
Total for the season....	<u>\$1,137 90</u>

CONDITION OF THE LOCAL TRAFFIC.

Since the enlarged boats have been put on the canal, it has been found that way towns have not been able to support their independent lines, as when smaller boats were used. In consequence of this, there are but few towns that can maintain a local line of boats. This renders it difficult for them to obtain freight without unsatisfactory delay. In this town (Rome) the produce of the country was formerly sent by canal, and now almost wholly by rail. Boats from the west come usually loaded, and have no room for local freight. The delay and extra charge in obtaining boats for this

\$1,137.90 divided by seven trips, each trip is.....	\$162 55
\$162.55 divided by 690 miles (round trip), is.....	cents per mile 23 22
Add to this estimate, as before, 10 per cent.....	" 2 33
Total towing by animal power.....	cents per mile 25 55
Towage by animal power, per mile, is.....	25 55
" " locomotive power, per mile, is.....	10 50
Saving by locomotive, per mile, is.....	15 05

Time of fleet per trip at $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles per hour. To this must be added the time required to pass the locks by a fleet of five boats. At Lockport there are five combined locks. The several boats will successively follow each other in the locks, and the whole may be passed in one hundred minutes. A single lock may be passed in ten minutes, and for five boats, fifty minutes. On the section there are forty-nine single locks..... 2,450 minutes.

The Lockport combined..... 100 "

Total time..... 2,550 "

(when it occurs that two locks are near together, the passage may be expedited by the aid of a horse), or total time of lockage..... 43 hours.

340 miles, at $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles per hour, is (total from Buffalo to Aqueduct).. 136 "

Total time from Buffalo to Upper Aqueduct..... 7.44 days.

From Aqueduct to Troy there are eighteen locks on a distance of five miles that must be towed by horses. Time to pass these locks, 180 minutes.

To Troy is five miles, but as a portion of the boats go to Albany, I take this as equal to an average of eight miles. This at one mile per hour is 8 hours—together with lockage, 11 hours for this section by horses, $7.44 + .46 = 7.90$ days.

For the down trips, say..... 7.90 days.

The return trip, $\frac{1}{4}$ load, by locomotive at four miles per hour, is

$340 \times 4 =$ days..... 3.10

Lockage same as loaded, days..... 1.80

Section Lower Aqueduct to Troy, same as time for loaded boat... 46 5.36 "

Total time for round trip..... 13.26 "

purpose has thrown nearly all the east-bound freight to the rail. West-bound boats are but partially loaded, and take more or less of local freight. But unless this is offered in large lots, the boats do not like to submit to the delay it causes, and therefore their charges are near the rail rate; and this, with the delay that often occurs, induces shippers to pay higher rates by rail, and abandon the canal. At certain points this local traffic has the competition of two railways, that enables it to obtain favorable rail freights;

Time by Horse-Power.

Report by State Engineer before referred to :

The down time is stated to be.....	10.08 days.
Return at 2 miles per hour, Troy to Buffalo.....	7.18 "

Total time for round trip.....	17.26 "
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7.26 less 13.26 shows time saved.....	4 "
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The expense of crew, and investment on boat, we have seen from State Engineer's report, is, per day.....	\$8 42
--	--------

Add, as before noticed, to this estimate 10 per cent.....	84
---	----

\$9 26

We have shown the cost by horse-power for towing is 25.55 cents per mile—

690 miles.....	\$176 29
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By locomotives, 680 miles, by, say, 10.50 cents.....	71 40
--	-------

8 miles by horses at 30 cents.....	2 40
	<u>73 80</u>

Saved by locomotive towing.....	\$102 49
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The 4 days' time of crew and boat saved, at \$9.26 per day, is.....	37 04
---	-------

4 days' time saved, and per round trip.....	139 53
---	--------

I have shown from the report of State Engineer (Van Buren) the cost of a round trip between Buffalo and Troy, after adding 10 per cent to his estimate, is \$384.81 + $\frac{1}{10}$ equal.....	423 29
---	--------

I have shown there would be a saving from this by the use of locomotive steam for towage, and time of crew, and rent of boat, of.....	139 53
---	--------

Reducing cost of round trip to.....	<u>\$283 76</u>
-------------------------------------	-----------------

Cost per ton carried	<u>\$1 03</u>
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" " mile.....	3.00 mills.
---------------	-------------

Add Mr. Stevens's estimate for repairing canal.....	<u>1.50 "</u>
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Total by canal.....	<u>4.50 "</u>
---------------------	---------------

Mr. Stevens puts the same cost by rail.....	6.50 "
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It will justly be claimed the rail will have the greatest expedition, and this will influence freight more or less. On the lighter and more valuable class of freight this will be considerable, and give the rail corresponding advantage; but the great bulk of freight requires economy, and when the time of transit is so nearly even, as it would be if steam was used in the way proposed for towing, no material advance in freight would be paid to secure it, and the cheapest method would control

but for the large portion there is no restriction, and charges are based, not on what the freights should be, under the great improvement in railway transport, but at such rates as the traffic may be made to pay.

The local district between Albany and Buffalo is rich and populous, and has a large local traffic, which it is at present important to provide for on such terms as it has a right to expect from the improved facilities of railways. The canal railway should be restricted in its charges, and by local trains provide for a want now greatly felt. In addition to this, it would be of large benefit during the suspension of navigation, giving great uniformity in charges during the entire year. From what is now claimed by railway managers, local freights should not exceed $1\frac{1}{4}$ cents per ton per mile, with the privilege of 20 cents per ton for loading and unloading freight carried less than fifty miles. This is the only measure by which the local traffic can be provided for. While the canal rail would confer a great benefit on this local traffic, it will provide income to pay one half the interest on the capital required, leaving so much less chargeable to the duty of towing boats. The result will work a double economy, as will be obvious to any one conversant with the subject. In this I make no complaint of the existing railway. The managers, as usual in such cases, do not look to the public interest, except so far as they may promote their own. But the public interest demands the canal railway as a means of sustaining the canal, which it has constructed at great cost; and no one has the right to say the State shall not provide for and fortify its own work.

Coupling the local traffic with the canal railway is a legitimate measure, as it reduces the charge for towing the boats, and thereby cheapens canal expenses in transportation.

It has been seen that I have adopted in the preceding computations the estimate of Mr. Stevens for maintenance of canal, as $1\frac{1}{2}$ mills per ton per mile. In view of the past history of canal repairs, I can not complain or question his estimate. In the opinion of intelligent men, the expenses for canal repairs have been largely in excess of what they should be. For the year 1877 a considerable reduction has been made, and the Auditor of the Canal Department has estimated the expenses of canal repairs in the future at \$1,162,707. I do not know what portion he appropriates to the Erie Canal, but I infer about \$900,000. This would be about one mill per mile, on the tonnage of 1877. The system of administra-

tion is now changed, and a responsible head is placed in charge of canal repairs, and it is believed the old political method will no longer prevail and affairs will be conducted on business principles, and the canal relieved from the support of dependents on political leaders. This, if realized, as we hope, will be a revival of old times in canal management, and will show the auditor's estimate at least double what is necessary. I have not space for detail on this point, but from large experience in such work I make the above statement. If this be realized, the cost of maintenance of canal, applied to the tonnage of 1877, would be one half of one mill per ton per mile. While this result should be expected, I do not change my basis of comparison, for the reason, this is not an element to determine the relative economy of towing by horse or steam.

An objection is raised to steam towing as an interference with the use of horses. The boatman employs horses because he has no other power at his command. It is not reasonable to suppose he would prefer horses, if he could be towed by steam at half the cost of horses. The railway locomotive will surely supersede horses in towing boats, and no more horses will be wanted for such purposes. When the canal railway is once established, there will be no more demand for horses to tow boats, than to tow a train of cars on the railways.

A further objection is made, "that it will give a monopoly" to the canal railway in towing boats. It is not supposed such a company would be allowed without proper restriction, and would be placed under the control and supervision of the Canal Superintendent and Canal Board. Such a corporation would have no other connection with the boats than to tow them, and this at a fixed rate per mile, and a speed determined by the Canal Superintendent. All classes of business would easily be accommodated—through fleets, and local fleets to take up all the local boats and rafts of timber. The latter would move at times with one boat, at others with six or eight, as the local traffic should demand. The local fleets would sometimes move slower than the through fleets.

A still further objection is urged—"that though the rates are fixed, the company would obtain alterations, and in the end there would be two great monopolies instead of one." In pressing this objection it is said: "The Central was originally restricted, and not allowed to carry freight at all; and now they have got all the restrictions removed, and are unrestrained in their charges." No

doubt this is history. The Central Railroad got these restrictions removed when there was no apprehension the railroad could interfere with the canal in the great bulk of freight, and the plea was, that the light freights and such as demanded expedition should be allowed to go by rail for the benefit of the public. There was hardly a dream that the railroad would absorb most of the local, and become a formidable competitor for the through traffic! And so all restrictions were taken off, in the belief it was for the public interest. Can any one believe that if the people could have anticipated the extent to which they would feel the power of the railroad, they would have consented to such power without a restriction as to rate of charges? I think not; and I adduce conclusive evidence of this in the matter of passenger rates. The Legislature established passenger rates, which at the time were regarded as very low; and these were accepted by the railroad in order to secure other legislation. Now it is well-known the Central Railroad has subsequently made vigorous efforts to have this restriction removed or amended, but has not succeeded. The restriction remains, and so would have remained a restriction on freight had similar circumstances existed. The question of freight has been greatly changed, and the local interest is deprived of the benefit of the improved power of railroads, that would now be secured to it if a new railway charter were asked for.

The statements of this paper show, that in the use of steam by locomotive engines in towing canal-boats I reduce the cost of a round trip between Buffalo and Troy from \$423.29 to \$283.76, or a reduction of 34 per cent, or one third of cost by horses. It will be kept in view, I have adopted Mr. Stevens's estimate for canal repairs, and added to State Engineer's estimate of boating 10 per cent, and still save one third cost by steam. There is no speculation in this; it is all based on well-known principles, and may be carried into operation on the well-established practice of engineering. The fact that it presents some novelty in the application of steam, will be of no weight to the practical mind versed in such matters. I see no other method that can give equal facility to canal transportation. It will restore to the canal its former pre-eminence in controlling the trade of the Lakes, and make this channel what it naturally is—the cheapest route between the Lakes and tide-water. This canal railway once established, the “New Zealander” will have to postpone his view of “canal ruins” until the railways improve on their economy of transportation. But it will not only improve the traffic of

the Erie Canal: it will greatly advance the commercial interest of the State, both local and general. For obvious reasons, the same course should be adopted for the Oswego as for the Erie Canal.

It is material in this matter to consider that the introduction as proposed of steam-towing will be in economy more than an equivalent to the abrogation of tolls, and will relieve the canal from dependence on the public treasury. There is great doubt if the State would long support the canal by general taxes, and hence the importance of putting it in a condition to maintain itself.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

It may justly be claimed the railways will improve on their present economy. When they ascertain the practicability of substituting more appropriate for their heavy and clumsy rolling-stock, they will no doubt improve their economy in transportation. On the canal there are also sources of improvement. As before stated, the estimates for repairs, instead of one and a half mills, may be reduced half a mill, if not a mill per ton per mile, as charges on transportation. A further improvement is practicable at a moderate expense, by raising the water in the canal one foot; which may be done by raising the lock-gates, or putting a plank on the top of the present gates, which would be a small expense, and raising the bank of the canal to correspond. All this may be done in the course of repairs, at no great expense, as the lock-walls are now sufficient for such rise, and require no change. These means will enable the canal to improve the economy of transportation. This latter would so improve navigation that the speed of boats may be increased to three miles per hour, instead of two and a half miles.

I fully believe that intelligent and faithful administration, with improvements quite practicable, will insure not only the life, but the great usefulness of the canals to the commercial interest of the State, without any general tax for their maintenance.

If superior methods can be devised, let them have preference. My only object in this paper is to suggest what I regard entirely practicable, and, I am confident, will greatly improve the economy of transportation, and thereby promote the commercial prosperity of the State.

ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL WEALTH.

III.

AGGREGATE WEALTH OF GREAT BRITAIN AND OF FRANCE.

BUT few attempts have ever been made to accurately estimate the aggregate wealth or current value of the property of any of the states of Europe ; and, in fact, it is exceedingly difficult, if not well-nigh impossible, to accurately make any such estimates. *First*, because it is almost impossible to enumerate all property in the first instance ; and, *secondly*, to apply to it any common measure of value—the *nominal* value of real estate, for example, or the value which the owner puts upon it, being one thing ; its market value, under various circumstances, being another ; and its value as an instrument of production being a third. In the United States, furthermore, however it may be with economists, the law-makers and law administrators in general have not as yet any clear conception of what property is, and count as property, in their enumerations for valuation and for assessments, not only physical actualities—the results of labor—which alone are property, but also mere rights and titles, which are not property, but simply representatives or symbols of property.¹

The results of one of the most interesting and notable efforts in this line of economic inquiry in Europe will be found embodied in a paper recently presented to the Statistical Society of London, by Mr. Robert Giffen, of the British Board of Trade, and entitled “Recent Accumulations of Capital in the United Kingdom.” In this paper Mr. Giffen states that, on the basis of a careful collation of the returns of the British income-tax, and from other data, he has

¹ Property is always a physical actuality, the product solely of labor, and may be rightfully defined as “*embodied or accumulated labor*.” Thus, for example, a fish free in the ocean is not property ; but when it has been caught, through the instrumentality of labor, it becomes the property or the embodied labor of the captor. A thing, furthermore, is not property until it has a title inherent in it. Thus, the fish in the ocean, although a physical actuality, becomes property only when caught, and not before ; and if it escapes into the ocean, after having been caught, it at once ceases to be property, or, to coin a word, becomes “*depropertized*.”

been enabled to estimate the capital of the United Kingdom (*i.e.*, market value of its physical actualities, the result of labor) in 1865 at £6,100,000,000 (\$30,500,000,000), and in 1875 at £8,500,000,000 (\$42,500,000,000), as a *minimum* for the above-mentioned respective periods; the aggregate increase in ten years having been £2,400,000,000 sterling, or at the rate of £240,000,000 (\$1,200,000,000) per annum. Mr. Giffen further claims that while the increase in the population of Great Britain from 1865 to 1875 was at the rate of only about *one* per cent per annum, the increase of the property of the kingdom during the same period was from *three* to *four* per cent per annum and upwards; the average *per capita* amount increasing from £204 (\$1020) in 1865 to £260 (\$1300) in 1875, or at the rate of 27 per cent. The aggregate increase in the amount of the national capital from 1865 to 1875 was 39½ per cent. Or, in other words, says Mr. Giffen, "The nation might (now) lose a fourth part of its property, and still be as rich and as prosperous as it was ten years before;" or it could pay the national debt of £800,000,000 (\$4,000,000,000) "three times over, and still be as rich as at the beginning of the decade."

A review of British material progress, running back to 1815, instituted by Mr. Giffen, also brings out results which are even more striking. Thus, at the close of the Napoleonic wars in 1815, Great Britain had a debt of £900,000,000 (\$4,500,000,000) against an estimated capital of £2,200,000,000 (\$11,000,000,000), or a debt of £70 per head against a property of £170 per head. Now, the British national debt of £800,000,000 is in the proportion of about £25 per head of indebtedness to about £260 of property per head to pay it. Again, says Mr. Giffen, the national income of Great Britain in 1815 from capital was "probably not more than £90,000,000" (\$450,000,000), with a debt charge of about one third; but the proportion of present debt charge to present national income from capital is only one twenty-second.

In a very able official report on the subject of "Fire Insurance Duties" (taxes), submitted in 1863 by Mr. Coode to the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, a very curious inquiry was instituted (probably with a view of determining the value of such taxes as sources of national revenue) in respect to the amount of "*insurable*" and "*uninsurable*" property for that year in England and Wales. The conclusions arrived at gave to every man, woman, and child of the then population in these two divisions of the United Kingdom, an average of insurable property of £57 10s. (\$287.50) *per capita*, or an

aggregate of £1,141,000,000 (\$5,705,000,000); and of "uninsurable" property an average of £191 10s. (\$957.50) *per capita*, or an aggregate of £3,825,000,000 (\$19,125,000,000); making a total aggregate of visible, tangible property owned or located in England and Wales, in 1863, of \$24,830,000,000. It is obvious that if these figures for 1863 were in any degree reliable, an estimate in 1876 of \$42,000,000,000 for the whole kingdom is not exaggerated.

A novel method of estimating the progress of national wealth in France, from the legally recorded value of devises, bequests, and successions throughout a series of years, has also recently been applied by M. Leon Say, the well-known economist and French Minister of Finance. Thus, M. Say finds that the successions in France in the year 1840 amounted to 1,608,000,000 francs (\$321,000,000). Twenty years afterwards, in 1861, the value of the successions was returned at 2,463,000,000 francs, and in 1874 at 3,749,000,000 francs (or \$749,800,000). Interpreting these statistics, which are unquestionably reliable, according to the theory of M. Say, it follows that the national wealth of France, *measured in money*, must have been increased by more than 50 per cent during the period between 1840 and 1861, and that an additional 50 per cent was also gained during the years from 1861 to 1874. For the whole period from 1840 to 1874, the gain in the national wealth of France would seem to have been about 120 per cent; or, making allowance for overestimates and exaggerations, it may be fairly assumed that the wealth of France, measured in money, was at least twice as great in 1874 as it was in 1840.

During some of the debates of recent years in the French Chamber of Deputies, the aggregate wealth of France having been claimed from the Tribune, by members professing to speak with authority, as in excess of "600 *milliards*" (\$120,000,000,000), M. Leroy-Beaulieu, one of the most eminent of French financial authorities, took occasion at a meeting of the Société d'Économie Politique, in February, 1877, to characterize these assertions as wild exaggerations, but at the same time expressed the opinion that the aggregate of the national wealth of France was but little less ("soit à peu près, non pas tout à fait") than that of Great Britain; and that reducing the estimates made in the Chamber of Deputies, above referred to, by about two thirds, a result—\$40,000,000,000—would be arrived at, which probably would not be far from the real truth.

Attention has also been called to the circumstance that the results respecting the increase of property in France, deduced from

the official reports of the wills and successions in that country, correspond remarkably with those obtained in Great Britain from the study of the statistics of the English income-tax. Thus, while the annual value of the devises, bequests, and successions doubled in France during the period of thirty-three years from 1840 to 1873, the amount of income reported and assessed for income-tax in England and Wales also doubled in the period included between the years 1842-3 and 1873-4. As bearing on the ability of France to sustain her recent very large increase of national expenditure, growing out of the Franco-Prussian war, the following additional statements of M. Say are not a little interesting. Thus, while in 1840, the ordinary revenue receipts of the Government of France amounted to 1,035,000,000 francs, the value of the French successions for that same year was returned at 1,608,000,000, or the proportion of the first sum to the second was 64 per cent. In 1861, the ordinary receipts of the government were 1,554,000,000, and value of the successions 2,463,000,000 francs; the proportion of the first of these aggregates to the second having fallen to 61 per cent. In 1874, however, the aggregate receipts of the government being 1,500,000,000 francs, the value of the successions was estimated at 2,279,000,000, which gives a proportion of 66 per cent.

AGGREGATE WEALTH OF THE UNITED STATES.

In the United States, the practice—not followed in any other country—of attempting to enumerate and value every thing which, in the ordinary sense, is considered property—both real and personal—for the purpose of taxation, affords some basis for reasoning on the subject of our aggregate national wealth; and in 1870, the authorities in charge of the national census, after first collecting all available data, and then submitting them to the most “searching and comprehensive” investigation at the hands of gentlemen possessing “special qualifications and exceptional opportunities” for the task, constructed a table of the wealth, taxation, and public indebtedness of the United States, and of the several States and Territories, which, if not entirely reliable and satisfactory, was far more so than any similar estimates ever before submitted to the country. The conclusions, in general, to which these investigations led were, that in 1870 the aggregate value of the property of the nation (exclusive of that belonging to the Federal Government) was almost exactly thirty thousand millions of dollars (\$30,068,518,-

507); that it was assessed, or rated for taxation, at little less than half that sum (\$14,178,986,732); and that the real estate was returned at somewhat more than double the personal property—the ratio being nearly that of 10 to 4.30.

In these census estimates, New York was returned as the richest State in the Union, with an aggregate of \$6,500,000,000 of property; Pennsylvania came next, with \$3,808,000,000; Ohio third, with \$2,235,000,000; Massachusetts fourth, with \$2,131,000,000; and Illinois fifth in the order of valuation, with \$2,121,000,000. Only two other States—Indiana and Missouri—ranked as high in valuation as \$1,000,000,000, New Jersey falling short of this aggregate, however, by only \$39,000,000; Nevada was returned as the State possessed of the smallest amount of property; but Oregon and Florida were only slightly richer.

The following table (not embraced in the reports of the census) shows, on the basis of the census valuation, the distribution of wealth among the population of the different States of the Union:

TABLE SHOWING THE RELATION OF PROPERTY TO POPULATION IN THE DIFFERENT STATES OF THE FEDERAL UNION, ON THE BASIS OF THE CENSUS VALUATION OF 1870.

1. New York.....	\$1,483 per capita.	20. Oregon.....	\$567 per capita.
2. Massachusetts....	1,463 " "	21. Nebraska.....	563 " "
3. Connecticut.....	1,441 " "	22. Maine.....	555 " "
4. Rhode Island.....	1,366 " "	23. Minnesota.....	520 " "
5. California.....	1,140 " "	24. Kansas.....	518 " "
6. Pennsylvania.....	1,081 " "	25. Kentucky.....	457 " "
7. New Jersey.....	1,038 " "	26. Louisiana.....	444 " "
8. Ohio.....	838 " "	27. West Virginia....	431 " "
9. Illinois.....	835 " "	28. Tennessee.....	395 " "
10. Maryland.....	824 " "	29. Virginia.....	334 " "
11. New Hampshire..	793 " "	30. Arkansas.....	322 " "
12. Delaware.....	777 " "	31. South Carolina...	294 " "
13. Indiana.....	754 " "	32. Mississippi.....	252 " "
14. Missouri.....	746 " "	33. North Carolina...	243 " "
15. Nevada.....	732 " "	34. Florida.....	235 " "
16. Vermont.....	711 " "	35. Georgia....	226 " "
17. Wisconsin.....	665 " "	36. Alabama.....	202 " "
18. Michigan.....	607 " "	37. Texas.....	194 " "
19. Iowa.....	601 " "		

If the entire property of the United States, as returned by the Census of 1870, were distributed equally among the entire population of all the States and Territories in 1870, the average share of each person would have been \$779.

From the analysis of the figures of this table (which, if not ab-

solutely correct, are undoubtedly comparatively accurate), it appears that the section of the country possessing in 1870 the largest amount of accumulated wealth in proportion to population, may be regarded as having the city of New York as its centre, and as embracing the three States of Southern New England—Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, with New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. In each of these six States, which are the oldest settled portions of the country, and in California, which represents the latest acquired territory and national growth, the property per capita was returned by the census as in excess of *one thousand dollars*. In the *seven* contiguous Western States—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Michigan—the equality in the *per capita* distribution of property is noticeable; all of them having more than \$600 to each inhabitant; while the largest average—in Ohio—is only \$838. The group of States having the smallest *per capita* wealth are the old slave States—Missouri, Maryland, and Delaware excepted—a result not unexpected, considering the location and results of the war. Nevada, which in the table of aggregate wealth stands last of the States, in the table of *per capita* wealth occupies the fifteenth place in the total list of thirty-seven; while Texas, which stands thirty-third in aggregate wealth, stands the last, or thirty-seventh, in the average of wealth *per capita*. It requires, however, no gift of prophecy to assert, that in the census report of 1880 no State will exhibit more striking evidence of improvement than Texas, both in respect to population and accumulated property.

The census returns of 1870 afford also the most reliable data that have ever been collected respecting the amount of State or local taxation, and the relation of such taxation to the population and accumulated wealth of the several States.¹ Singularly, Nevada,

¹ The following tables, calculated from the returns of the census (and which were published originally in the *Nation*, in 1872), exhibit the rate of taxation (per thousand dollars) and the rate of taxation (per head) for each State of the Union for the year 1870:

RATE OF TAXATION (PER THOUSAND DOLLARS) IN THE SEVERAL STATES.

1. Nevada.....	\$26 34	7. Alabama.....	\$14 77
2. Louisiana.....	21 85	8. Kansas.....	14 15
3. Arkansas.....	18 33	9. South Carolina.....	13 30
4. Mississippi.....	17 86	10. New Hampshire.....	12 88
5. Maine.....	15 36	11. Iowa.....	12 62
6. Nebraska.....	14 83	12. California.....	12 25

the State of smallest aggregate wealth, is the State in which the taxation is the highest per thousand dollars of property (\$26.34 per thousand), and also the State in which the rate per head is the largest, namely, \$19.30. In the old slave States (with the exception of Tennessee and Texas), and in Maine and Nebraska—all States where the property is small in proportion to population—the taxes were high in 1870 in proportion to property: \$21.85 in Louisiana; \$18.33 in Arkansas; \$17.86 in Mississippi; \$15.36 in Maine; \$14.83 in Nebraska; and \$14.77 in Alabama. The State of the Union which in recent years has exhibited the most shameful disregard of its obligations, namely, Tennessee, imposed upon its population and property in 1870 almost the smallest burden of

13. Massachusetts.....	\$11 68	26. North Carolina.....	\$9 02
14. Minnesota.....	11 57	27. Indiana.....	8 51
15. Oregon.....	11 26	28. New Jersey.....	7 88
16. Virginia.....	11 26	29. Connecticut.....	7 83
17. Florida.....	11 23	30. Wisconsin.....	7 67
18. Missouri.....	10 82	31. Michigan.....	7 52
19. Ohio.....	10 52	32. New York.....	7 47
20. Maryland.....	10 30	33. Rhode Island.....	7 31
21. Illinois.....	10 28	34. Texas.....	7 10
22. Georgia.....	9 79	35. Tennessee.....	6 79
23. Kentucky.....	9 48	36. Pennsylvania.....	6 44
24. Vermont.....	9 07	37. Delaware.....	4 30
25. West Virginia.....	9 03		

RATE OF TAXATION (PER HEAD) IN THE SEVERAL STATES.

1. Nevada.....	\$19 30	20. Indiana.....	\$6 42
2. Massachusetts.....	17 10	21. Oregon.....	6 39
3. California.....	13 95	22. Minnesota.....	6 02
4. Connecticut.....	11 28	23. Arkansas.....	5 91
5. New York.....	11 07	24. Wisconsin.....	5 10
6. New Hampshire.....	10 22	25. Michigan.....	4 57
7. Rhode Island.....	9 98	26. Mississippi.....	4 51
8. Louisiana.....	9 71	27. Kentucky.....	4 34
9. Ohio.....	8 83	28. South Carolina.....	3 92
10. Illinois.....	8 59	29. West Virginia.....	3 89
11. Maine.....	8 53	30. Virginia.....	3 76
12. Maryland.....	8 49	31. Delaware.....	3 34
13. Nebraska.....	8 35	32. Alabama.....	2 99
14. New Jersey.....	8 18	33. Tennessee.....	2 69
15. Missouri.....	8 08	34. Florida.....	2 64
16. Iowa.....	7 58	35. Georgia.....	2 21
17. Kansas.....	7 33	36. North Carolina.....	2 20
18. Pennsylvania.....	6 96	37. Texas.....	1 38
19. Vermont.....	6 46		

taxation, the average rate having been but \$2.69 per head, and \$6.79 per thousand dollars of its acknowledged property; which last in turn did not probably appear in the State assessment rolls at one half its true market valuation. Another State, Minnesota, which has been shamelessly false to its obligations, had also, in 1870, but a comparatively light burden of State or local taxation, namely, \$6.02 *per capita*. The six States imposing, in 1870, the largest *per capita* burden of taxation on their citizens were as follows: Nevada, \$19.30; Massachusetts, \$17.10; California, \$13.95; Connecticut, \$11.28; New York, \$11.07; New Hampshire, \$10.22. In none of the remaining thirty-one States did the average burden of local taxation rise as high as \$10 *per capita*; although in Rhode Island and Louisiana the average rate was but little inferior.

The amount raised by taxation, other than national, in all the States and Territories for the year 1870 was returned at \$280,591,21; and the amount of public debt, exclusive of all Federal indebtedness, at \$868,676,758; for which latter, bonds—State, county, and municipal—had been issued to the amount of \$753,823,507.

Interesting as are these census returns, and indicating accurately, as they undoubtedly do, the *relative* wealth of the different States and sections of the country, as well as the *absolute* amount raised in 1870 by local, in contradistinction from Federal, taxation, and also the aggregate of State, county, town, and city indebtedness of the United States at that date, the determination then made of the aggregate value of the property of the whole country can not be accepted as entirely satisfactory, or indeed (as is the case with all such estimates) as any thing more than an approximation to the truth. In the first place, in presenting *thirty thousand millions* as their estimate of the aggregate of our national wealth, the census authorities confess that no attempt was made, because of difficulties in the way which were almost insuperable, to eliminate that portion of the so-called personal property of the country—as, for example, mortgages—which is based on the value of real estate; and to this extent, therefore, the census estimates of 1870 involve a duplication of wealth.¹

¹The reasons given by the Superintendent of the Census for not attempting to reduce the aggregate valuation of the real and personal property of the country by the amount of the latter, which merely represents the former, were as follows:

“1st. The duplication follows the general rule of State and municipal taxation. In nearly all the States of the Union, land and buildings are taxed to their full (assumed) value, without deduction on account of mortgages, while mortgages are also taxed at their full value. To obtain the aggregate value of both species of property,

If mortgages of real estate are alone to be taken into account, the duplication of wealth in the census estimates under this head would for the year 1870, in the opinion of the writer, have been not far from two thousand millions of dollars. But if the stock certificates of corporations, counted as personal property, in addition to the capital which they represented, are also to be taken into account, then the duplications of wealth in the census estimate for 1870 would probably have to be increased to the extent, in all, of some five or six thousand millions. Thus in Ohio—the only State which regularly publishes an official statement of the number of the real estate mortgages recorded and canceled each year within its territory, and the amount of money secured or released by the same—the census valuation of property for the year 1870 was \$2,235,000,000; and the amount of money secured by recorded State mortgages—real estate and railroad—for the year 1870–71 was \$49,134,000 for the former, and \$316,738,000, for the latter, or a total of \$365,872,000. So that if the money value secured by this aggregate of mortgages, and the value of the actuality upon which the mortgages were based, were both included in the property valuation of Ohio by the Census of 1870—as was probably the case—then about one dollar in every six of such a valuation of property would represent a duplication of property. And if a like ratio of duplication existed in

this duplication being admitted, is, therefore, to obtain the bases of possible taxation in prevailing methods of taxation, better than by excluding such duplicated values.

“2d. This personal property, representing real property, is not always, perhaps not generally, owned in the immediate community where the real property is situated. Its exclusion, therefore, while it would more accurately present the realized wealth of the country as a whole, would lead to the grossest misrepresentation as between sections and States. Hundreds of millions are owned in the East in the form of mortgages on the real estate of the West. If these gigantic amounts are to be excluded from such tables as following [*i.e.*, in the Census Reports], they must be excluded as personal property from the valuations of the Eastern States. But to do so would be in the highest degree unjust. The wealth of these States consists in the value of their own real estate, their manufacturing, commercial, and banking capital, their furniture, apparel, and equipage, *plus* the claims they have upon the lands, buildings, and railways of the newer States.

“3d. Even were it desirable, in view of the two considerations here presented, to eliminate the element of duplicated valuations, it will appear, on reflection, clear that the difficulties in the way of any thing approaching an accurate discrimination of the amount to be excluded would be almost insuperable.

“On these accounts it was believed that it would be far more satisfactory to aggregate the totals of real and personal as separately obtained, without any inquiry how far the value of one merely represents the value of the other.”—*Remarks on the Statistics of Wealth, Census Reports : Industry and Wealth*, p. 5.

1870 in the valuations of property in the other States of the Union, and there is no reason to suppose to the contrary, then the census estimate of national wealth for that year would, as above indicated, require to be reduced by reason of such duplications to the extent of one sixth, or to an aggregate of twenty-five thousand million dollars.

On the other hand, there never has been, and practically there can not be, in any highly civilized community, any such thing as an even approximately accurate valuation of so much of the so-called "personal property" as is tangible, visible, and in the nature of chattels; to say nothing of titles, rights, debts, credits, or "choses in action," things invisible and intangible, which are popularly considered and classed as (personal) property, but are really only the representatives of property. Thus, for example, the city of Philadelphia imposes a specific tax upon watches, and has a most intelligent and efficient corps of tax assessors and collectors; and yet in 1870, out of a population of nearly seven hundred thousand, only nine hundred and three silver watches were to be found for taxation, and only one person in fifty-two was returned as having a watch of any description.

Again, it is generally believed that under all circumstances, and in every community, the value of what is popularly called "real" property is always greatly in excess of the value of what is called "personal" property; the Census of 1870 indicating that for the United States the valuation of the former is more than double that of the latter, the ratio indicated being nearly that of 10 to 4.30. Accepting the popular classification, there is, however, no such difference in any community in the values of these two descriptions of property; and extensive investigation has satisfied the writer that in the older, richer, and more densely populated States of the Union, like New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, etc., the separate aggregates of property generally classed under the two heads of "real" and "personal," either equal or closely approximate to each other in actual value. The truth is that "the market value of land is merely the reflection of the value of the productive capital placed upon it or in its immediate vicinity. The market value of the aggregate of land and that of the aggregate of other productive capital are equal, no matter whether the estimate be confined to a neighborhood, city, or State, or include the entire domain of civilization."

If one desires to find out the locality where land has the least

value, he will find it on the unsettled prairies of the West, or in the deserts of Africa, or in any other place where there is no personal property in connection with the land or contiguous to it. On the other hand, if he desires to know the localities on the surface of the globe where land is the most valuable—so valuable, in fact, and in comparison with other commodities, that an amount of “minted” gold adequate to cover its surface would be requisite to effect its purchase—he will find them in London, in the vicinity of the Bank of England, or in Wall Street, in New York, the points upon which the greatest value of personal property is either accumulated or reflected. In general, the market value of land is greater than the value of the buildings erected upon it, and the market value of real estate—using the term in the ordinary sense, as including land and buildings—is generally, but not always, largely in excess of the value of personal estate. But if we take the valuation of property in any given locality, and from the gross value of the real estate deduct the value of the buildings, and then add to this value the personal estate, the two valuations will be found to be equal, provided the valuations have been made correctly.¹

If it were possible, therefore, to devise and make operative a system of inquiry which would act as a drag-net and bring in for review and correct valuing not only all the real estate, but absolutely also all the personal property (in the sense of actualities), of the country, the gain in the national inventory which would thereby result would probably not only offset any duplications of wealth that entered into and improperly augmented the census estimates of 1870, but also such deductions as a change from currency to gold prices might render necessary. Unsatisfactory, therefore, in some of its details as may be the methods by which the census estimate of *thirty thousand millions* as the aggregate of our national wealth in 1870 was arrived at, the result, nevertheless, on the whole, as before stated, was undoubtedly an approximation to the truth, and as accurate as admitted of being made under the circumstances. But let the aggregate of our national wealth in 1870 have been twenty or thirty thousand millions—and much higher than this last amount none can reasonably estimate it—the fact that this aggregate (whatever it may be) represents the surplus result of all the labor, skill, and thought exerted, and all the capital earned and saved, or brought into the country during the last two hundred and fifty years, or even since the country became permanently the abode of

¹ Treatise on Political Economy. George Opdyke, 1851.

civilized man, strikingly illustrates how slowly that which we call wealth has in times past accumulated, and how long it has taken a people located amid such resources as exist in the United States, and possessed of so much of individual energy as characterizes our citizens to provide themselves with such an amount of capital, or rather subsistence, in advance, to the extent in value of from \$600 to \$800 *per capita*.

ANNUAL INCOME, OR VALUE OF THE ANNUAL PRODUCTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

The value of the annual product of the nation, on the other hand, admits, in some respects, of a more precise and reliable estimate, inasmuch as the quantity and average market value of the products of the great leading industries admit of approximately accurate determination; and—for example, in the case of cotton, corn, wheat, wool, iron, copper, and the staple textile manufactures—are so determined every year, for the purposes of trade or speculation, with a great degree of accuracy.

The gross value of this annual product was estimated, after considerable investigation by the writer, then U. S. Special Commissioner of the Revenue, and by Gen. F. A. Walker, then Chief of the U. S. Bureau of Statistics, in December, 1869, as amounting to \$6,825,000,000 currency; or, assuming a population of 39,000,000, to about \$175 per head. Of course, with incomplete data such an estimate could not pretend to be much more than intelligent guessing, and by many, including the London *Economist*, was regarded as excessive. The corrected returns of the national census, taken within the next twelve months, led, however, Gen. Walker, the superintendent, to a conclusion that the *gross* value of the annual product of the nation for 1870 was considerably in excess of this previous estimate, and in fact approximated \$7,286,000,000; farm products being returned at \$2,447,000,000, and the products of all other industries at \$4,839,000,000. Of course, all these estimates being made on a currency basis, and involving also large duplications, they must be largely reduced in order to obtain any thing answering to a true net result, and also to bring them into correspondence with the results of similar investigations made in this country prior to 1860, and since that date in other countries. But making these allowances, and also taking into account the circumstance that all these census estimates were based on a valuation of actual returned product

rather than on returned or estimated individual income (as in Great Britain), it is probable that the net or true value of the annual product of the United States for 1870 did reach as high a figure as \$4,500,000,000 or \$5,000,000,000.

But such an aggregate result has no parallel in the history of any country,¹ and, if correct, is of all wonderful and surprising things in connection with the United States, the thing that is more wonderful than any other. And that it may be, furthermore, approximately correct, is indicated by a great variety of what may be termed circumstantial evidence. Thus, for example, apart from the abnormal condition of things which has prevailed during the last ten or fifteen years, the average wages of labor, and the average rate of interest on capital in the United States for many years—perhaps, indeed, for the entire period of our existence as a nation—have been higher than the average of wages and interest in almost any other country; which of itself is absolute proof that the product of labor and of capital has been large. For, if the product of labor and capital had been small, the share of the product which labor and capital could receive would also have been small; and no combinations or circumstances could, for a period of twenty or thirty years or more, have maintained American wages and interest, as has been the case, at an exceptionally high standard.

Up to a recent period, moreover, there have been but comparatively few paupers in the United States, and even now it may be doubted whether we have any thing corresponding to the permanent pauper classes of Europe; so that the aggregate of annual abundance produced and divided among the masses must have been greater, comparatively, in the United States, than in those countries where a large class exists simply to consume and diminish the products of labor. Again, the increase of population has been, and probably is now, in a greater ratio in the United States than in any of the states of Europe; the increase even during the last decade—covering the period of the war—having been at a rate sufficient to double our numbers in about thirty-five years; while for Great Britain the population doubles only once in seventy-five years, and in the case of France remains stationary or recedes. In 1870, the population of the United States was about seven millions greater than that of the United Kingdom, and about the same as that of France.

¹ The *gross* income of Great Britain, as before stated, was estimated by Mr. Baxter for 1868-70 at \$4,300,000,000.

In no country, moreover, has labor-saving machinery been devised and employed to such an extent for cheapening and increasing production as in the United States. And as one new illustration of this fact, it may be mentioned that in a monograph recently published by Dr. Engle, the well-known director of the Prussian Statistical Bureau, "On the Steam Power of the World," the first place in the use of such power is unhesitatingly given to the United States; the estimate in respect to stationary engines being 1,215,711 horse-power for the United States and 936,405 for Great Britain, and 14,223 locomotive engines for the former as compared with 10,933 for the latter. All of which is equivalent to saying that the United States avails itself of the forces embodied in coal to a greater extent than any other nation for the purposes of production, and the co-ordinate and essential work of exchanging or distribution. In respect to marine engines, as measured by the tonnage of ocean steamers, the position of the United States is, however, far inferior to that of Great Britain—the relative tonnage being 483,840 for the former, as against 2,624,431 for the latter—a circumstance that still further illustrates what has long been painfully apparent, that in the business of exchanging, the people of the United States have been content to limit the sphere of their operations (to their great loss) to their own territory and markets, and have practically abandoned to other nations the larger business and markets which the rest of the world offers.

Commenting upon the comparative annual incomes of the United States and Great Britain, the late Mr. Dudley Baxter, of England, who of all foreign economists was most competent to express an opinion, writing in 1871, thus speaks of the estimate of five thousand millions of dollars (£1,000,000,000) as the gold income of the United States for 1870:

"Large as the amount may seem, I should be disposed to accept it. I see no reason to doubt that the national income of the United States exceeds that of the United Kingdom. The population is more numerous by nearly eight millions, which, at £25 per head, gives £200,000,000 (\$1,000,000,000) more income. The earnings of all classes of laborers are greater, and there are no paupers, so that the total income of the working classes must be far larger. The scale of prices and living is much higher than in England, and the incomes of the classes next above the laborers higher in proportion. On the other hand, there is much less capital in the country" (than in Great Britain), "and the upper or wealthy classes much less numerous. . . . It seems probable that the deficiency in wealthier classes goes far to balance the greater population. But the higher earnings must turn the scale in favor of America, and render the estimate of £1,000,000,000 a very probable one.

But this surplus is absorbed in the greater cost of living, and the Americans save much less than the English or Germans."

"But it is an income that will increase very rapidly. With the increase of population, trade, and the value of land, sixty years hence a population of 100,000,000 are likely to have an income larger per head than at present, and probably not less in amount than £2,500,000,000, estimating only £25 per head, or less than the British annual average. With such a probable growth of income, the present debt becomes insignificant in proportion. The reduction of interest from the present (1871) average rates of 5 per cent for the Federal debt and 6 per cent for the State debts will of itself bring a great diminution of burden. With ordinary financial prudence, it will be paid off by the surpluses that are sure to result from the elasticity and natural growth of the revenue. The Americans need four things for the development of their country: to readjust the taxes that diminish their power of production and their commerce; to keep out of wars that would hinder their growth and prosperity; to keep good faith with every public creditor, so as to attract the capital which is required by the rapid development of the nation; and to promote intercourse and friendly feeling with European countries, especially England and Germany, whose wealth and population have a continual tendency to invest themselves in America."—*National Debts*, Baxter, pp. 37, 38.

The next question of interest in this line of inquiry is, How much of its national income does the nation annually save and make available as new capital in the work of producing national abundance?

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

RECENT AMERICAN BOOKS.

THE HOUSE BEAUTIFUL!¹—If pompous title, handsome binding, thick paper, very neat printing, and its author's popularity were sufficient to render a book intellectually beautiful, no book would be more entitled to universal admiration than "The House Beautiful." These requisites being insufficient, we can explain the favor with which it has been received only by recalling to our mind the fact that the human soul, once benumbed by the fatal mesmerism of too much reverence for a man's name, is rendered forever blind to the plainest facts. It is, therefore, our duty to be severer in our criticism than if the case were an ordinary one.

Entertaining as he often is, Mr. Cook has, in common with many people, the misfortune of being unable to distinguish between oddity and quaintness on the one hand, and real beauty on the other. His ideal of a washstand, for instance, is a contrivance constructed against the laws of gravity and equilibrium (p. 41, f. 9), which is liable to be upset by a very slight blast of wind, and the consequences are self-evident. Another of his ideally beautiful washstands is a French article (p. 300, f. 94), which affords indeed great æsthetic pleasure, offering, as it does, to the eye, foot-tub, slop-basin, and similar accessories. His ideal of a towel is that which hangs "on an old-fashioned roller." No less original are his ideas of beauty and comfort respecting chairs. "A pattern once in universal use here," whose "seat was of *wood*," or else a rickety, shapeless Chinese bamboo chair (p. 155, f. 52)—these are his chairs *par excellence*! Perhaps had Mr. Cook written his book remaining constantly seated on either, and had some other part of his body had a saying in the matter, his conclusions would have been different. Out of eight tables he recommends to the public, seven are so contrived as to admit of no stretching of the limbs underneath. But his "superior taste" in house decoration is best shown by a detail of cut No. 86 (p. 276), which represents a bedroom. A china plate hangs from the wall over the head of the bedstead, which, by the way, is twice as wide as it is long. Indeed, there was no need of Mr. Cook telling us that "he is not at all sure that his taste is good, or that he can depend upon its being good at all times." As for the campaign he has undertaken against carpets, water and gas pipes, and so forth, we can not forbear being reminded of Don Quixote's adventure with the windmills. At p. 301, Mr. Cook has discovered that Agar was a *male*! We impatiently wait

¹ "The House Beautiful." By Clarence Cook. Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1878.

for another book of his, in which he will kindly introduce Ismael in the character of a female.

The **III** illustrations by which the book is "enriched" cannot be overlooked. The few drawn by Mr. A. Sandier and Mr. R. Riordan are excellent, with the exception of cut 46, whose title, "Much in Little Space," should be by all means "How Much Horrible Drawing can be Condensed in 5 by 4 inches space." Of the 70 by F. Lathrop, only about a dozen are tolerable; the others presenting the most miserable, crooked, and rickety collection of furniture that was ever engraved. They are all out of drawing and perspective. Mr. Lathrop has been spoiled by the Mutual Admiration Society to which he belongs. Who tells him that he is a great artist is his worst enemy. We tell him the plain truth, because we detect a vigor in his drawing which is a sure token of artistic feeling and talent. But in order that this talent may yield good fruit, he must begin again by studying geometrical drawing and perspective.

LANDOR'S IMAGINARY CONVERSATIONS.¹—In their comely and convenient edition of these extraordinary writings, Roberts Brothers have conferred nothing short of a boon upon all readers and lovers of literature. These works are not history, or science, or philosophy, or morals, or politics. They are simply and purely literature, whose object is primarily the creation of beauty as a body to thought, like Tennyson's idea of a song, "perfect music into noble words." But these gems or stars of literature are illustrated with such ample and competent scholarship, that they are, like Shakespeare, stores of information as well as of the wonders of the imagination; so that one may read behind them, as if on a palimpsest, history, philosophy, politics, morals, social laws, religion, and wonderful delineation of character and reproduction of past times, overlaid by the letters embodying the special purpose of the artist's soul. There can be no doubt that these works are classics. They are *facile princeps*. They take their place easily among the great and pure books of human nature, which the language will never spare. Their style comes little short of perfection in English composition, it is so rare, clear, forcible, beautiful; and of that kind of eloquence which one reads over and over again, wondering where the secret of its power may be, it is so simple and so easily done apparently, and yet is so ravishing and inimitable. As in all great works, one is struck by the courage of the style and of the imagery. One is continually pausing to say "an inferior hand would never have dared that word or that image; yet how natural, necessary, and even inevitable it seems here!" The vocabulary also is a continual surprise and pleasure. Landor was about fifty years old when he began these great writings. Then they came in a torrent, as if all those years had been damming up the waters till the head became irresistible. One sad but apparently inevitable mark of classic greatness they bear—this, namely, that they were at first slighted and rejected, viewed suspiciously by publishers, and tossed from one to another

¹ "Imaginary Conversations." By Walter Savage Landor. First, Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth Series. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

contemptuously or indignantly, until one of the wise and instructed few who admired them in MS. persuaded a friend to undertake the publication. It is surprising how uniformly great works or great persons meet this reception; so constantly indeed that one would think mankind, by repetition, would grow wise enough to construe a rising malediction as an indication that they may safely accept and bless. But for a long time yet, it is to be feared, the prophet's crown will be known by its thorns, and one of the sharpest will be that he is disowned by his countrymen or his kindred. Among these Conversations, introducing eminent men and women of all times and conditions, the classical ones have been preferred by many good judges. Others have found their favorite to be that between Lady Jane Grey and Roger Ascham, which is of an indescribable sweetness and beauty. The talk between Calvin and Melancthon is noble. Milton and Galileo discourse curiously and feelingly together, with interruptions by an ignorant Dominican. To our mind, one of the most pathetic and picturesque is that between Henry VIII. and Anna Boleyn. They are exceedingly interesting; one can not cease from reading; they affect the mind like a continuous picture, or, if in a picture motion be wanting, then like a great drama concentrated into one scene, and enacted by characters incomparably distinct and shining. To pick out faults would be needless and useless, and would be to say nothing more than that human work can not be infallible; and if they might serve a purpose of instruction, over against the beauties for the student of letters, such persons will be sure to study these works profoundly for themselves. But let all read them who enjoy beauty, purity, simplicity, and elevation in language, brought to the service of an imagination equally vivid in pictures and equipped with knowledge.

THE EPOCH OF THE MAMMOTH.¹—Those who claim an extreme antiquity for man have not much firm ground left them to stand upon except the quaternary gravel, in which it is alleged that human remains have been found. This was the age of the mammoth and other extinct animals, and is generally thought to be not less than one hundred thousand years old. Dr. Southall undertakes to show that this period existed within ten thousand years.

The book (a 12mo of 430 pages) is the second work on the origin of man by the same author. The first, entitled "The Recent Origin of Man" (an 8vo of 606 pages), published in 1875, was favorably noticed in this REVIEW at the time of its appearance. It contained a full discussion of all the points bearing upon the subject, and was marked by such ability and learning that it attracted much attention, especially in England and France. The author maintained, with decided success, that the evidences brought forward to prove man's great antiquity do not prove it, but rather the contrary. The second work ("The Epoch of the Mammoth") seems to have been under-

¹ "The Epoch of the Mammoth and the Apparition of Man on the Earth." By James C. Southall, A.M., LL.D. Illustrated. London: Trübner & Co. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1878.

taken primarily as a restatement in briefer form of the argument contained in the larger book, and such it is in the main, but with important additions and some omissions. The subject of tumuli and dolmens, although fully discussed in the earlier work, is omitted from this, the author intimating that fuller knowledge points to a withdrawal of that subject from the field of controversy, there being no evidence of great antiquity for any of them. In the chapter on the lake-dwellings, new evidence is given to show that these structures were occupied in Northern Europe down to the eleventh century of our era (it is now ascertained that they came down to the thirteenth century), and there is no certain proof that the oldest of them is more than three thousand years old. The only ground on which great antiquity could be claimed for the lake-dwellings, or for the Danish shell-mounds, was the absence of metals. But metals have been found, and if they had not, any argument drawn from their absence would have been without serious weight, especially as the fauna remains are recent.

The author sheds new light on the bone-caves, whose evidence was formidable chiefly on account of the exhibition of human remains in juxtaposition with the bones of extinct animals, and on account of changes in physical geography, which points belong chiefly to the problem concerning the age of the quaternary formation. Light is thrown on the former point, however, by the wonderful revelations of Solutré, and by numerous evidences in favor of the recent existence of these extinct animals.

The top-dressing of diluvial gravel existing in the valley and on the flanking hills of the Somme River, and inclosing human relics, is by Dr. Southall, Dr. Andrews, etc., ascribed to the paleolithic flood, which is supposed to have been the conclusion of the quaternary period, the date of which is separately discussed. The peat which overlies the gravel in the Somme valley does not create any serious difficulty. In the discussion of the "Great Extinct Animals," important evidence is brought forward to show that the elephant is referred to on Assyrian and Egyptian monuments as existing and hunted in the valley of the Tigris as late as 1100 or 1200 B.C., while it is also shown that on the north-west coast of Africa, opposite Spain, the elephant and rhinoceros were common at the beginning of our era. These facts of course show that the existence of the elephant and rhinoceros in Europe at a recent period would not be at all remarkable. Dr. Schliemann found the figure of the hippopotamus moulded in pottery at Troy, and a delineation of the elephant at Mycenæ. A great deal of fresh information has been gathered to show the coexistence of "The Three Ages" in Europe and other parts of the world, and the continued use of stone implements in Europe down to Roman and Merovingian times. The account of the cemetery at Caranda is very interesting and suggestive. The chapter on the discoveries at Troy contains also an account of Dr. Schliemann's discoveries at Mycenæ. Some new and important calculations in respect to the date of the glacial age are based on the retrocession of the Falls of St. Anthony from Fort Snelling. The chapter on the discoveries of M. Kerviler at the mouth of the Loire is

entirely new. A fresh discussion is also given on the antiquity of man in America, with special reference to the discovery of human remains in various places in California under volcanic deposits several hundred feet from the surface.

But the most important chapter in the book is the twenty-first, in which the author undertakes to demonstrate the recent occurrence of the glacial age. He shows that this ice-period reigned in the north of Europe during the neolithic period, which is known to have begun within ten thousand years—most probably within five thousand. About the same date for the close of the glacial epoch is reached by observations made on the beaches of the North American lakes by Dr. Andrews, and on the Falls of St. Anthony by Professor Winchell. Corroborating testimony is also found in the alluvium of the rivers Saône and Loire, France. No traces of the paleolithic age have been found in either Egypt or Babylonia. But stone implements have been found in those countries in immediate association with bronze and iron.

Upon the whole, Dr. Southall makes a strong case to show that geology and archæology confirm the best opinion of ethnologists that man first appeared in central (or western) Asia, that his primitive condition was one of civilization, and that the date of his appearance was not longer ago than ten thousand years—probably less.

Darwinism, which has not been advancing of late in any quarter, receives a backset on this line of investigation. Some of the oldest human skeletons yet found show a perfect human organization and a large cerebral cavity; and no specimen of paleolithic man is inferior to types now existing. The wide gap between man and the ape—one of the widest in the series—has not been narrowed. In fact, Professor Virchow, who is an advocate of the development theory, has lately declared that "every positive advance which we have made in the province of prehistoric anthropology has actually removed us farther from the proof of such a connection," namely, between man and any line of inferior animal life.

W. H. RUFFNER.

NEW YORK.

RECENT ENGLISH BOOKS.

NEW WORK BY MR. LECKY.¹—Any historical work by Mr. Lecky must necessarily command respect and attention. His previous achievements not unnaturally led to the expectation that he would prove one of the finest historians of the present generation. Nor has this hope been disappointed. If he does not rival Hallam in philosophic depth, and the power of measuring the influence of events, or Macaulay in picturesqueness, he has yet qualities of his own which justly render him distinguished. Besides possessing

¹ "A History of England in the Eighteenth Century." By William Edward Hartpole Lecky. Vols. I. and II. Longmans & Co.

considerable powers of eloquence, he everywhere reveals the presence of a calm and unbiased mind. For example, though Mr. Lecky is himself a Radical of an advanced type, nothing could be finer than the eulogy he passes in these volumes upon the great Tory statesman William Pitt. Other instances of his fairness might readily be cited. Mr. Lecky adopts a plan in this new work which will be welcomed by all readers. It has not been his object to write the history of the period year by year, detailing with great fullness military events or minor personal or party incidents. He rather devotes himself to a consideration of those facts and events which concern the permanent forces of the nation, or which indicate some of the more enduring features of national life. In separate chapters he deals with foreign policy, the vicissitudes of Whigs and Tories, the church, the aristocracy, the commercial classes, the Nonconformists, decline of the ecclesiastical spirit, religious legislation of the Whigs, parliamentary corruption and tyranny, legislation affecting public order, national tastes and manners, etc. We thus obtain a survey of every thing relating to public life, while history proper is not neglected. This work is thorough, able, and elaborate; no student of England of the eighteenth century should neglect to master it, while to the ordinary reader it is a narrative of engrossing interest.

THE GREAT THIRST LAND.¹—Mr. Gillmore has published already some dozen books of travel, but none of them, perhaps, is the equal of this in interest; one reason being, doubtless, that of recent years all eyes have been turned in the direction of the great African continent. Mr. Gillmore is quite a different kind of traveler from Mr. Stanley. He belongs rather to the old school of adventurous explorers, men who travel chiefly from the love of the thing than from the desire to make much of their doings at home. As he says in his Preface, he only shoots what is necessary for food, and when that is done he ceases to take the lives of valuable animals. He also affirms that with moderate expenditure and half a dozen attendants he could pass through Africa from north to south, and probably not take more than a year to do it. His method is very simple, and would probably not involve the death of a single human being. He must decline, however, to impart the knowledge of his *modus operandi*, save to those who are desirous of assisting him in his undertaking. Meanwhile, he here gives us the results of his partial exploration of Africa. He does not pretend to furnish much information of a social or political kind; he simply records his experiences of the lands he explores, and the peoples with whom he comes in contact, much as one might indite a series of letters to a friend in England. Hence, although his work is not of the first importance in some aspects, its glimpses of African life and African scenery are singularly graphic and picturesque.

¹ "The Great Thirst Land: A Ride through Natal, Orange Free State, Transvaal and Kalahari Desert." By Parker Gillmore ("Ubique"). Cassell, Petter & Galpin.

HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.¹—We now arrive at the second volume of this really fine work. Mr. Green is accomplishing his task with marked ability. The present installment of what will be *the* English history of our generation, deals with one of the most interesting periods in the literary and political annals of Britain. In Book V., the writer traces the vicissitudes of the monarchy from 1461 to 1540; and Book VI. is concerned with the Reformation, 1540 to 1603. Although this period is of surpassing interest in a political sense, it is also the highest and most glorious in English literature. It is the age of Spenser, Bacon, and Shakespeare. The literary renaissance now attained its meridian splendor in England, and she may well boast of the age of Elizabeth as an age unparalleled. In arms and literature she then reached her zenith. In a series of able and eloquent chapters Mr. Green conveys his reader through this momentous time. His narrative has all the charm of a romance. It is written in admirable English, and the author presents us with vivid sketches of Wolsey, Cromwell, and other leading contemporary spirits. He also details the struggles with the Papacy; and his chapters upon "The England of Elizabeth" and "The England of Shakespeare," it would be difficult to find surpassed in interest in the pages of any English historian.

THE STOCK EXCHANGE.²—Mr. Giffen formerly assisted the late Walter Bagehot in the editorial management of the *Economist*, and was also for some time the city editor of the *Daily News*. He is now head of the Statistical Department of the Board of Trade. Probably we have no man better acquainted with the procedure of the Stock Exchange, or one more able to set that procedure in a clear light before the public. All those who desire to study the forces which originate and set in motion the causes resulting in fluctuations in prices, can not do better than study this work. The author writes with a thorough knowledge of his subject, and yet in so easy and lucid a style as to impart the results of that knowledge to the mind of the reader who is not versed in Stock Exchange lore.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.³—Not written in the form of a political history, this work really presents us with a graphic picture of England in the time of the eighth Henry. The first volume is principally concerned with the king's repressive measures against the clergy. Canon Dixon is a great stickler for the rights of the church, but it must be admitted that his arraignment of Henry and of the policy of his advisers is very thorough and searching. The author begins with the work of the parliament of 1529,

¹ "History of the English People." By John Richard Green, M.A. Vol. II. Macmillan & Co.

² "Stock Exchange Securities: an Essay on the General Causes of Fluctuations in their Price." By Robert Giffen. Bell & Sons.

³ "History of the Church of England, from the Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction." By R. Watson Dixon M.A. Vol. I. Henry VIII., A.D. 1529-37. Smith Elder & Co.

which he describes as the most memorable parliament that ever sat—an expression which is perhaps justified when we remember that it was this parliament which set itself to curtail the power of the church and to reform the abuses within it. We meet in this volume with very striking analytical sketches of Henry, Cromwell, Wolsey, and others. The author has probed his subject to its depths, and he writes with a facile and vigorous pen.

THOMAS MOORE.¹—This volume consists of pieces by Moore hitherto unedited and uncollected. There is always some amount of interest in such a work, and it is heightened if the pieces recovered have a genuine claim to be preserved. In the present instance this is scarcely the case, except as regards certain suppressed passages from the memoirs of Lord Byron. Mr. Shepherd's work is sure to be bought, were it on account of these passages alone.

SAMUEL BRECK.²—There should be something entertaining in the memorials of a man whose life extended over nearly a century. Breck was born in 1771, and was held in his nurse's arms to look at the battle of Bunker Hill. At the age of nine he witnessed a fight in Boston Harbor between two English and French frigates; a few years later, he was sent to an educational establishment in the south of France. In 1791, he attended a sitting of the French National Assembly, and heard one of Mirabeau's orations. He also visited London, and listened to one of Burke's speeches in the House of Commons. Mr. Breck was personally acquainted with Joseph Bonaparte, Talleyrand, and Louis Philippe. Though living at the time of the great French Revolution, Mr. Breck might also be claimed as a man of our own time, seeing that he did not die until the year 1862. It will thus be seen that this one individual history covered an enormous number of great crises and events in the history of nations. It would have been almost impossible to make this a dull book, but it has more than this negative merit, it is essentially pleasant reading.

ARMENIA AND THE CAMPAIGN OF 1877.³—Mr. Norman's testimony is amongst the most forcible we could receive on the subject of Turkish misgovernment. He admits that he went to Armenia an advanced Philo-Turk, and yet he was driven to the conviction, "that no words could exaggerate the amount of misrule that exists in Asiatic Turkey, where Christian and Mohamedan alike groan under an intolerable yoke." The Turkish successes in the earlier part of the campaign he attributes to the exertions of about half a dozen men. Mr. Norman has not a high opinion either of the Turk-

¹ "Prose and Verse, Humorous, Satirical, and Sentimental." By Thomas Moore. With Notes of Introduction by R. H. Shepherd. Chatto & Windus.

² "Recollections of Samuel Breck; with Passages from his Note Books." Edited by H. G. Scudder. Sampson Low & Co.

³ "Armenia and the Campaign of 1877." By C. B. Norman, late Special Correspondent of *The Times* at the Seat of War. Cassell, Petter & Galpin.

ish army or of the Russian army of the Caucasus. The statements of previous writers, as to the irregularities and cruelties of Turkish administrators and governors, which have been frequently contradicted, here meet with abundant corroboration. Mr. Norman writes well, and any unprejudiced person reading his book must be struck with its general truth and accuracy.

SOUTH AFRICA.¹—Mr. Trollope is an indefatigable worker. When not writing novels, he is off in search of the picturesque, detailing his success in books of travel. This work on South Africa is likely to remain popular for some time; England just now exhibiting a profound interest in the districts which Mr. Trollope has recently traversed. He bears testimony to the generally excellent character of those amongst whom he briefly sojourned, and is evidently much enamored of South African scenery. With regard to that vexed question, the affairs of Cape Colony, Mr. Trollope shows that there is great antagonism between the whites and blacks. The white men will never consent to be ruled by a majority of black men, and the author, in common with these whites, is opposed to a color franchise. With respect to Lord Carnarvon's confederation scheme, it is beset by many difficulties—some of them perhaps insuperable. Mr. Trollope's book is well worth reading.

PASCAL.²—There is a great fascination in Pascal, and persons of the most varied opinions upon literature and religion unite in a cordial admiration of him. Those, however, to whom he is as yet unknown, will find Professor Tulloch's little work an excellent introduction to this man of singular genius; whose memory is revered rather for that which he promised to achieve than for that which he actually accomplished. The author of the *Pensées* was well worthy of being accorded an early place in the admirable series of Foreign Classics to which it belongs.

THE LETTERS OF JOHN KEATS TO FANNY BRAWNE.³—The general impression seems to be with regard to this work—and it is one in which we must coincide—that it should not have been undertaken. Mr. Forman has done much excellent service hitherto in recovering what was valuable concerning several eminent writers in English literature; but here we think he has overstepped the bounds, and transgressed the rules of delicacy. There can be no question that if Keats were alive he would never have allowed these love-letters to be published; and under such circumstances, we can not be too careful in respecting the wishes of the dead. That which through neglect or inadvertence has been lost, if it be at all valuable as affecting a deceased writer, may be reverently gathered together and added to existing

¹ "South Africa." By Anthony Trollope. Chapman & Hall.

² "Pascal." By Principal Tulloch. Blackwood & Sons.

³ "The Letters of John Keats to Fanny Brawne, written in the Years 1819-20, now given from the original manuscripts, with Introduction and Notes." By H. Buxton Forman. Reeves & Turner.

treasures ; but that which concerned his affections alone, and the knowledge of which he evidently desired should be buried with him, had best be suffered to rest in peace.

MRS. MOULTON'S POEMS.¹—Mrs. Moulton is a lady not unknown in America. Her present volume is certainly deserving of the praise it has met with, for the exhibition of a graceful fancy and a charming style. Some of the poems are well worthy of being remembered, and this is no uncommon tribute in an age which is flooded with inferior verse. If there is not a great, there is certainly a true and genuine vein of poetry in the productions of this writer.

THE LAND OF BOLIVAR.²—Venezuela must be an interesting country, if we are to judge from the numerous works which have been written upon it. The latest traveler, Mr. Spence, tells us many things which are new, and are the result of personal observation. The question, however, still arises, Why does not the land of Bolivar, with its great natural resources and its climate, become a more favored and prosperous one? The answer must be sought, we fear, in the character of its people, of whom Mr. Spence says that they will steal water when their masters' lives are depending upon it. This book is embellished by many excellent maps and illustrations.

FICTION.—In "A Chaperon's Cares,"³ Mrs. Jackson combines a good deal of clever writing with not the very best of plots. In fact, in order to gratify the present morbid taste for sensationalism, there is a very unpleasant episode in this novel which goes by the name of the Devron mystery. Its details seem to have been furnished by a perusal of the police reports. If we put this out of sight, however, it must be confessed that the author writes with much vivacity and freshness, and that her sketches of character are graphic and lifelike.—It has always been a puzzle to English readers why Mr. Hepworth Dixon, the writer of so many successful works in general literature, should have taken to fiction. He startled the world rather than pleased it by his "Diana, Lady Lyle," and now he follows up the shock by another stroke of the galvanic battery with his "Ruby Grey."⁴ Undoubtedly there are gleams of real talent in Mr. Dixon's novels; *cela va sans dire*; but even his most intimate friends must confess that he lacks the finest and best qualifications of the novelist. Place beside his stories any of the works of fiction by George Eliot, R. D. Blackmore, Mr. Hardy, or Mr. Black, and his inferiority is at once manifest. As a novelist, Mr. Dixon is spasmodic and unnatural, and lacks the grand repose we see in George Eliot or Thackeray. Nor does he make up for this loss by inimitable

¹ "Swallow Flights: Poems." By Louise Chandler Moulton. Macmillan & Co.

² "The Land of Bolivar; or, War, Peace, and Adventure in the Republic of Venezuela." By J. M. Spence, F.R.G.S. Sampson, Low & Co.

³ "A Chaperon's Cares." By Mary Catherine Jackson. Smith, Elder & Co.

⁴ "Ruby Grey." By W. Hepworth Dixon. Hurst & Black.

touches of nature, such as we get in Dickens. "Ruby Grey" is full of anomalies, which are not redeemed by flashes of original power. There is incident in abundance, but the feeling left after reading the whole work is one of mingled disappointment and bewilderment. As the picturesque writer of such works as "The Tower of London," Mr. Dixon held a unique position; it seems strange that he should seek to barter this position for that of a third-rate novelist. If the two novels already published are a fair sample of his powers as a story-writer, it is perfectly certain that he can not attain high rank in his art.—Mr. Jenkins has written a very readable story in "The Captain's Cabin."¹ The member for Dundee has a fine scent for sensation, and though many of the critics are usually severe upon him, none can deny that his present venture in fiction is very interesting.—A publishing season without a novel by Miss Braddon would almost be regarded as incomplete by a certain section of readers. This very prolific lady has now issued her thirtieth or thirty-first novel, and "An Open Verdict"² is certainly very readable. This writer always manages to have one or two characters in whom intense interest centers; and though there is a sameness in her method, there is considerable variety in the individuals of her stories. Of course there is a murder scandal, and Cyril Calverhouse is by no means the finest type of a hero. But when all deductions have been made, this novel is worthy of ranking before many which Miss Braddon has latterly put forth.—Miss Grant has already sufficiently attested her power to write charming and clever novels. Her present work, "My Heart's in the Highlands,"³ is of slighter texture than its predecessors, but it is very sweet and idyllic. The heroine is a lovely Scotch girl, who is called upon to go through a bitter experience; but she is true as steel, and excites our admiration for her many virtues. The descriptions of scenery in this novel are very admirable, and altogether there are few recent stories which can be pronounced more attractive.—Some little time ago, a work of considerable promise was published, entitled "Scarscliff Rocks." It showed considerable power in the delineation of character, and the writer was evidently one from whom good work might be expected. She has now followed up that work by "Angus Gray."⁴ Gray is a coast-guardsman, with high notions of honor and integrity, and he so impresses one Ellenor Eveleigh (who moves altogether in a higher sphere), that she insensibly falls in love with him. There is some amount of roughness in the author's working out of these characters; but, on the whole, a very considerable amount of praise must be awarded to her. There are many noteworthy things in these volumes.—The

¹ "The Captain's Cabin." By Edward Jenkins, M.P. Mullan & Sons.

² "An Open Verdict." By the author of "Lady Audley's Secret." Maxwell & Co.

³ "My Heart's in the Highlands." By the author of the "Sun Maid." Bentley & Son.

⁴ "Angus Gray." By E. S. Maine, author of "Scarscliff Rocks," etc. Smith, Elder & Co.

same praise may be extended to the author of the one-volume story, "John Orlebar, Clerk."¹ In fact, this writer has a distinct touch of genius, which now and again reminds us of George Eliot.

GEORGE BARNETT SMITH.

LONDON.

RECENT GERMAN BOOKS.

SCIENTIFIC writers and works on political economy seem to be so thoroughly discredited by our "governing classes" in America, that it may be hazardous to call public attention to the collected writings of John Prince-Smith.² But this Anglo-German had the good fortune to combine the most exact scientific methods with a popular style intelligible to the humblest reader; to be able, as it were, to mount his logic upon springs, so that the vehicle carried one over the hardest dialectics without jolting; and this gift or faculty ought to recommend his essays for translation and circulation in those parts of the United States where people will accept only disguised truths. Prince-Smith's principles ought to read as smoothly to the Western mind as Mr. Vorhees' sophisms. He is, in short, or rather was, a species of Bastiat in the art of popularizing severe economical reasoning, and insinuating it, so to speak, upon the convictions of the unwilling reader. It was in this way that he, an Englishman, coming to Germany as the apostle of the Manchester school, and at a time when a dangerous rival in the person of Frederic List was abroad, succeeded in carrying the whole country triumphantly over to free trade. This alone was an achievement to which even Protectionists will not refuse their applause. But Prince-Smith did not stop here. He was no one-idea man, gradually inclining to a fanatic, but a well-rounded, complete thinker, who handled all the great topics of social science with a firm, steady hand and a broad intelligence. His zeal and energy were prodigious. He wrote newspaper articles, reviews for the magazines, attended congresses, and latterly had a seat in Parliament. Many of his fugitive pieces are lost, many of his speeches were never reported, and the collection which some of his friends are now making as an act of piety, will unhappily never be complete. The first volume, which has just appeared, contains treatises on such general subjects as the Physiology of Commerce—if the sense of the word be expanded to cover the German "Verkehr"—State and Budget, Thinking, Coinage Reform, The Question of Wages, The Social Democracy. All of these topics are treated freshly and clearly; all contain food for profitable reflection. But the series of papers in regard to coinage and currency standards have a special value for American

¹ "John Orlebar, Clerk." By the author of "Calmshire Folk." Smith, Elder & Co.

² John Prince-Smith's "Gesammelte Schriften." Vol. I. Berlin: F. A. Herbig. 1877.

readers, for the reason that they were called forth by the great reform which Germany began in 1871, and which is now near an apparently successful conclusion. They have a practical value, and if they do not encourage the schemes of the Honorable Mr. Bland, the fault is perhaps that of the schemes themselves, not of Prince-Smith's logic. It must be remembered that in Germany, the question between single or double standard was not one of public honesty, but of public prudence. It was happily not necessary in that uncivilized country to argue against deliberate schemes for swindling the entire creditor class, including the creditors of the state itself, for all parties were agreed that no system should be considered for an instant which could lessen, even indirectly, the solemn obligations of the public treasury. The issue was, therefore, purely a scientific and technical one. Was it expedient to demonetize silver, to maintain a single standard, but to make that standard gold? All these questions Prince-Smith answered emphatically in the affirmative. If he answered the second somewhat less absolutely than the other two, and in his earlier writings inclined to an elastic double currency, adjusting itself by natural laws, he saw clearly enough that in 1871 it was absolutely necessary for Germany to establish an exclusive gold basis for her new imperial currency. And one argument of his deserves to be repeated until it penetrates the mind of the American silver party. The introduction, or rather maintenance of silver as an unlimited legal-tender would, he argued, reduce the aggregate national wealth just to the extent, and just as fast, as the demonetization of silver in other countries reduced its relative value. Since the German Diet is composed of thinking men, and on questions like this the judgment of specialists is put higher than that of the peasant, sound ideas prevailed, the gold standard was adopted, and Germany was saved from a great calamity. In the debates, none spoke more influentially than Prince-Smith, and his speeches lose none of their interest by a reprint six years later.

HERBERT TUTTLE.

BERLIN.

IF the Congress of the Powers should meet, it now seems likely that one factor will be almost or quite wanting in its deliberations—a factor formerly of great importance in all European congresses: we mean the wishes of the pope. Directly, however, at this period, in which the influence of the Catholic Church seems upon the wane in Europe, we have to note the appearance of a book which gives valuable information as to the political power of that church. It is Leo Woerl's "World-Panorama of the Catholic Press." The book is a growth in a certain sense. In 1875, Woerl published a work entitled "The Catholic Press; a New-Year's Greeting to the Catholics of Germany, Austria, and Switzerland," treating of the Catholic press in those lands; and in 1877, a work entitled "The Catholic Press in Europe." Both of these works passed to a second edition within a month. Now the view is extended to the world. No political and no religious editor should be without this hand-book. It affords information of interest to every student of history. What may be lost in accuracy of detail is made up for by the general body

of information. The editor's preface is filled with good advice touching the editing of newspapers. Many will be surprised to learn that he, upon good grounds, clearly given, insists that priests should not edit political journals. The plan of the book is in general to give a few statistics as to the country or province in question, and then to name the Catholic magazines or newspapers, tell whether they are prospering or not, and often give the number of subscribers. The greatest value of the book lies not only in the open, impartial way in which this is done, but also in the fact that in European countries the non-Catholic press is largely mentioned and described. The journalist will find a mass of valuable information in this line. Our readers will, of course, be interested in the discussion of the Catholic press of the United States. Owing to an amusing slip, it is said in the opening general statements that the contents of the American newspapers, speaking of all kinds, are "in large part reprinted from German newspapers"! It is alleged that in the whole country, excluding the editors on the one hand and the less important ordinary reports of church festivals and the like, there are not thirty persons who prepare articles for Catholic papers. The editions of the Catholic journals, from which Woerl excludes such as are not in his view orthodox, are said to be about eight thousand for the best sustained, and for many only two thousand. Of course, there are exceptions, as the Boston *Pilot*, with eighty to one hundred thousand copies. The discussion of the French press, with its changes during the late difficulties, and with the enormous editions of the Republican journals, will attract many readers.

The "Catholic Press" is but a step from theology. Our next book is theology itself of the most thorough kind: Professor Christoph Ernst Luthardt's "Compendium of Dogmatics."¹ As to form, it stands in the middle between Hase's "Hutterus Redivivus" and his "Dogmatics." The body of the work is preceded by a brief general discussion, and by a sketch of the history of systematic theology, in seven periods: Ancient, Middle Age, Reformation, Seventeenth Century, Transition, Rationalistic, Modern. Entirely aside from the value of this work as a compendium of Lutheran dogmatics, drawing largely from Quenstedt and Hollay, it is important as the expression of the views of Luthardt, who is the leader of orthodox Lutheranism. His influence as such in the Church of Germany is doubtless greater than that of any other one man during this century. It must, however, be acknowledged, in spite of various "transcendently" favorable views of German theology, disseminated by Mr. Joseph Cook, that the orthodox way of thinking in Germany can hardly be said to hold its ground.

Advising the friends of missions to read the *General Mission Journal*, we may in passing call attention to a tiny pamphlet, a reprint from that journal. Dr. R. Grundemann, in his "Opening of Inner Africa,"² after glance-

¹ Luthardt, "Kompendium der Dogmatik." Fifth improved and enlarged edition. Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke. 1878. (viii. 372 pp. 8vo.) 6 Marks or \$1.50.

² Grundemann, "Die Erschliessung Innerafrika's durch Stanley's Entdeckung des Livingstone." Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann. 1878. (12 pp. 8vo, with map.) 0.30 Marks or \$0.08.

ing at Stanley's discoveries, comes forward with the claim that the navigation of the Livingstone River be put under the protection of an international agreement, by which the cruelties of adventurers may be excluded and the missions may be enabled to work freely.

If we turn to philosophy, we at once meet a new book from Professor Conrad Hermann. We fear he intends to rival Origen in the number of his works. The volume before us deals with "Hegel and the Logical Question of Philosophy at the present time."¹ The rapidity of publication exhibited by the author must necessarily detract, more or less, from the scientific finish of his productions. Opening with the question "Who was Hegel?" (the question answered by the word "fool" or "demi-god," according to the views of philosophers), the author launches out into a sea of discussion that withdraws from view at page 630. Hermann's view is that Kant is the Socrates of modern philosophy, that Hegel is Kant's Plato, and that the aim of our day is to add to Hegel's position that general scientific truth of philosophy which shall correspond to Aristotle's doctrine. For our part, we must confess that we should like to see a more scientifically composed work from the pen of the learned professor. He could not well write six hundred and thirty pages and not say much of value, but it is weary work finding it. Ninety-seven similar sections fill the book, with no guiding analytical plan, and the sentences in many places ramble on like children picking forest-flowers, rather than like men in serried ranks. You think, as you read, that you are listening to one talking a matter over to himself, and not to an orator who has prepared his subject. We trust that the publishers will ask for an abler work—let us say a more orderly and a more condensed work—the next time. It may perhaps be added that, as is proper to the subject, Hermann's views on the philosophy of history come forward repeatedly in this book; his "Philosophy of History" of 1870 will be remembered as thus far his best production.

We are in a scolding mood, and we must have another cross word. Professor Friedrich Zöllner, who has distinguished himself so in mathematics and in psycho-physics, has made a new book—we use the phrase advisedly. It is "Scientific Treatises,"² and is a first volume. As remarked of the last author, it may be said of the author of this book, that he can not help giving something good in so much space, but why should this metal be hid in so much sand? The stuff can not be called ore. Hermann³ prosed, but keeps to a monotone respectable prose. Zöllner runs riot in poetry, philosophy, history, ancient and modern, and even descends to all manner of personalities such as would delight the tastes of gossip-newspaper readers. We commend the few points of interest to the student of psycho-physics, but we

¹ Hermann, "Hegel und die logische Frage der Philosophie in der Gegenwart." Leipzig: Moritz Schäfer. 1878. (4, 630 pp. 8vo.) 10 Marks or \$2.50.

² Zöllner, "Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen." Vol. I. (733 pp. 8vo, with portraits of Newton, Kant, and Faraday, and 4 lithogr. plates.) Leipzig: Staackmann. 1878. 13.50 Marks or \$3.37½; bound, 15 or \$3.75.

advise him to supply himself with patience, and with a condemning pencil before he begins to turn the leaves.

One point is of a puzzling attractiveness. Zöllner tells us how Mr. Slade succeeds in knotting a rope whose ends are sealed. We should not have trusted Zöllner and the revered Fechner's eyesight, but there were other keen-eyed witnesses of Slade's performance before the professors, so that there seems to be no possible doubt that the knot-tying was genuine. Now for the explanation. "We" live in the conceit and conception of only three dimensions. Mr. Slade, Plato's theory, and the "reality" of things display to us four dimensions. The argument is the following, in so far as we comprehend it: A loop made by laying one end of a line across the other, is a knot to a man who has but two dimensions, a double loop is our knot for we three-dimensioners, and this double-loop is in turn no knot to the men who see four dimensions. The only truth about this is that a knot is a knot for us. A two-dimensioner, were there such a being, could have no cord, could have no loop, could have no sight. And if he had all these impossible things, the knot of the loop would consist in the cord's being caught between a "dimension" and the cord, and not, as in our case, being involved in the cord itself. The last point disposes of the four-dimension case. If the cord were for us caught in a "dimension," then the man who had the new dimension could free it; but unfortunately it is caught in the cord, and one, two, or twenty dimensions will not affect, so far as we can estimate the power of dimensions. To be quite simple: three dimensions cover the reality, and there is no room for a fourth.

Georg Elias Müller, a privat-docent of philosophy at Göttingen, has brought out a work entitled "On the Establishment of Psychophysics."¹ He takes up E. H. Weber's law, and, treating of the methods of measurement used thus far in trying this law, he shows certain necessary changes in these methods. Then he discusses the actual validity of, the signification of, and the appropriateness of the law.

To descend from psychophysics to a branch of physics, we may call the attention of civil engineers, and of the various directors of the water supply of large towns, to F. König's "Planning and Laying Water-pipes and Water-works, with especial respect to the Supply of Cities."² König being too busy, he intrusted the preparation of the new edition to Poppe.

In the department of history, quite a variety presents itself. Oscar Jäger's "History of the Romans"³ is one of those valuable books in which a man of learning deliberately sets himself to produce a good popular presentation

¹ Müller, "Zur Grundlegung der Psychophysik." Berlin: Th. Grieben. 1878. (xvi. 424 pp. 8vo.)

² König, F., "Anlage und Ausführung von Wasserleitungen u. s. w." Second enlarged edition. Prepared by Ludwig Poppe for the author. Leipzig: Otto Wigand. 1878. (xii. 433 pp. 8vo, with 137 wood-cuts and 5 lithogr. plates.) 8 Marks or \$2.

³ Jäger, "Geschichte der Römer." Fourth edition. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann. 1877. (xvi. 575 pp. 8vo.) 6 Marks or \$1.50.

in convenient form, although able to, and urged to, produce a work laboring under the show of knowledge. The book is clear, agreeably written, and vivid. It has passed through four editions, the third and fourth being double editions. The same author's "History of the Greeks" has already passed to a third edition. These works may be recommended with safety to those who desire to gain the results of modern study in Roman and Grecian history, without being hampered in their reading by the display of the processes, necessary as the latter are to the philologist and the professional historian.

Dr. Albert Freybe's "Old-German Life.¹ Materials and Sketches for the Representation of German National Character," gives a readable and interesting collection of the earlier German poetry, forming thus a worthy companion piece to König's "History of German Literature," of which we spoke previously. The author, curiously enough, opens with a description of Iceland as it is to-day, and then as it was in history. From Iceland, he passes to the literature of the North, the literature which Iceland more than any other country perhaps has been the means of preserving. Beginning then with the heathen fables, we are led through the Old-German shapes of Bible stories and of saints' lives. The chapter on the position of woman is of particular interest. Chivalric treatment of women is a thing almost unknown in Germany to-day, though she is in old-fashioned homes the object of deep love.

The philologist and the historian meet in A. L. J. Michelsen's essay on "Pre-Christian Places of Worship in our Home,"² wherein he endeavors to prove that the "insula Oceani," in the fortieth chapter of Tacitus's *Germania*, is the island Alsen.

H. Boos's "History of Basel," the present first volume of which depicts "Basel in the Middle Ages,"³ will find many readers for its discussion of the course of history in that important town. Boos makes his first period extend from the earliest times to the earthquake, from 374 to 1356 A.D. A more convenient historical division than an earthquake can hardly be conceived of. Then, in the second period, 1356 to 1501 A.D., we enter upon a series of stirring events: Basel's conflicts, now with the bishops, now with Austria; the famous council; and, finally, the entrance of Basel into the Swiss Confederation. It is easy to see that Basel has never submitted itself in a very warlike way to the supposed force of circumstances. We can remember no martial monument that has affected us as did that at Basel, of the battle of St. James, in 1444 A.D., wherein 1200 Swiss resisted unto death

¹ Freybe, "Altdeutsches Leben. Stoffe und Entwürfe zur Darstellung deutscher Volksart." Vol. I. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann. 1878. ((vi.), 415 pp. 8vo.) 4 Marks or \$1.

² Michelsen, "Von vorchristlichen Cultusstätten in unserer Heimath. Eine antiquarische Mittheilung." Schleswig: Bergas. 1878. (32 pp. 8vo.) 0.60 Marks or \$0.15.

³ Boos, "Geschichte Basels. I. Bd. Basel im Mittelalter." Basel: C. Detloff. 1878. (xviii. 423 pp. 8vo.) 8 Marks or \$2.

60,000 French. Even in the fourth decade of the present century, Basel was the scene of a most bitter and bloody civil struggle.

Our next book strikes into Austrian life at a later period than that above alluded to in the struggles with Basel. Adam Wolf, whose biographical writings have made him a favorite word-artist, offers to us "Historical Pictures from Austria," this first volume drawing from the "Age of the Reformation, 1526 to 1648."¹ The author brings before us with his skillful pen representatives of almost every section of the country and of almost every party of the time. Georg Kirchmair is the Catholic friend of reform from the Tyrol. The Anabaptists are Tyrolese and Moravians, and show the radical social element of the Reformed. The Khevenhüllers from the Austrian provinces bring before us the Protestant and Catholic nobility of Austria. Archbishop Sittich represents Salzburg, and as well the temporal and spiritual church-state. The Austrian Hans Ludwig Kufstein is a specimen of the loyal Protestant and convert. Wilhelm Slavata stands for Bohemia and the Catholic noblemen wedded to the dynasty. And Wolf Pachhelbel depicts for us the Egerland, and the persecution and tragic fate of Protestant citizens. The volume opens with a brief historical glance at the development of Austria.

Ernst von der Brüggen sketches in bold lines "Poland's Dismemberment."² The extravagance and as well the corruption, personal, social, and civil, of the nobility, the low state of church and school, and the brutal condition of the lower classes are exhibited freely and often in the very words of writers of that day. After discussing the too-tardy endeavor to resuscitate the state, he closes with the question of the rehabilitation of it. His own view is that the necessary presupposition, namely, a firm discipline among the ruling classes, is not yet to be observed.

But we must come home. Dr. Von Holst continues, in a somewhat modified form, his "Constitution and Democracy of the United States of America." Change of publisher led to a change of title and a corresponding change of method. It is unnecessary to say that the favor shown by Americans toward the former work will be accorded gladly to the one before us, the "Constitutional History of the United States of America, beginning with Jackson's Administration." The volume completed reaches to the annexation of Texas.³ Those not familiar with German will, as is promised, soon be supplied with a translation by Mr. J. J. Lalor. There is no room to discuss the book in detail, but we should like to call particular attention at

¹ Wolf, "Geschichtliche Bilder aus Oesterreich. I. Bd. Aus dem Zeitalter der Reformation." Vienna: Braumüller. 1878. (v. 410 pp. 8vo.) 8 Marks or \$2.

² Von der Brüggen, "Polens Auflösung. Kulturgeschichtliche Skizzen aus den letzten Jahrzehnten der Polnischen Selbständigkeit." Leipzig: Veit & Co. 1878. (iv. (i), 417, pp. 8vo.) 6 Marks or \$1.50.

³ Von Holst, H., "Verfassungsgeschichte der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, seit der Administration Jackson's. I. Bd. Von der Administration Jackson's bis zur Annexion von Texas." Berlin: J. Springer. 1878. (viii. (i.), 611 pp. 8vo.) 12 Marks or \$3.

this time to the question of public patronage as treated by Dr. Von Holst. Americans can not too speedily be convinced of the evils attending the frequent changes in public officers, of the demoralizing effect these changes exert upon the public business, as well as upon the officers actual and expectant. The author speaks of these things with an unprejudiced tongue. The text is supported by full citations in the notes, and it should be remarked that the English is remarkably free from misprints.

We have observed that the above was taken from the current volume of the *Journal for Creative Art*. The wood-cuts and the heliotype or phototype in the pamphlet display the careful manner of the journal. Let us glance at the last volume.¹ Professor Carl von Lützow, the librarian of the Royal Academy of Arts at Vienna, is the editor. The journal differs from some art journals in being one rather for study than for mere pleasure; it is not a magazine with novelettes and the chance engravings of the day. The volume opens with a striking cut of Titian's Madonna of the family Pesaro, and with an essay from Anton Springer upon Meister W., in which he urges that it signifies not only Michael Wohlgemuth, but also Jacob Walch. Wilhelm Bubeck describes with various illustrations the latest architectural phenomena in Belgium. We find a description of the architecture of Wagner's Bayreuth Theatre (the theatre in nature looks at a distance like a full-grown Pennsylvania red barn), accompanied by drafts, a full-page picture of Wagner, and accounts of his plays. A report of the art display at the Philadelphia Exposition gives many a hard blow at the miserable pictures sent and the prices charged by Continental artists, and at the poor, let us say low, tastes of the body of American statuary that the writer saw: several of the best artists were not represented at all, and many of the representations were either lacking in originality or decency, or both. Several series of artist letters are republished, and essays are offered on painters or on schools of painters. A few reviews of books on art also add to the value of the journal. Of the many exquisite pictures, it will suffice to name two more: one is a fountain in the court-yard of the Borghese palace, drawn by Krausskopf; the other is a delicate copy of Kraus's "Holy Family" (now belonging to the Emperor of Russia).

Our postlude is Wangemann's "Sketch of the History of Music."² Four periods are discussed: (1) Ancient music, wherein Assyrians, Hebrews,

¹ Lützow, "Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst." Mit dem Beiblatt Kunst Chronik. Vol. XII. Leipzig: Seemann. 1877. 25 Marks or \$6.25 per year. There are twelve numbers in each year (October to October), fifty-two numbers of the *Art Chronicle*, and a few extra sheets from the Society for Reproductive Art. Vol. XII. contains 387 (1) pp. of the journal, 840 columns of the *Chronicle*, and 88 columns of the communications of the above-named society. The form is a high quarto, and the paper, print, and illustrations of the first order.

² Wangemann, "Grundriss der Musik-Geschichte, von den ersten Anfängen bis zur neuesten Zeit." Magdeburg: Heinrichshofen. 1878. (viii. (iv.) 216, 13 pp. 8vo.) 6 Marks or \$1.50.

Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Chinese, and Indians are noticed. Of course the first-named are briefly mentioned; yet there is in the appended tables a long piece of Hebrew music, based upon the supposed value of the Hebrew accents. Could not some one persuade the anti-organ Covenanters to use and insist upon this Davidic music? (2) Christian music up to the classical period. (3) Italian music. And (4) Music since the Reformation. Besides the table of contents, there is a convenient index.

In the *North and South*¹ for February, Friedrich Uhl, of Vienna, gives a novel of fifty pages, which, in what it tells and in what it suggests, gives but too true a picture of life in Vienna—let us say of the darker side of human nature. From the papers of the poet Ferdinand Freiligrath appear several translations from Herrick, and one from Thomas Bailey Aldrich, on castles in the air. E. Klebs, of Prague, has a thorough paper upon “Injurious Food, a Contribution to the History of the Origin of Diseases.” Every one who, owing to a quite general habit of men, indulges at times in such dangerous beverages and solids as water, milk, beef, and veal, would do well to reflect upon Klebs’s counsel. He relates that some of his hearers, after a lecture at Prague, declared they could with difficulty bring themselves to eat at all. He recommends associations of purchasers, in the case of milk, who shall procure it from large dairies, supervised by physicians. Our domestic felines should, he suggests, always be permitted to try the first of the hams and sausages, to see if trichina be therein. For our part, we should be tempted to add strychnine to these trial pieces. There is a welcome sketch from the art-historian Wilhelm Lübke, of Stuttgart: “The Civilization of the Early Renaissance in Italy.” He presents to us the men who wrought the new life, and points out the effect of the change in art and learning. That which impresses one in this, as in all good studies of the Renaissance period, is the eagerness of men for mental treasures. Would that we could revive in this mechanical modern life the burning zeal of those earlier days.

The *Historical Journal*² contains an interesting paper, “Philip the Second of Spain and the Papacy,” by Philipppson. He discusses the religious power of the Spanish kings in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and shows how Ferdinand and Isabella, Charles V. and Philip II., succeeded in asserting their rights in religion. This naturally involves the question of the peculiar position of the papal legate at Madrid, and of the inquisition as an instrument also of political power. Philipppson says: “Never in modern times has the state again been able to obtain such rights and powers over the Catholic clergy.” A special interest attaches to the proclamation of the Trent decrees. The subject will be concluded in another article.

CASPAR RENÉ GREGORY.

LEIPZIG, 1878.

¹ *Nord und Süd*, Februar, 1878. Berlin: Georg Stilke. 20 Marks or \$5 per year.

² *Historische Zeitschrift*. Neue Folge, Bd. III., Heft 2, pp. 269 to 315. Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1878.

RECENT FRENCH BOOKS.

UNTIL to-day we have studied Greek history only in books written by Germans, Frenchmen, or Englishmen. But now at last we have the good fortune of possessing a history of Hellenism¹ from the pen of a Greek, whose knowledge and largeness of mind are beyond doubt. M. Paparrigopoulo aims to show by a series of facts that Hellenic civilization ended neither at the battle of Cheronæa, nor indeed at the Roman conquest; but that it has lasted through centuries, even to our own days, in its unity and in its chief traits, without having at any time ceased to perform its part. This argument will at least receive discussion; but every one will agree in recognizing that the opinion of a Greek scholar, who has succeeded in ridding himself of all prejudice and of preconceived ideas generally, ought to be listened to with consideration, and that as he is much nearer the traditions and sentiments of his race than foreign historians, he is perfectly fitted to speak for Hellas in this great historical inquiry. Outside the views held by the author, this publication fills an important space. In fact, almost all our Greek histories stop at the Roman supremacy. From that moment, as we imagine very falsely, Hellenism played but a very secondary rôle, and became merged in the Lower Empire, which we hardly know, except from Gibbon or from badly-digested and voluminous compilations. M. Paparrigopoulo himself narrates the fortunes of Hellenic civilization, notably during the long period of the middle ages, with a clearness to which historians have ere this seldom accustomed us. Beneath his pen questions become simpler, light appears, and a lively interest is added to the long period which had become for us the byword for obscurity and ennui. Thanks to the sober and elegant style of the book, which contains a multitude of facts carefully arranged, it will be welcomed with high favor by the learned public. We hope that the grievances set forth by the author at the end of the volume will gain a hearing at the Congress soon to assemble to consider Oriental affairs.

The reputation of Henry Gréville² was established with extraordinary rapidity. She has suddenly risen to the first rank. This success is very well deserved. Having passed several years in Russia, the novelist brought from that country a multitude of observations and delicate studies, which she immediately set in action in a series of publications following in rapid succession, each of which was the source of ever-increasing delight to many readers. This is because the author writes with inimitable grace, and shows a peculiar originality, a flexibility of talent, and a humor which have quickly won all hearts. The "Nouvelles Russes" display the qualities we have just spoken of. Except the "Meunier," which is badly planned, these little stories

¹ "Histoire de la Civilisation Hellénique." Par M. C. Paparrigopoulo, Professeur d'Histoire à l'Université d'Athènes. Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1878. *

² "Nouvelles Russes." Par Henry Gréville. Paris: Plon et Cie. *

are told with life, and make one smile or weep with emotion. But the author has done her best in her last creation, "Ariadne." This novel tells the story of a young girl of marvelous endowments, but poor and fatherless, who becomes the victim of art and of love. "Ariadne" is an exquisite creation. Besides the qualities which the authoress has already displayed, she proves herself in this work a great artist. He who does not possess the *feu sacré* himself can not possibly pronounce the best and most profound decisions in matters of art. Henry Gréville, after such a work, can hardly surpass herself. She would do well to rest in the enjoyment of this great and legitimate success, and to break the series of her stories for some time.

Victor Hugo's¹ "Histoire d'un Crime" is the sensation of the moment. It is well known how great a fame was acquired by the first volume of the story of this great drama. The second, which treats of the "Massacre," the "Victory," and the "Fall," will be sure to have an equal reputation. M. Hugo has often been accused of giving way to passion in narrating those ever-nefarious days. We believe the reproach to be unjust. The facts related belong to history, and he has never distorted them. But could an honest man and great poet possibly narrate them without a just indignation?

If the "History of a Crime" is the sensation of the moment, the first volume of the Révolution² is assuredly the most important publication of the year. Two years ago appeared the Ancien Régime, the first volume of this great undertaking. Now comes the first volume of the Révolution, which will be followed by a second on the same theme. Then the author will bring his task to an end by treating of the Régime Nouveau. The present volume is the fruit of immense reading. M. Taine has gathered all the testimony, all the correspondence, which bears on the question. These documents he has sifted with great judgment, rejecting without hesitation all that appeared to him marked by passion, party spirit, or ignorance. One can therefore depend upon the witnesses produced by the historian. In such a book this is of foremost importance. The plan of the work is laid out very clearly. Its three books divide the earliest phase of the Révolution into three parts, entitled respectively, *L'Anarchie Spontanée*, *L'Assemblée Constituante et son Œuvre*, and *La Constitution Appliquée*. These embrace this vast subject in all its extent. This methodical division marks each step of the first part of the Révolution, and goes far to give the reader the right bearings amid a vast number of facts ever crowding from under the historian's pen. Accordingly, we can read not only without fatigue, but with genuine enthusiasm, the tale of a crisis without parallel. As for the style of M. Taine, it is always brilliant, animated, and full of keen remarks and striking images. We are glad to find that the enumerations are less crowded and the sentences less burdened than in the preceding volume. This is a real improvement. Yet we must

¹ "Histoire d'un Crime." Par Victor Hugo. Paris: Calmann Lévy. 1878.

² "Les Origines de la France Contemporaine. La Révolution." Tome i. Par H. Taine. Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1878.

pass one criticism upon the work. General views are too often lacking, and decisive judgments are not given. M. Taine, therefore, has rather collected materials for a new history of the Révolution than recounted it himself. It is, of course, a great work to have brought together new and genuine documents. In this the author has done a service to historical science, and it is easy to imagine the hard tasks he has imposed upon himself in reaching such a result. But other men will build with these stones, collected at so great an outlay of trouble. We should have liked it better had M. Taine constructed the edifice himself. Having done the often thankless task of analysis, he might well have carried out the synthesis of the work.

Two years ago, M. Aubé¹ published a study on the persecutions undergone by the Church from its birth down to the time of Marcus Aurelius. We now have a continuation of the subject in a study of pagan polemic during the same period, and the account of the material opposition to Christianity is supplemented by the history of the philosophic attacks upon it. At the outset, the historian depicts the various Gnostic systems which so much endangered primitive Christianity. Their history leads us to comprehend the excited and troubled *milieu* in which the pagan polemic moved. The analysis of the varying attacks made on the new creed is presented with much care, and a rapid view given of Cornelius Fronto, the rhetorician who accidentally inaugurated the anti-Christian polemic in a declamation no longer extant, but reproduced by Minucius Felix in the course of his refutation of the chief arguments. Next comes Lucian, the Voltaire of the second century, who attacks the Church with the arms of ridicule. All the passages in the works of this witty satirist are carefully gathered whenever they are directed against the Christian faith. M. Aubé has found them chiefly in the little work entitled "The Death of Peregrinus." The most important attack, however, is the Discourse of Celsus, which we know from the copious quotations given by Origen in his long refutation. M. Aubé's great merit consists in having gathered and put together these fragments so as to form what is called a "Genuine Discourse." He also subjects the life of Apollonius of Tyana, by Philostratus, to a severe analysis. In M. Aubé's opinion, with which we agree, this work is a means of proselytism intended for Christians. In reading M. Aubé's pages, one is astonished to find in these pagan authors arguments which are still directed against Christianity. The whole work is marked by earnestness, sound knowledge, and lofty impartiality, and its style is agreeable and entirely unpretentious.

MM. de Goncourt² are well known as novelists, but their talent, though generally devoted to producing works of the imagination, is sometimes shown in well-written historical compositions. The essays before us have been well received by the public. The eighteenth century furnishes the

¹ "Histoire des Persécutions de l'Église. La Polemique Païenne à la fin du 2^me Siècle." Par B. Aubé. Didier et Cie. 1878.

² "Histoire de Marie Antoinette." Par Ed^d et Jules de Goncourt. Paris: G. Charpentier. 1878.

theme for a series of publications entitled: "La Femme au XVIII^{me} Siècle," "Portraits Intimes du XVIII^{me} Siècle," and "Marie Antoinette." The last publication seems to us superior to the other works. The authors had at their disposal unpublished letters and new documents taken from the national archives. Aided by these materials, they have drawn, not that conventional Marie Antoinette invented by the Restoration, but a living portrait of a queen and of a woman, who was fated to suffer every human sorrow. MM. de Goncourt have, by writing this fine work, done an act of justice, and cleared an unfortunate queen of all the calumnies by which party passions have sought to tarnish her reputation. Of the many histories of Marie Antoinette, we know none more in harmony with the truth, and more painfully interesting.

The first of M. Vintry's ¹ studies bears upon the ancient imposts levied in Gaul from the sixth to the eleventh century, and upon their transformations into feudal rents, and it gives an abundance of curious information on the financial condition of the country during this period. The Roman administration and the appearance of feudalism are explained and analyzed with great precision and sound learning. However, the most important part, as well as the most considerable, is that portion of the work given to the financial system of the feudal monarchy from Hugh Capet down to Philippe le Bel. But before grappling with the greater difficulties of the task, the author makes the way clearer by discussing the condition of persons, the condition of lands, the power of the seigneurs, and the power of the kings during the epoch of feudalism. We could not dispense with this preliminary study, since the examination of financial institutions is not to be separated from an acquaintance with the social state of a country. In the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, the revenues of the kings came almost exclusively from their domain formed out of land properly belonging to the crown, and from the returns of feudal taxes. The extension of the royal domain and the importance of its revenues were the basis, at that period, of the financial system. Hence we can follow, reign by reign, the progressive extensions of the kings' domain. M. Vintry, in tracing this out, has not recoiled at the great difficulties of the task. This part of the book is certainly the most important. The examination of the coins and the mint, with its administration, leads the author to study the budget of feudal royalty; and he comes to the conclusion that there existed neither general expenses, great public services, nor taxes intended to supply money for them. Henceforth these learned studies will be indispensable to the work of composing the history of the origin, formation, and development of the financial régime of France. The administrative skill of the author, his exact and methodical mind, his firm and clear style, rendered him eminently fit to treat this important and difficult study.

A. NOUGARÈDE.

PARIS.

¹ "Études sur le Régime Financier de la France avant la Révolution de 1789." Par Ad. Vintry. Paris: Guillaumin. 1878.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.

JULY, 1878.

RUSSIA.¹

I.

A STRANGELY attractive old book on Russia—a book, too, which has narrowly escaped being lost—is the memoir of Captain Margeret, a French free-lance, who lived between the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. It was printed at Paris in 1607, at the desire of Henry IV. Charmed with the personal recitals of the author, who had played a conspicuous part in the Muscovite wars of succession known as the seditions of the Pseudo-Demetrii, the King of France expressed a desire

¹ “Estat de l’Empire de Russie et Grande Duché de Moscovie. Avec ce qui s’y est passé de plus memorable et tragique, pendant le regne de quatre Empereurs : a sçavoir depuis l’an 1590, jusques en l’an 1606, en Septembre.” Par le Capitaine Margeret. Paris, 1607.

Herberstein’s “*Rerum Moscovitarum Commentarii*.” Vienna, 1549.

De Thou’s “*Historia Sui Temporis*.” 1616.

“Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation, made by Sea and Overland, to the remotest and farthest distant quarters of the Earth.” By Richard Hakluyt, Master of Artes, and sometime Student of Christ Church in Oxford. London, 1598.

“Letters of King Philip and Queen Marie to Ivan Vasilivich, the Emperour of Russia.” 1555.

Adelung’s “*Kritisch-literärische Uebersicht der Reisenden in Russland bis 1700*.” Petersburg, 1846.

“Nécessité des Réformes dans l’Exposition des Peuples Aryâs, Européens et Tourans, particulièrement des Slaves et des Moscovites.” Par F. H. Duchinski. Paris, 1864.

“Un Pluriel pour un Singulier, et le Panslavisme est détruit dans son principe.” Par Casimir Delamarre. Paris, 1868.

to make the extraordinary events of which Russia had just been the scene more generally known. Hence the publication of the *Memoir*, whose full title is "State of the Empire of Russia and Grand-duchy of Muscovy ; with all the most memorable and tragic events that happened there during the rule of four Emperors ; namely, from the year 1590 to September, 1606. By Captain Margeret."

When first brought out this treatise had great success. In literary value it certainly can not be ranked with the more philosophic work of Herberstein. A state councillor, and President of the Board of Revenues of the German Empire, Herberstein in 1516 went as envoy-extraordinary to Moscow, soon after the downfall of Mongol dominion over Russia. Before him, George Thurn had been there as an envoy of Maximilian of Germany (1492). In those days Russia had to be rediscovered, so to speak. It was Germany mainly which sent her scientific commissions and her diplomatic agents to Moscow, with a view of studying the political situation of a country that had suffered from a long eclipse. The reports of these commissions still exist in part, but are hidden in the dust of Austrian archives. The first good and generally accessible account we have of the condition of Muscovy since its deliverance from the Tatar yoke is that by Herberstein. After him there came travelers of all nations and of various stations in life—chiefly English traders, factors, and ambassadors, some of whose reports may be seen in Hakluyt. Margeret's book is the next in order. It is a simple account, such as we may expect from a rough soldier of fortune ; yet, apart from a comparison with so accomplished an author as Herberstein, who occupied a prominent place in the republic of letters, the French captain's report has undoubtedly great merits, even from its very simplicity. In France the appearance of his work was quite an event.

The life of its writer had been a checkered one, of most fantastic diversity. Sprung from an old family of Auxonne, adventurous Captain Margeret first sided, in the wars of the League, with the cause of the King of Navarre. After the triumph of Henry IV. had become a matter of certainty, the unruly lansquenet found the then probable piping times of peace but little to his taste ; so he speedily went away to other lands that offered a better prospect for the employment of his sword. The chance of adventure successively led him into the service of the Prince of Transylvania and of the German Empire. Under the German banner the doughty captain fought in Hungary against the Turk, then the ter-

ror of Central Europe. Shortly afterwards he turns up in the army of the Polish Republic. He left it in 1600, passing over to Moscow at the request of the Russian ambassador Vlasieff, who offered him, in the name of Czar Boris Godunoff, a command in the Muscovite cavalry.

From this time the restless soldier was mixed up with all the important events in Russia; but, even then, a persevering faithfulness to one cause seems not to have been a strong trait of his. In 1605 we find Margeret, in the battle of Dobrynitchi, on the side of Boris, fighting against the first false Dimitry, whom some regarded as an ex-monk of the name of Grishka Otrepieff, others as a simple Cossack from the Ukraine, others as an impostor from Transylvania. Margeret himself looked upon that pretender as the real son of Ivan the Terrible. Nevertheless he fought for Boris, who, though a relation of the ancient Russian dynasty, was the descendant of a Tatar noble named Chet. At Dobrynitchi, when the Pretender was on the point of breaking through the infantry which formed the center of the Russian army, two foreign lansquenet leaders—a German from Livonia, Walther von Rosen, and the Frenchman Margeret—restored the battle in the interest of Boris. The German troopers were the majority among the auxiliaries of that czar. Their battle-cry was "*Hilf, Gott!*" ("Help, God!"). It afterwards became the battle-cry of the Russians, without their understanding its meaning.

At the death of Czar Boris and the advent of Demetrius, Margeret entered the service of the latter. He obtained the command of the first company of the life-guard of Demetrius, namely, of one hundred archers and of two hundred halberdiers—all foreigners. During the rebellion fomented against Demetrius at Moscow, in 1606, by the Russian nobleman Shuiski, who was afterwards proclaimed czar, all the Poles and foreign mercenaries in the town were massacred. Margeret, happening to be ill, had his life spared; he even continued to reside in Moscow a few months longer. He then embarked at Archangel in order to return to France, having with difficulty obtained the authorization for doing so from the new czar, who wanted to attach him to his person. At Paris he was presented to King Henry IV., who listened with interest to his strange reports.

After a short stay in Burgundy, Margeret, in 1609, entered the service of the second false Demetrius, who claimed the heritage of Fedor Ivanovitch. Soon, however, he once more changed colors.

When Sigismund III. of Poland supported with force of arms the claims of his own son Wladislas to the Russian crown, Margeret served with the Polish army and distinguished himself at the capture of Moscow. During the absence of Sigismund, Prince Pojarski attempted a rising at Moscow, when seven thousand Polish soldiers, garrisoning the suburb called Kitaï Gorod, or "Chinese Town," were on the point of being massacred. With a single company of one hundred musketeers Margeret saved the town, thus enabling the Poles to maintain themselves for another year at Moscow. For this brilliant feat he was called to the Polish court, with the title of Councillor of the King. But unable long to continue a mere carpet-knight, he left Poland in 1612 for Hamburg. From thence he addressed a letter to the Russian boyars, or nobles, at that time assembled for the election of a new dynasty, begging permission from them to return to his Muscovite comrades. This request of the erratic spadassin, though repeated several times, was not granted. Indeed, he had been too often a turncoat, even for an age in which such roving lansquenet conduct was pretty well the rule. Henceforward all traces of his further career vanish. We do not know how, when, and where Margeret found his last rest.

It was before the latter-mentioned events, which estranged him from the Russians, that Margeret had written his remarkable *Memoir*. He composed and published it during his brief intermediate sojourn in France, between 1606 and 1607. De Thou, the French historian, knew him personally, and speaks of him under the name of Jacques Margeret, from Franche-Comté (*"Historia,"* lib. cxxxv.). In 1668, when an embassy of Czar Alexis came to the court of Versailles to intrigue there in favor of the election of a Russian prince to the throne of Poland, a reprint of Margeret's book was made under an order of Louis XIV. So rare had it become then that a single copy only was found by M. Langlois, the publisher, who obtained it from the grand-nephew of Margeret. In the present century, the interesting work might once more have disappeared in the limbo of forgotten things had it not been for the German Orientalist, M. Klaproth, who in 1821 caused a few copies to be struck off for a select circle of learned men. An impression on a larger scale was brought out in France in more recent times.

Before proceeding now to a discussion of the contents of Margeret's book, it may be as well to say a few words on the earlier history of the Russian Empire. More than twenty years ago, the authoress of *"The Englishwoman in Russia"* wrote: "There are

not many readers of the ancient Muscovite history; indeed, I believe that few would deem the dry records of the Russian race very interesting, until the policy of Peter I. and Catherine II. forced the name of Russia upon the attention of Europe. It is a pity they have not been more generally studied, as perhaps they would have afforded a kind of key to the designs of the northern autocrats." This opinion, true nearly a quarter of a century back, is still true to-day.

Even as before the Crimean War, so it is the custom at present with Pan-Slavistic writers to speak of Russia as of a "young and vigorous nation," and to compare its development with the rise and origin of the United States of America! Public opinion is to be impressed with the idea of a strong regenerative force being pent up on the great Skythian plain—a force which is to bring about the rejuvenation of Europe. In truth, however, Russia is an ancient tyranny. The establishment of the Russian empire is contemporaneous with that of the English kingdom by Alfred. But whilst the English nation rose with institutions of Anglo-Saxon self-government, and, after being bowed for a while under the Norman invader, resumed in course of time the struggle for freedom, Russia as an empire began with Norman despotism, became afterwards Mongolized under Tatar rule, and has for a thousand years remained in a state of semi-barbarism and oppression.

Russia is not a young commonwealth. Nor is it, properly speaking, the true representative of the Slavonian race, as the Pan-Slavists would fain assert. The majority of her people are undoubtedly of Turanian, non-Aryan, descent. This must be stated as an historical fact. I, for my part, am least inclined to draw any invidious conclusion therefrom. There are some who set up the words "Aryan" and "Turanian" as a new shibboleth, as a war-cry of deadly feud among nations. Yet, when we remember that one of the oldest civilizations, that of China, is of Turanian origin; when we consider that in parts of Southern and Western Europe there were in prehistoric times some populations of the Mongol, Turanian stock, whose cast of mind may probably be studied in the fragments of Etruscan culture; when we look to the poetic genius of the people of Finland, as shown in their national epic, the *Kalewala*, and to the many learned men whom Finland has recently produced; when we see that the Magyars, those twin-brothers of the Turks, after having spurred their way into Europe, whip and scimitar in hand, afterwards established parliamentary government on

the banks of the Danube, as if they were to the Anglo-Saxon manner born; when we find the Turks themselves adopting at last representative government and making an effort, under dire stress, to acquire greater civilization—we have certainly no right to say that the Turanian races are predestined to an inferior position. Such political Calvinism is entirely to be disclaimed.

I will give another example, to which seldom any reference is made. Herodotus, Strabo, and Plinius already speak of the "Turkai" (*Τῦρραι*) and the "Turcae," dwelling in Europe somewhere in the neighborhood of the present city of Kieff. There, in clear historical times, in the eighth century of our era, the Khazars are to be found—in all probability a Tatar or Turkish steppe tribe by origin. This remarkable people, of evidently non-Aryan descent, imbued itself with Greek culture and refinement, and acted for a time as a pioneer of progress in what is at present Southern Russia. In the tracts of land where the Cossack, Kalmuck, and Khirgiz pulks now swarm, the Khazars had created wealthy towns and fruitful fields. Khazar merchant fleets sailed up the Don, along the shores of the Black Sea, and through the Mediterranean, as far as France and Spain. Strange to say, this wonderful race combined Hellenic aspirations with a preference for a Semitic creed, having made the Mosaic religion their own. Unfortunately, the progress they had achieved in ameliorating the savage habits of the Slavonians of the Dnieper was soon stopped by Russo-Warangian invasion; and afterwards the Khazar nation was wholly overpowered by nomadic inroads.

Under Rurik and his successors in the ninth century the Warangian Northmen welded a number of Finnic and Slav tribes into a realm, to which they gave the name of "Russia." The opinion formerly prevailed that when those Germanic Warangians came as allies, and soon afterwards as conquerors, they found mainly a Slavonian people before them. This view is no longer tenable. Some Slav tribes near Novgorod they found and subjected. But the vast territory between the Finnish Gulf, the rise of the Don, and the Ural range was occupied then by Ugrian, Finnic, non-Slavonian, and non-Aryan races. So little was the present European Russia filled with Slav populations, either in the south, or in the east, or in the north, or even in the center, nay, even in parts of the west, that it is, on the contrary, established now beyond the possibility of serious doubt that the Russian language only obtained the upper hand in the provinces of Kursk, Orel, Kaluga,

Moscow, Vladimir, Yaroslaw, Kostroma, Tver, and the northern parts of Novgorod, so late as the thirteenth century! Let the reader look at the map. These are the central provinces of Russia, even if Poland be reckoned "Russian"—which would certainly be a bold assumption.

As to that part of what is now European Russia which had not yet been annexed to the Rurik realm at the time when the Tatars broke in in the thirteenth century, it became doubly Mongolized during the following two centuries and a half. The Slavonization of this latter portion of the inhabitants of Russia began, therefore, only in the sixteenth century, when the Tatars withdrew. Even now the process of Russification is far from complete in all the European parts of the czar's dominions. It is necessary to mention this in presence of the fictitious ethnographical maps that are published in the interest of the policy of the Court of St. Petersburg. On this subject the book of Mr. F. H. Duchinski may be studied with advantage, even assuming that, as a Pole, he may occasionally overstate his case.

Duchinski—like Henri Martin, the French historian, and Casimir Delamarre—distinguishes between the real Slavonians in Russia and the originally Ugrian, Uralian Muscovites. This, I will at once add, is not an ethnological whim of our time. In the "Life of the Saints," dedicated by learned men of Kieff to Peter I., the province of Tula, which touches that of Moscow, is described as "the country where Asia begins." In a history of the Russian Empire, published under Catherine II., the Finnic, Tshudish (*i.e.* Turanian) character of the Muscovites is openly acknowledged. When a German writer, Stritter, maintained the Finnic origin of the Muscovites, Catherine II. issued a decree to vindicate their European character; but that very decree contains the fatal admission that "though *the Muscovites are of different origin from the Slavonians*, there is yet no repulsion between them." So much for the claim of Russia to represent the Slavonian race.

The foreign, Normanic rulers who founded the Finno-Slav empire of Russia held its people in abject thraldom. Whatever germs of freedom there existed or arose in a few cities were ruthlessly destroyed by the tyrannic grand-princes and czars. Meanwhile the empire oscillated, in different periods, between vast schemes of aggression and utter collapse. It seems as if the sight of the slavish submission of the masses had, ever and anon, produced a vertigo of ambition among its despotic rulers. But after such over-

strained efforts the empire repeatedly broke down in terrible catastrophes.

Between 865 and 1043 we see the Russo-Warangian grand-princes, even when they were still worshipers of heathen idols, stretching out their greedy hands towards the Byzantine sceptre. In the people over which they ruled—whether of Slavonian or Ugrian descent—no migratory impulse can be traced; no mystic desire for the Holy Grail of eastern Rome. The oppressed mass simply served as a drilled army, which did the behests of Normanic leadership. In the war council, in the peace negotiations, it had no voice. It was but the dark foil and background on which the figures of its foreign masters stood out in marked relief. The old Byzantine annals which record those early “Russian” attempts at the conquest of Constantinople give only Warangian names as those of the commanders, clan-leaders, envoys, and treaty-witnesses of the Russians. For two hundred years these Russo-Norman grand-princes repeatedly waged war in order to unite the golden tiara of Byzantium with their own crown. It affords a singular sight to behold in the mirror of those ancient events the prototype of modern autocratic yearnings.

Then came a startling and fearful catastrophe. After having been previously weakened by feuds among the different branches of the Rurik family, who divided Russia into a number of principalities, this once ambitious empire suddenly fell down at the approach of the nomadic hordes of Gengis Khan and Batu. For the space of two hundred and fifty years there followed a total Russian eclipse. Our Nibelungen epic yet speaks of the “Riuzen” (Russians)¹ and the men from the Kieff country. It also mentions the wild “Petschenaer,” or Petcheneys, that are strong with the bow—a Tatar race once dwelling near the falls of the Dnieper. But soon afterwards

¹ A few traces of an earlier intercourse between Russia and Western Europe may here be noted. There were Russian embassies to Germany and German embassies to Russia during the reign of Henry II. of Germany (1003–24). Projects of intermarriage were, at that epoch, discussed or carried out between German, Hungarian, Polish, English, and French princes or princesses on the one hand, and members of the Rurik family on the other. In the eleventh century a dethroned Russian monarch went to Mainz to solicit aid against a rival. The exiled Russian pretender promised on that occasion that if Henry IV. of Germany would reinstate him on the throne he would engage himself to hold Russia only as a vassal fief of the German Empire. Henry IV., being involved in a struggle both with his own vassals and the Papacy, was unable to do more than to attempt a fruitless diplomatic intervention. The same was the case with Gregory VII., to whom the Russian pretender had applied for aid, promising the subjection of Russia to the clerical sway of Rome.

the very name of Russia becomes a myth. The country had to be rediscovered at the end of the fifteenth century, so thoroughly had it vanished from the memory of Europe during the long rule of the Golden Horde. This Kalmuck yoke lasted from the middle of the thirteenth to nearly the end of the fifteenth century. While it existed, the Russian nation became more and more Mongolized in spirit and physical appearance.

From the time of the recovery of Muscovite independence our sources of knowledge flow more copiously. Among French sources Margeret's work is the earliest. The utter obliviousness into which Russia had fallen in the mind of the French may be gathered from the expression which Margeret uses in his dedicatory preface "To the King," namely, that "many thought Christendom has no further limits than Hungary."

Scarcely had Mongol dominion over Russia ceased—mainly in consequence of quarrels among the nomadic tribes themselves—than the Muscovite grand-princes, assuming the titles of Czar and Emperor, again ran riot in aggressive attempts. The Moslem had in the mean while established himself at Constantinople and arrived at the zenith of his power. The czars, therefore, rather endeavored to aggrandize themselves in the direction of Sweden, Poland, and the German provinces of the Baltic. Presently, however, this renewed Russian attempt was overwhelmed by the nations so threatened. In addition, at the extinction of the Rurik family Russia became the prey of a long and fierce civil war. Here the account of Captain Margeret comes in, which graphically deals with the events he had observed, and in which he had acted a notable part.

In his quality as a soldier, whose learning was not over great, Margeret does not aim at elaborate literary composition. He says himself that he wrote his "little discourse" with such simplicity that "not only your majesty, who has an admirably judicious and penetrating spirit, but every body else, should be able to recognize in it that truth which, in the saying of the ancients, is the soul and life of history." The publisher who re-edited the book at the time of Louis XIV. asks "those who only look to the elegance of language to consider that the author's profession was that of a man who bore arms, and that people did not express themselves better in his days." This plea is necessary, in so far as Margeret writes very ungrammatically, though always intelligibly. The matter of his book, too, is ill-arranged or scarcely arranged at all. He jotted things down as they came into his head. His best remarks are

made quite in a casual way, without any system. In order to re-compose the picture of Russian life at his time we have continually to travel afresh over his quaint descriptions.

With the Russian tongue Margeret professes to have been conversant, as needs he must have been. It is true the specimens of language which he gives are put down in an execrably phonetic spelling. Modern Muscovite writers, nettled by the plain-speaking of the French captain, have therefore attempted to charge him with ignorance. This reproach does not, however, amount to much; he never gave himself out for a scholar—least of all on matters of Russian orthography. Even in our days foreign words generally appear in French books and newspapers under the most puzzling orthographic garb. In the same way, French words may be seen in English print shorn of many a syntactical letter, but peppered over, by way of compensation, with a profusion of odd accents over every vowel.

The science of language was not Margeret's forte. In etymology it would certainly be unsafe to follow him as a guide. Nor was he quite clear about the border-lines between the vegetable and animal reigns. He naively speaks of an animal-plant growing in the form of a sheep, "which said sheep eats the grass around it, and then dies." This curious zoophyte, he says, is to be found near Astrakhan, to which place the English have traded, carrying their commerce from thence to Persia. The fable of the vegetable sheep is an old fantasy. Jussieu explains the plant in question (*Polypodium Báromez*) as growing in the form of a horizontal stalk, about a foot in length, over three or four roots. The surface of the plant is covered with a long silky, golden-colored fluff, resembling the fleece of a sheep. Various ancient writers speak of it with the same ingenuous belief as Margeret. Even in the beginning of the seventeenth century, before and after Margeret's publication, medical and botanical works naively mention the vegetable sheep.¹

In both the works mentioned the alleged vegetable sheep is described and figured. Margeret's error is consequently a venial sin against natural history, considering his time. That error certainly does not affect his claim to truthfulness in political and military

¹ See, for instance, Claude Duret's "Histoire Admirable des Plantes et Herbes et Esmerueillables et Miraculeuses en Nature, et mesmes d'aucunes qui sont Vrays Zoophytes ou Plant' Animales," published at Paris in 1605. Also, "Histoire des Médicaments Apportés de l'Amerique, desquels on se sert en Médecine; traduite de Nicolas Monardés de Séville, par Anthoine Collin," published at Lyons in 1619.

matters which he himself saw. He remarks in his preface, and in several parts of his book, that "the Russians show great cleverness in hiding and keeping the secret of their state affairs." He repeatedly dwells on the strictness and the severity of the police organization of the despotic empire. We may safely assume that it is this, and not the few Herodotic fables which Margeret repeats, that has raised cavillers against his book. Any one reading it with an unbiased mind must acknowledge that he has distributed light and shade with an impartial hand.

No deep knowledge of the more ancient history of Russia is, of course, to be expected from a writer who, during his stay in that country, was mainly occupied with warfare and current politics. Margeret is aware that in the older annals three brothers are mentioned, of whom Rurik was the eldest, who in the eighth century came from the North ("from Denmark," he says), as "invaders of Russia, Lithuania, and Podolia." From Rurik, he adds, all the grand-princes, down to "Johannes Basilius" (Ivan Wassiljewitch), are descended in the male line. He is also aware of the time when Christianity was introduced in Russia; but, barring some incidental remarks, he does not further refer to the older epoch.

The extent of Russia struck Margeret even then as very large, though her size had been much diminished during the Tatar dominion. He describes the Muscovite realm with some emphasis as a country of vast dimensions, "bordering upon Lithuania, Podolia, the land of the Turk and the Tatar, the river Obo, the Caspian; then upon Livonia, Sweden, Norway, Novaja Semlja (*Terre Neufve*), and the Polar Sea." On the subject of military organization there are many interesting pages in Margeret. In the struggles against the Osmanli he had become accustomed to the sight of an imposing war-power, yet the numbers of the armies guarding the territory of the czar seemed to him extraordinary. He enters into minute details about the fortresses, the castles, the imperial troops, and the town militia—especially of that part of Russia which formed a kind of permanently-watched *Militär-Grenze*, or military frontier. This strongly guarded cordon was drawn in the direction of the south and the south-east, towards the still independent khanates of the Krim and Nogaran Tatars. Besides the native soldiers, there were then already corps of foreigners—Germans, Poles, Frenchmen, Greeks, and other lansquenets. It is an error to think that Peter the Great for the first time introduced such European elements into his more than half-Asiatic realm. In this case also, as in many

others, the shipwright of Saardam was somewhat of a plagiarist. The great originality attributed to him exists to a large extent only in the fancy of writers utterly unacquainted with the previous history of Russia.

Numerous as the czar's troops were, the French captain did not deceive himself as to the value of many of them. After having gone into various details, he says: "This makes an incredible number of shadows, rather than of men." Some of those troops, who were armed with a coat-of-mail, a helmet, a lance, and a bow and arrows, are described as "badly mounted, without order, courage, or discipline, and often doing more harm than good to the army." The Russian army was then mainly composed of horse. Among the auxiliaries, Margeret mentions Tcheremisses, Mordwines (*Mordonnites*), Tatars, and Tcherkesses (*Shercassi*). He very clearly distinguishes the real Finnic tribes from the Russians, and also knows well where the unmistakable Tatar element borders upon the Muscovite stock. Thus we see from his report, in pretty precise manner, how far the Tatar and semi-Tatar races of the south-east were still independent, and how far they were gradually being welded into the Russian system.

The best Russian infantry consisted, when Margeret wrote, of Strelitzes and Cossacks. He distinguishes between Cossacks in the pay of the czar, who are mercenaries, like the Strelitzes, and garrisoned in towns during winter, and the "true Cossacks, who maintain themselves along the rivers in the Tatar districts, on the Volga, the Don, and the Dnieper, and who often do more damage to the Tatars than the whole Russian army." Again, he refers to Cossacks between Kasan and Astrakhan, who were not mounted like the Cossacks residing in Podolia and Black Russia, though formerly they were mounted and armed in Tatar fashion. It may be useful to add here that, historically speaking, all these Cossacks are known to have been of mixed Slav (Ruthenian) and Tatar origin. Among many, perhaps among most of them, the Tatar element was the prevailing one. The very word "Cossack" or "Kasak" is of Turco-Tatar origin, signifying a robber.

In speaking of those true Cossacks who occasionally served Russia, Margeret explains that "they have not much attachment to the emperor, unless he allow them freedom, as the saying is, to do their worst" (*ils n'ont pas grand entretenement de l'empereur, sinon qu'ils ont liberté, comme l'on dit, de faire du pis qu'ils peuvent*). Still, the statecraft of the czars succeeded later in using this roving race

as the very means wherewith to fix the sceptered curse of autocracy even more firmly upon the North Russian or Great Russian populations. To the wild son of the steppe some freedom was left for a while, so that he might knout the Muscovite into slavery with a savage gusto. But after having helped in moulding the wretched lot of the Russian *mujik*, the Cossacks themselves were gradually broken in to the level system of despotic uniformity. Then they were placed under the same armed heel of tyrannic czardom. Afterwards, the Cossack and the Baskir together were employed to encroach upon the independence of the Khirgiz—a policy carried out amidst tremendous difficulties, with an artfulness and a relentless cruelty often out-Mongolizing the Mongol.

There is much in Margeret about the struggles with the still free Cossacks, Krim Tatars, and Tcherkesses. The latter, whom he places between the Caspian and the Black Sea, were in his time called by the Russians "Petigorski Tcherkassi," Tcherkesses of the Five Mountains. Of them he says that they are "a martial people, extremely well mounted, armed with certain light coats-of-mail, very bold, very agile, all bearing lances or spears," and that "they would do great harm to Russia if they were in as great numbers as other neighbors of theirs." I will remark here that these Tcherkesses also were, in their vast majority, of Tatar origin. Their very name proves it. Originally located between the Dnieper and the Don, they were gradually pushed towards the Caucasus, until at last they became merged with the native Abchasian and other tribes there. Their name is now frequently given, though quite mistakenly, to the Caucasian populations at large, who are often spoken of, loosely, as "Circassians."

In Margeret's time the Tcherkesses had already become mixed up with some of the native Caucasian races, whom they officered as a warrior-caste. He knows nothing, it is true, of their historical antecedents. He even confounds them, as regards race, with the Georgians, who are of Aryan origin. Still, to the keen, observing eye of the French captain the vulnerable heel of the Muscovite Empire was nevertheless plainly visible. He understood that if the Tcherkesses were in greater number they could do Russia a vast deal of damage.

During the reigns under which Margeret lived in Russia the government of Moscow was beset with difficulties in almost every quarter—in the direction of Sweden, Poland, of the Tatar countries, as well as of the Caucasus. Only in Siberia the Mus-

covite was able to advance and to conquer. This latter country, which, Margeret says, is "by no means fully discovered yet," he describes as fertile in corn, and as a source of great revenue to the czars, arising out of the traffic in peltry. Garrisons are mentioned, which are placed in four towns in order to keep the natives in subjection. It is an extremely simple people, of small stature, in physiognomy coming near the Nogayan Tatars, that is, with a flat and large face, a pressed-in nose, small eyes, and sunburnt; they wear their hair long, and few of them have any beard."

One feels a strange sensation when reading to-day, in Margeret, who wrote at a time when parts of Siberia had only just fallen into the hands of the czars, that "it is the chief place to which they exile those who are fallen into disgrace with the prince." The French writer evidently did not know the previous history of Siberia, otherwise he could not have failed to contrast the despotic policy pursued by the czars towards that province with the more enlightened policy of the city of Novgorod, which had sent out to Western Siberia the first expeditions of discovery. As a member of the powerful German Hansa, that free Russian city, or commercial republic, not only swayed, during several centuries, large tracts of land in its own immediate neighborhood, but also was in intimate connection, political and commercial, with Wiatka, Perm, and other rude commonwealths of hunters and herdsmen near the Ural. The intercourse thus established naturally led to the opening up of Siberia, which allured the merchants of Novgorod by the report of its riches in skins and metals. This peaceful intercourse would have been of the greatest benefit for the civilization of these northern regions had the civic commonwealth of Novgorod been able to resist the hideous tyrants Ivan III. and Ivan IV. With the aid of Mongol hordes, these latter, acting with a treacherousness and remorseless cruelty unknown even in the worst periods of Asiatic history, unfortunately laid low the power of the great trading town. The fall of Novgorod proved a misfortune for Siberia. Instead of colonization being established there on a sound basis, the Muscovite despots forthwith converted the country into an abode of horror for political offenders—a place of torment, from the very name of which men turned away in mortal fear.

In Margeret's days the whole basis of Russian government had become utterly unstable, through the frequency of civil war and the repeated rising of upstart monarchs. Under such circumstances one might expect to see at least some degree of independent

spirit among the more active sections of the nation. We gather, however, a very different impression from his book. Its incidental remarks tend to show that the despotic form of administration was deeply rooted in the character of the Muscovite race. The principal nobility, he relates, always reside at Moscow—namely, the *knes*, that is, the dukes—as well as certain members of the State Council, from whose midst the towns' captains and governors are chosen. Then he goes on: "There is no fixed number to this council; for it quite depends on the emperor to appoint as many of them as it pleases him. The Secret Council, when matters of high importance are at issue, is usually composed of the nearest relatives of imperial blood. By way of outward form, the advice of the church dignitaries is taken, the patriarch being summoned to the council with some bishops. But, properly speaking, there is neither law nor council. There is nothing but the will of the emperor, be it good or bad, which is free to waste every thing with fire and sword, and to strike alike the innocent and the guilty. . . . I hold him to be one of the most absolute princes in the world; for all the inhabitants of the country, whether nobles or commoners, even the emperor's own brothers, call themselves *clops hospodaro*, that is, slaves of the emperor."

This picture quite corresponds to the report given by Herberstein, who had visited Russia soon after the withdrawal of the Mongols—nearly a century before the publication of Margeret's book. Herberstein exclaims, with utter astonishment: "The grand-prince speaks, and every thing is done; the life, the property, of the laymen and the clergy, of the nobles and the citizens, all depend on his supreme will. He knows of no contradiction, and every thing appears in him just, as in God; for the Russians are convinced that the grand-prince is the fulfiller of the heavenly decisions. 'God and the prince have willed it,' are the ordinary expressions among them." "I do not know," continues Herberstein, with philosophical sadness, "whether it is the character of the Russian nation which has formed such autocrats, or whether the autocrats have stamped this character upon the nation."

What shall we think, after such early testimony, of the new-fangled theories of those Pan-Slavistic writers who would fain make us believe that autocracy in Russia is of quite modern date; that it represents a "revolutionary dictatorship in the monarchical form;" that the Russians are a "young nation," momentarily held in leading-strings, but feeling already imbued with independent strength?

All history, the history of a thousand years, unfortunately runs counter to this assertion. The Russian nation—or, more strictly speaking, the agglomeration of Finnic, Slav, and semi-Tatar races which inhabits the vast eastern plain—is as old as other European nations are; and the despotism under which it lies as a helpless victim equally dates ten centuries back. In the sad Kimmerian night of endless Russian slavery the free city of Novgorod only shone for a while as a bright star gladdening the eye. Kieff also, in the south, had some transient flash of civic freedom amidst the surrounding darkness. But nowhere on Russian territory was the sporadic institution of self-government able to maintain its vitality. The Warangian Northmen had brought over with them from their Scandinavian forests the elements of a rude Germanic feudalism, which, with all its faults, was at least opposed to the recognition of an unrestricted, arbitrary sway of the head clansman. Whilst holding the subject people in bondage, this Russo-Warangian aristocracy preserved, up to the eleventh century, a few privileges of its own. There was just a chance of these privileges gradually expanding into ampler representative government—even as in Sweden, Poland, Hungary, or England. But soon monarchical power grew so strong in Russia, and assumed such thoroughly Asiatic features in the worst sense, that, a few centuries after the Ruriks had come over, they resembled Mantchoo chieftains rather than Germanic “kunings.” Even in social habits the transformation was a striking one. Of Wladimir (*i.e.* Waldemar, a Germanic name) it is reported that, irrespective of several wives, he had a harem of about eight hundred concubines. This is the same ruler who, after having followed heathen rites before, brought about the universal introduction of Christianity in Russia, as an avowed means of establishing a claim to the possession of Constantinople, then still under Christian sway.

THE CHINESE PUZZLE.

I.

IS THE CHINESE NATION IN A STATE OF DECADENCE?

IF we did not know how fallible philosophers are when they assert a fact as existing, because it is a necessary conclusion from their principles that the fact should exist, it would be remarkable to hear the following from Professor Draper: "China is now passing through the last stage of civil life in the cheerlessness of Buddhism."¹

Compare the passage cited with pages 9-13 of the same work, and it will be apparent that the writer believes that the present generation may behold the agony of China.

So untrue is it that China is at the point of death, that its tremendous vitality has been for some years past the wonder of leading thinkers at various intellectual centers, viz., St. Petersburg, Berlin, Paris. In support of this statement, some learning will be borrowed, at second-hand, from a paper of R. Radan.² According to Kingsmil, Pumpelly, Abbé David, Richtofen, and other reliable modern travelers, China possesses bituminous and anthracite coal enough to supply the world for several thousand years. The deposits are almost untouched, are readily accessible, lie in close contact with iron, lead, and tin ores, and are so situated that the extraction is exceptionably economical.

Count Kleckzkowski, formerly French *chargé d'affaires* at Pekin, thus discourses:

"China has a coast-line of more than a thousand leagues, admirably watered by an endless network of rivers. It produces all kinds of corn and grain, rice, tea, silk, wool, cotton, flax, hemp, sugar, indigo, tobacco. Mountains and plains contain coal and all kinds of minerals in profusion. It has absorbed and retained coin at such a rate, that it may be called the wealthiest nation of the globe. Consider now the admirable industries of that nation, the indefatigable tenacity of the Chi-

¹ "Intellectual Development of Europe," p. 621.

² *Revue des Deux Mondes*, July 15th, 1876, pp. 386-421.

nese workmen, their sobriety, their frugality, their reverence for authority, their love of order and peace, their equanimity in bad or good luck, their cheerfulness under the hardest labor; note that the Chinaman's aptitude for commerce surpasses even that of the Anglo-Saxon, and that to this aptitude is joined the most scrupulous probity,¹ and you will understand how much of force and energy is undergoing incubation in this nation of four hundred million souls."

Mr. Radan, alluding to the bad faith, mendacity, laziness, and cowardice attributed by hasty observers to the Chinese, warns us not to judge of a nation by its seaboard, and again quotes Kleckzowski:

"In what other country could you, as was done in China as late as 1852, intrust to irresponsible men half a million francs in cash and bills, to purchase from village to village, from hamlet to hamlet, spices, sugar, tea, and silk? Where would you find so many instances of suicide occasioned by inability to meet mere parol debts by the first day of the new year?"

It is a vulgar error that the Chinese are unwilling to borrow light from abroad. More than two hundred years ago, they discovered that we had carried mathematics beyond their ken. Straightway they studied up to our level. Three unfortunate wars induced them to examine the causes of their adversaries' superiority. They engaged European instructors, whom they discharged as soon as they could spare them. And now ship-building, fortification, coast defence, tactics, and manufacture of war material have no mystery for them. They permitted a British company to build and run a six-mile railroad out of Shanghai, then broke up the enterprise as soon as they had mastered the *modus operandi*.

There is at least one college in the United States where successive broods of Chinese students are being taught every imaginable branch of the barbarian lore.

Chinese emissaries, coolies if you please, are to be found everywhere, toiling like ants, but gathering, as bees the honey, the accumulated experience of each field of enterprise.

Struck with this awakening of the yellow races, Mr. Radan questions whether it is not to be effected at the expense of Europe. He traces their migration through Siberia and Russia into

¹The word is too strong. The Chinese merchant's honesty is a necessity of trade not the result of principle. The commercial honesty of the French is notorious; yet the trader who would rather die than fail does not scruple to export goods with two sets of invoices. A lawyer of San Francisco was lately soliciting a loan. "You lawyers," said the banker, only half in jest, "have no commercial honor." The lawyer retorted, "Bankers have it, but have no other kind."

Western Europe, and foresees Chinese banking houses in all the money centers. Then he quotes the warning of Abbé David, that we should be in no hurry to communicate our learning to these people.

Too late! We should have thought of this before the opium war. But Professor Draper seems to have been rather hasty in predicting the approaching death of one third of the human race, now straining, in its cautious way, every nerve to raise itself to the level of the age.

Chinese emigration is a very ancient one. But this paper is no receptaculum for curious scraps of history. Enough that about the beginning of the Tai-ping rebellion (1849-50) their exodus began in earnest. By conjecture only can the relation of the coinciding facts be surmised. In the disorders of the times, the administration of the ancient laws of the empire had become relaxed. Soon Chinese adventurers were found in every part of the globe. But the principal current was directed to California. Their advent was hailed as a blessing. They filled a vital hiatus. The country was pining for labor at reasonable figures. Our own laborers welcomed cheap help; from meagre diggings disdained by our people, these steady, persevering delvers reaped harvests of gold. In our households they replaced the uncompromising Biddy. Later in time, they built the Central Pacific. Their fishermen and gardeners supplied our markets. So welcome were they that, at an early period of the movement, an attempt was made to favor it by enactments to enforce the specific performance of labor contracts. But the promoters hailed from that section and political party which favored slavery. Alarm, well or ill grounded, defeated the legislation.

Meanwhile, and so long as the Chinese confined themselves to such lowly avocations, no fault was found with their presence. On the contrary, the more the better. They were singled out for oppression and plunder as any other helpless set of beings would have been. Laws were passed—unconstitutional, and so declared—taxing them exceptionally. But their expulsion was never demanded.

Gradually, however, they began to extend their usefulness to other pursuits. It was found that they could make cigars here as deftly as they do in Havana and Manilla. They readily became proficient at the sewing-machine. Shirt and shoe factories were organized on the strength of their skill. It became practicable to

manufacture woollens so as not only to escape paying tribute to the East, but actually to export to Eastern markets. From bricks to jewelry, there was nothing they could not turn their hands to under direction. By the impulse of this new force numerous industries were started, attempts were made to raise the silkworm and tea-plant. The cultivation of tobacco gained ground; and the great mining State, just entered into the agricultural, contemplated the industrial phase.

But the skilled labor of our own race took the alarm. Worse yet, the employers of Chinese artisans noticed that no sooner had their hands mastered the details of a trade, than they set up rival establishments of their own. There is an instance of a manufacturer who, in a rage, discharged all his Chinamen, because he discovered them attempting to ferret out what proportion of foreign ingredients, baneful or not, he added to the officinal mixture of sugar, cocoa, and cinnamon, or vanilla, which goes by the name of chocolate.

A pretty breeze was now raised. The stringency of 1873 added to its strength. Political aspirants and the Press were not slow to chime in. By the time platforms had to be framed for the last Presidential election, it became necessary to notice the Chinese Question, although the politicians were careful not to commit themselves overmuch.

Under pressure of space the writer's own conclusions will be abruptly laid down:

1. Long prosperity has taught our own artisans new wants and extra liberal indulgence of old ones.

2. The Chinese laborer, inheriting the self-denying habits of many generations, is better equipped for the struggle of life than our own people—nay, better than the vineyard hands of France or the rice cultivators of Lombardy.

3. Without the Chinese, the "Pacific slope" could never have progressed so fast. But it is a pity that it did not progress more slowly without them; also a pity that the country at large should have been so hospitably inclined towards other aliens.

4. The Chinese constitute one tenth of our population (*i.e.*, on the Pacific). Expel them and you decimate fortunes.

5. As they go and come and replace each other, the aim of wise effort should be to prevent the increase of that proportion, and, if possible, to decrease it gradually. The means will be pointed out hereafter.

6. If the General Government feels inclined to adopt heroic remedies, it should prepare as though the adversary were Great Britain. For China can, on short notice, equip itself as a formidable war power.

The foregoing considerations are locally important; but they sink into insignificance in view of the main drift of this paper.

China possesses within itself all the elements of a first-class manufacturing nation: a peaceful, ingenious, labor-loving, and innumerable population; inexhaustible mineral resources; unrivaled internal lines of communication; a variety of climate admitting every kind of production; every thing, in fact, except æsthetic culture, acquaintance with the wants of foreign markets, and knowledge of the revelations which engineering and chemistry have made for us within the last one hundred years.

Observe that the Chinese are apt pupils; that we have done all we could to remedy their deficiencies; that, while they loathe and actually despise us as an inferior kind of beings, they appreciate our methods and readily appropriate them.

Remember that China owes no public debt; that large private fortunes exist there; that all the European money centers together could not equal the cash capital of that country.

Suppose now that nation to resort to manufacturing for the purpose of export, in ships of its own building, manned and officered by its own sailors.¹

¹ "There was something almost startling in the obtrusive contact daily, nay hourly, observed between ancient habits and the most recent phases of modern civilization. A mile farther down the stream, the brilliant flame of a Western light-house of the newest pattern gleamed throughout the night; a long line of telegraph-posts stood gauntly up from the level fields; an endless succession of steamers—provided with the latest improvements in construction and equipment—passed and repassed, bound up or down the Yang-tze, or to or from the coast ports north and south of the great river; whilst within a stone's throw of the water's edge slumbered, as it were, in perfect unconsciousness of all these symptoms of progress, the China of Confucius. On the water the vivacity of the scene was heightened by depth of contrast. Huge river-steamers, such as ascend the St. Lawrence or crowd the levees at New Orleans, were constantly going to or returning from Hankow, six hundred miles above the mouth of the great stream, their decks crowded with natives of the Middle Kingdom, and their names inscribed in Chinese characters on their paddle-boxes. A whole fleet of trading-vessels of recent European type plied between Shanghai and the other ports, bearing the dragon flag, which it has become a convention of the sea to recognize as the ensign of China.

"The whole surface of the plain was covered with the autumn cotton-crop still standing. The economic husbandry of China lays hold of every bit of ground, and not a single rood was lying fallow. In the spring this vast extent of cotton-

II.

THE WORKING-MEN OF SAN FRANCISCO.

On hearing of the Pittsburg riot, some evil-minded persons, Communists or Internationals by instinct or affiliation, undertook to reproduce the tragedy in San Francisco. Notwithstanding some bloodshed and arson, the copy proved a caricature. The scene was ill-chosen. The population of San Francisco is intelligent. The number of proprietors is large. Absolute proletariat is represented only by fresh arrivals or improvident persons who could thrive nowhere. The aim of the agitators was as well known to us as if we had Louis Blanc and Prudhomme by heart, and had all studied the practical workings of their theories in the French annals of 1848-1849, or the bloody episode of the late Parisian Commune.

covered ground, now a snowy expanse of fleecy bolls, starred here and there with bright sulphur-yellow blossom, had been one huge field of waving corn. During the rainy months, such is the fertility of the rich alluvial soil it had produced its third crop—namely, rice. There was an air of quiet, of peace and plenty, pervading the whole district. Its denizens seemed neither to heed nor to require the products of other lands. Villages there were none to be seen. The inhabitants dwelt in single homesteads, or in snug cottages collected in little groups, like tiny hamlets, of three or four.

“In these sights there was nothing to recall even the existence of the Western nations, whose great outpost of commerce was so near at Shanghai, and whose ships were covering the great river close at hand. But as the path along the river-bank was followed, many evidences of Western influence, and a quaint grafting of Western customs upon those of the Middle Kingdom, were apparent. Woo-Sung was the scene of a smart action in the first war with a European power in which China was ever engaged, and long lines of parapet, forming a straggling and inefficient defence, pierced with many embrasures, could be traced upon the banks. But behind them a new work was rising, built upon different principles. Huge casemates were being constructed of barks of timber and iron plates from Europe, intended to hold guns as heavy as any that Woolwich can produce. These works will be truly formidable to any enemy attempting to attack them in front.

“Hundreds of men were at work hurrying on the construction. A large force of soldiers was lying in several intrenched camps close to. These men were disciplined and drilled in the English manner, and maneuvered in obedience to words of command given in English. They were armed with rifles, both breech and muzzle-loading, which they often practiced with at targets on the shore.

“Off the village a squadron of men-of-war junks lay at anchor. They were gayly dressed with flags—tricolors, white ensigns with vermilion characters upon them, and crimson streamers marked with legends in black. Higher up among the Western craft were handsome steam gunboats and a frigate, all armed with Krupp and Armstrong guns, with engines and hulls constructed by native artificers at Shanghai or Foochow.”—*Early Autumn on the Yang-tze*. C. Bridge, *Fortnightly Review*, June, 1876.

The attempt was speedily crushed. The next was judiciously made to hinge on the Chinese question. The time was well chosen. This city is a favorite winter resort for the unemployed. Professional criminals also flock to this place from abroad, lured by the mild climate, or meet here by appointment to organize their next hideous train of operations. Many tramps likewise fastidiously forsake the muddy roads for this Capua. And above all the Chinaman is unpopular. Deservedly, this writer thinks, for the reasons indicated in this paper and others which the daily press has ventilated. We are warned not to judge of the nation by our sample; but we are cynical enough to think that low samples are nearer the average than select ones. Nevertheless, under Sections 1 and 17 of Article I. of the State Constitution, the Chinaman, once here, enjoys the same rights as a native in regard to life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, and the acquisition and enjoyment of property, real and personal.

An English agitator by profession, called Wellock, unnaturalized as yet; another alien, Knight by name, who styles himself a Bohemian—appear to have been foremost in organizing the plot. They discovered an Irish drayman possessing the requisite bad qualities for the part assigned to him, viz., the “gift of the gab” and the love of display. He went by the musical designation of Kearney. Singularly, he had distinguished himself in quelling the first riot. Him they put forward, and at one step he became a leader.

Aside from certain undeniable personal qualifications, the secret of Kearney's success is as well ventilated as Punchinello's mystery, and has been so since Marat, since Jack Cade, since Gracchus, perhaps since the birth of society. Assemble a rather hungry crowd; denounce the rich, or any class of men who manage to avoid extreme hunger; preach a new distribution of things and a fresh start for all; paint glowingly the riotous scenes which are to inaugurate the new dispensation; appeal to the savage side of human nature; promise blood, arson, pillage, and the other exciting incidents of city sacking, and—you will not last very long; but while you do, you will own and possess, bodies and souls, your entranced hearers, who will hang you to a lamp-post when they discover the hollowness of your pretensions.

Kearney's denunciations of the Chinese, as reported by the press, remind one of those with which the laboring population of the Eastern seaboard formerly greeted the advent of the Irish immigration. At the earlier meetings the language of the speakers was tol-

crable—in regard to law ; not to taste or coherency. And if a few wash-houses were lapidated, the playful spirit of our boys was blamed—not the oratory of Kearney and his accomplices. The movement gained strength, and the Chinese question became comparable to that of the spinning-jennies of yore. Molly Maguirism also came in as a conspicuous element. The civil authorities vacillated. The agitators were persecuted just enough to authorize Kearney to demand a popular ovation. It came in the shape of a procession of ten thousand. This consisted of his immediate followers, the idle, the curious, and chiefly, it is said, of honorable artisans, who joined in order to control the movement.

Emboldened at last, and notwithstanding some recent and pointed legislation, Kearney called upon his hearers to arm, drill, and meet the next steamer from China at the expected spot, and on the expected day of her arrival, then and there to repel the Asiatic part of her live-freight. He and his coadjutors in so doing broke the law. They were indicted. This writer ventures the opinion that the grand jury acted prematurely. The wiser course in such cases is to wait for the overt act—but not so long as Cavaignac waited in 1849.

The third Napoleon had but one mob during his long reign. It is not certain that it was a mob at all. Many affirm that the police invented the mob. A few score individuals were shot, and “order reigned in Warsaw” for nineteen years. On the contrary, during the reign of Louis Philippe, one of the best-hearted men that ever sat upon a throne, scarcely a year passed that was not disgraced by some terrible *émeute*, in which blood enough was shed to have satisfied the requirements of a first-class battle-field. It is the counsel of a wise humanity to deal swiftly, thoroughly, and mercilessly with incipient riot *in the act*.

It will be a relief to leave off considering these demagogues to examine the methods proposed by them and certain sympathizing newspapers and pulpits to get rid of the Chinese.

First, there is the method of intimidation. But “John” is not easily scared. He hates the bore of a conflict, but he is not afraid to die. Father Huc berates him soundly for this trait of character—so heathenish, you know.

Next there is the slaughtering business; but to say nothing of the government’s obligation to interfere, or of the assured sympathy of the great majority of citizens in such a case, the slaughtering force is so inadequate, so ill-equipped and disciplined, that,

granted a free fight, it is highly probable that the Asiatic lambs would slaughter the Caucasian butchers at their own shambles. Admit, however, the slaughter; what then? The massacre of over fifty thousand Chinese in two installments (in 1603 and 1639) at Manilla has not prevented the Philippine Islands from being to-day chiefly populated by their race.

Those who pretend to hope for relief by abrogating the Burlingame Treaty are either politic temporizers, or else people who do not know what they are talking about. *Our* citizens are in need of treaty protection to dwell in China; the Chinese need no such help to dwell among us here. Our land, by virtue of its organic law, lies broad open to all healthy, able-bodied comers, without exception or restriction. The Chinese came here before the treaty in question; before the Reed Treaty of 1858; before any treaty whatever affecting their coming.

Some advocate Congressional action. No lawyer will pretend that Congress has the power to banish the Chinese now here. If it has that of preventing any more from coming, it derives it from that clause which grants authority "to regulate the commerce with foreign nations." Treaties being abrogated, and the British authorities at Hong Kong propitiated, Congress might, by actual prohibition or excessive capitation, close our own ports against any vessels carrying a certain class of passengers. But it can not close frontier ports in our British and Mexican borders, whence the Chinese can foot their way overland to any destination where their labor is in demand.

The term "danger" is inadequate. "Fate" or "logical necessity" would be a fitter reading. Within a computable range of years, if nothing interferes, either our race must be supplanted by the moon-eyed wretches, or it must rise (or descend, as you please) to that level of aptitude which permits the Chinese to do and undergo so much, to work cheerfully and unremittingly, to forego luxury and indulgence, marriage and the sweet family ties, to become a bee, an ant; to toil, delve, worship a utilitarian Josh, clip Aspiration's wings, and shape a "close-hauled" animal course for the voyage of life. At this point this writer comes to an unexpected agreement with Kearney and his imps. He would sooner die than sink (or rise, if you please) to the Chinese level.

III

THE REMEDY.

Dejectedly the writer reaches this concluding chapter.

The remedy against the self-styled "working-men" is to give them plenty of rope. Their avowed object, the expulsion of the Chinese, is the only popular one; and they have lacked so far the wit to devise a method towards that end. Their unacknowledged objects, agrarianism, communism, and a social "fresh start," will dissolve their organization. Watch for overt acts, and strike without mercy. Trust only to such legislation as is now in force. Statutes repressive of the traditional liberty which every American (or man in America) possesses of proving himself an ass in print or speech, are not popular. In that respect, every trial jury may be considered debauched. Besides, a secret terrorism influences every individual jurymen. One quiet citizen, to this writer's knowledge, has had his premises fired several times because he keeps a Chinese servant. Cyanide of potassium has been introduced into the favorite drink of an obnoxious supervisor. Anonymous letters frighten many households. The men who live on place or the hope of place perceive, in the labor movement, a short cut to success. The record of our local capitalists is not altogether pure. And the natural envy of mankind would invent a bad record for them if it were needful. Their fortunes are of very modern origin, quite unconsecrated by time. Observe also that both the great political parties have so misbehaved in office that people are ready to shout, "Any thing for a change"—a powerful rallying-cry.

Besides, it is easier to pronounce judgment on the color of a chameleon than to decide on the real tendency of the labor speeches. As they are reported, one sentence preaches riot, murder, and arson; the very next is quite conservative. Caiaphas and Pilate had also a mixed case to pass upon. One set of alleged utterances, obnoxious to one of the judges, was indifferent or even acceptable to the other; and *vice versa*. Both magistrates acted upon a mutilated record which suppressed the attenuating passages. Our legal system is not partial to this method.

Plenty of rope, then, to Kearney. This figure must be agreeable to him. He speaks with a coil of rope about him, which he displays, intimating that his candidates are to assume office with the halter in prospect in case of misbehavior. It is improbable that the majority of our people will elect men who indorse the bad por-

tions of Kearney's rhetoric. If they elect those who profess the good sentiments which he sometimes utters, no better choice need be made.

If it were possible to delegate to Kearney (or even to a statesman) all the powers that belong to California and to the United States, including those mysterious powers which, being ungranted, are "reserved to the States or to the people," even then the delegate would find it impracticable *lawfully* to expel the Chinese from our shores, without certain preliminaries which may be gathered *passim* from this paper; and which, with our national temper, can scarcely be established for half a century. When the *unlawful* methods are resorted to, the executive arm must interfere; and it will be backed by the great majority of genuine working-men.

The lawless method is reprobated by the general voice. But the chief element of mischief is that many people with good intentions entertain the opinion that the persons in power could, if so minded, rid the community of its Chinese complication. It has been one endeavor of this paper to show what *could not* be done in this direction; what *can* be done will be next considered.

There is a movement on foot, entirely independent from labor agitations, and directed, apparently, by very pure motives. Individuals are exhorted to abstain from employing Chinese labor and from consuming its products. When it shall be made to appear that any considerable community ever evinced its preference for home products, to the extent of purchasing them at a higher price than other products of equal value offered at a lower price, then the project in question will have a chance of success. When farmers can be persuaded to employ inferior and unreliable labor, because it is white, instead of yellow labor which keeps sober and complies with its contracts, then the Chinaman may be starved out, and the farm abandoned or worked at a loss.

It has also been mooted that forasmuch as the Aryan races are superior to all the rest, first in war, first in peace, and all that—although ethnologists make them descendants of certain tramps of Central Asia, ignominiously driven westward by Hindoo or Mongolian intolerance—therefore we might emulate if not surpass the Chinese in those qualities which distinguish them. An eminent Eastern clergyman has lately vouchsafed, from his stately pulpit, to admonish the suffering *plebs* in that sense. He counselled work, real tiresome, conscientious work, and abstention from superfluities. Idle talk! *vox clamantis in deserto*. Frugality is an affair of ata-

vism. Our ancestors—peace to their ashes—Celtic or Teutonic, have bequeathed to us no such heirloom. We ourselves have made no acquisition of the kind to transmit. If we had, young America would scorn the transmission. Rat and rice diet, indeed!

It has also been suggested that although farming had lost its pristine attractions, and the dead-beat burgher could no longer resort to it, notwithstanding his ignorance, as a *pis aller*, yet the genuine working-man could, under our beneficent laws, carve his own homestead out of the public domain. This suggestion involves the idea that “working-men” wish to work for a mere living, while nothing is further from their thoughts.

It is a little singular that fresh eggs can seldom be purchased in San Francisco under fifty cents a dozen, or chickens under a dollar and a half a pair; that Turkeys should taste of the miscellaneous food of a barbarian rearing; that decent butter and cheese should form exceptions; that mushrooms (save in the rainy season) should be accessible only to the rich; that for the coarse vegetables we must rely on the Chinese and Italians; that our fisheries are confined to those nationalities; that millions of half-submerged acres await reclamation, millions of arid acres irrigation. In fact, here is a State eight hundred miles in length, three hundred miles in width, inhabited by eight hundred thousand souls, one tenth Chinese, gifted a hundredfold beyond the ordinary dispensation of Nature, and from its midst a wail arises that the white man is being starved out by the “Heathen Chinees.” Merciful Providence!

The one grain of truth in all this is that the present supply of labor in San Francisco, Asiatic and European, is in excess of the demand. It seems, at first blush, logical to agitate for a decrease of the supply by the suppression of the Asiatic branch. But the very agitation decreases the demand. Even so, demand, though less remunerative, exists in other fields. It is true that labor suffers; it is not true that it need starve. The only industry that the labor stagnation tends to starve is the liquor-saloon business.

The “Heathen Chinees” has starved out no one so far; but this paper has pointed out the danger that, in the future, he may. Against that danger one might look for suggestions to the testimony before the late legislative committees, whose proceedings, sparingly published, if at all, are not at hand. Before the Congressional Committee, however (this is stated from memory), Mr. Charles Crocker, among others, spoke well of the Chinese element. He denied that more Chinese came here than were wanted. He

said that the law of supply and demand *had always* regulated their coming, and *always would*.

Now the law in question ought not, of itself, to operate in the way indicated. Asiatic immigration ought not to stop until a level had been approximated between Asiatic and American wages. If Asiatic immigration stops short of that point, and clearly it does, it is because *something* has interfered with the free operation of the law which Mr. Crocker would have us rely upon.

The careful study of that "something" is respectfully recommended to our statesmen and diplomats; in it surely lies the source of, at least, temporary relief. In the dearth of authoritative information, a conjecture may be permitted: the "something" in question is organization.

The Chinese emigrant's path from home lies over no bed of roses. He loves his own land and despises all others. The allurements of foreign wages is not always sufficient to tempt him. It has been repeatedly charged that much of the emigration is enforced. In all cases it is stipulated in his behalf that he shall be brought home dead or alive. So determined is he to dwell with us only for a brief season, that he scorns to affect conformity with our customs or costumes, and to learn any more of our idiom than the traditional "pigeon-English." Manifestly, the entire movement is under systematic control. Its leaders consider it their interest to avoid the competition of Chinese against Chinese. Those leaders are not disinclined to negotiation. Lately they memorialized Congress offering to submit to capitation.

Surely, with such elements, it is not beyond human ingenuity to devise further checks for the better isolation of their domiciles and business places, their police and protection, their restriction to stated branches of occupation, viz., those in which they have proved the least obnoxious, and other similar measures.

So much for present relief. For the future, reference is made to the fact that the present tendency is in direct opposition to the views of the "advanced" school so lately in vogue. Each nation now tends to barricade itself within its own confines, except where it conquers and absorbs. What is true in the trade of manufactured goods will ultimately prove true of every other trade, including the passenger trade. We must all end by adopting somewhat of that system of isolation which the British cannon, in the interest of the poppy crop, compelled China to abandon.

THE MORAL PROBLEM.

II.

ADOPTING, then, self-love and rational love as rational principles of action, only conscience remains. As regards the construction of a system, the mistakes respecting this have been quite as great as those respecting love. Bishop Butler made no attempt at arranging a series of motives, or, what is the same thing, principles of action, as higher and lower, and yet, with a consciousness that some are higher than others, he placed self-love and conscience at the top. These he recognized as rational, and made conscience supreme. Each was supposed, like the impulsive principles, to have its own object set before it, and to act with reference to it in a similar way, the object of self-love being the good of the individual, and that of conscience certain qualities which it immediately approved or disapproved, or, as some would say, *the right*. But this view, which is still generally held, entirely misrepresents the place and function of conscience.

The first person, so far as I know, to give rightly the relative place and also the function of conscience was Sir James Mackintosh. In his "View of the Progress of Ethical Philosophy," giving an account of Butler, he states what he regards as the true solution of the peculiarity of conscience as having a right to command, and says it is a solution "which, perhaps from its extreme simplicity, escaped him and his successors." It is, that conscience differs from other active principles in having no object of its own, but that it acts directly upon the will to determine that in its choice of objects presented through active principles other than itself. This was an important discovery. It removes conscience from the head of the list of active principles, and places it behind the will, wholly by itself. It gives it more the position of privy councilor to the determining power when given subjects are to be decided upon. It makes it to be what Adam Smith called "the man within the breast," the man within the man, to give him direction. Its end is

attained by the obedience of the will, in the form of choice, to its imperative; and as nothing is needed in order to virtuous action but the response of the will to the behests of conscience, no means are needed, no external result can affect the character of the act, and so there can be no excuse for not obeying conscience. Nothing can prevent it but the will itself, and to say *that* is to say that there is no excuse. In disobeying thus, man rejects the guide of his life appointed by God, and assumes the guidance of himself. Of course it is the right of conscience to have the ear of the will in every act that bears on the interest of the man himself, or of any other being capable of enjoyment and suffering, and hence its universality as related to human action. There is no active principle that does not come under its jurisdiction. Of course, too, as no means are required in order to obey conscience, the man is independent of external circumstances in that which pertains to his highest interest. Here, indeed, in the alternative presented along the whole line of active principles between obedience to conscience and yielding to the clamor of appetite and passion, do we find the only condition for the highest freedom. We find an alternative *in kind*.

From this view of the position of conscience, as having no end of its own in the same sense that the other active principles have, and so as being simply regulative of the action of other principles so far as it may be able to control the will, we may find aid in settling a number of disputed points. And first we may see what the relation of conscience is to the sensibility.¹

The action of conscience, and so the formation of moral ideas, is, and must be, conditioned on that of the sensibility. Since moral action by the will must consist of choice or preference, it is plain there can be no choice until objects of choice are presented through those principles of action which are but forms of the sensibility. The sensibility furnishes the occasion for the exercise of the moral nature and the formation of moral ideas, as sensation furnishes the occasion for the exercise of the rational nature and the formation of rational ideas. But as the ideas from sensation and from reason are wholly different from each other, so are those from the sensibility and the moral nature. No modification of pleasure or pain, no power of association, can transmute them or any product of the sensibility into a sense of obligation, or approbation, or remorse. For the origin of moral ideas there must be a moral nature.

¹ See "Law of Love," p. 41.

From this view of the position and function of conscience, we are also able to see the relation to each other of the ideas of obligation and of right.¹ Obligation is obligation to choose. It is agreed that choice is the moral act of the will. But obligation to choose can be affirmed only in view of the object to be chosen as having intrinsic value, and as higher than some other object that might be chosen. The choice is a moral act, and as such is right or wrong. Right and wrong are qualities of actions. They can be affirmed only of them. But the act of choice can not be made right by being done out of regard to its own quality. It must be made right by that in the object of choice which is the ground of the obligation. With this view of right as a quality of actions, there can be no eternal right unless there be eternal actions.

But while obligation precedes right when choice is in question, right precedes obligation when volition and outward action are in question. Hence, as outward action is so much more obtrusive than choice, and is proximate to the attainment of the end chosen, the impression has been general that right must always precede obligation, and that it is the ultimate ground of it. This is not surprising, since from one act of choice there may spring the volitions and acts of a lifetime, the idea of right action constantly preceding that of obligation, and being the constant object of solicitude and inquiry. From a failure to perceive that obligation must precede the possibility of right when choice is concerned, and must follow the apprehension of it when volition and action are concerned, the greatest confusion has arisen. We are always under obligation to choose that which is good, and the highest good, and to do that which is right, the right in action being inconceivable unless there be some good that has been chosen. This statement, if correct, settles the question between those who contend for right and those who contend for good, as the foundation of obligation.

And this shows the ground of the misapprehension of those who suppose the system advocated by me utilitarian. It is not that, for it is one thing to say that the formation of moral ideas and the action of conscience at all—of the will itself even—are conditioned on a sensibility, and quite another to say that when these ideas are formed and conscience utters its imperative as between a higher and a lower principle of action, conscience is not to be obeyed out of regard to any utility there may be supposed to be from the

¹ See "Outline Study," p. 239.

action of the lower principle. That conscience is to be obeyed implicitly I assert, and always have asserted; and the action is not made utilitarian because conscience sides with a principle that has some form of good for its object. As between a higher and a lower principle of action, the make-weight of conscience turns the scale in favor of the higher, and that is enough. There is no objection to utility unless it interferes with something higher, and if we can have that and conscience too, so much the better. It is not the object of conscience to supersede or thwart the natural principles of action, but to harmonize them in attaining their ends.

We see, again, the double motive brought to bear upon us to lead us to make right choices and to perform right actions.¹ There is, first, the good which is set over against the principle of action adopted; and second, the imperative of conscience, the affirmation of obligation. If the impulsive or the rational principle of action, as the case may be, be sufficiently strong, the action of conscience will not be needed, and may be known only as a sense of approval. Acting along the whole graded line of active principles, conscience is content with the normal action of each, but the moment there is a struggle, the lower seeking for supremacy or in any way interfering with the action of the higher, conscience ranges itself on the side of the higher and says No. Hence it is that "it fills a man full of obstacles." In this aspect of it we can see how it may have been conscience that was the demon of Socrates, never giving guidance, but always saying No when he would do any thing wrong.

The above view gives all the natural springs of action their own place. It gives them freedom and scope for joyful activity within their own limits. We are not to eat from conscience, nor from a regard to the glory of God. We are to eat from appetite, but we are so to eat from it as not to offend conscience. We are so to eat from it that our eating shall be *to* the glory of God, as illustrating in its results his wisdom and goodness in giving us such an appetite.

From the position and function of conscience as given above, light is also thrown upon the question whether, in order to constitute an action moral, it must be prompted by conscience. That it must be so prompted was the view of Dr. Chalmers, and is the view of many writers on morals. Dr. Chalmers says, "That only is a moral performance to which a man is urged by a sense or feeling of

¹ Law of Love, p. 107.

moral obligation." The more correct statement would seem to be that that is a moral performance which the conscience approves, and that it approves the acts of the several active principles when each performs its function with reference to its own object, holding all below it in subjection, and encroaching upon nothing above it. Only thus can we get the highest beauty and spontaneity of action. Certainly love may go forth toward its object in view of its intrinsic worth and moral beauty and need no prompting from a sense of duty, and such love is not to be approved the less because it does not need enforcement from a sense of obligation.

That so many and so difficult questions find their solution in the view now taken of the position and function of conscience is an indication that the view is correct. Strangely enough, this view, as presented by Sir James Mackintosh, does not seem to have been noticed by any subsequent writer unless it be Mr. Martineau, and whether by him is uncertain. Mr. Martineau speaks disparagingly of the essay by Sir James as "pleasant in its gossip" but "slender in its philosophy," but at the same time gives conscience virtually the same place that he did. He does not place conscience above the impulsive and rational principles of action, giving it like them an object of its own, but makes its function to be to arbitrate between the relative claims of these principles as higher and lower. Comparing pity with appetite, he says, "It is the irresistible sense we have of its superiority that is properly denoted by the word conscience; the *knowledge with ourselves* not only of the fact, but of the quality of our inward springs of action." But to do him justice, it is necessary to quote more at length. "We think," he says, "that, in common with the inferior animals, we are created with certain determinate propensities to particular ends or with provisions for the development of such propensities; that in the lower animals these operate singly and successively, each taking its turn for the command and guidance of the creature, and none of them becoming objects of reflection; that in us also this instinctive impulse is the original type of activity, and would become permanent in a solitary human being, or in a mind with only one propensity at a time; but that with us the same occasion calls up simultaneously two or more springs of action; that immediately on their juxtaposition, we intuitively discern the higher quality of one than another, giving it a divine and authoritative right of preference; that when the whole series of springs of action has been experienced, the feeling or 'knowledge with ourselves' of their relative

rank constitutes the individual conscience ; that all human beings, when their consciousness is faithfully interpreted, as infallibly arrive at the same series of moral estimates as at the same set of rational truths ; that it is no less correct, therefore, to speak of a universal conscience than of a universal reason in mankind ; and that on this community of nature alone rests the possibility of ethical science.”¹ Here we not only have conscience in its right place, but the perception, which Sir James Mackintosh does not seem to have had, of the necessity to a system of morals of a graded list of the principles of action.

All this Mr. Martineau has, and yet the account he gives of conscience is far from satisfactory. Following the etymology of the word, he defines it to be “the feeling or knowledge *with ourselves* of the relative rank of the whole series of springs of action.” Or, “It is the knowledge with ourselves not only of the fact, but of the quality of our springs of action.” But how a knowledge or feeling of the whole series of our springs of action, or of their quality, is any more a knowledge or feeling *with ourselves* than any other knowledge or feeling it is not easy to see. That this knowledge is a prerequisite to that “categorical imperative” that is more properly conscience may be admitted. Of the existence of this Mr. Martineau shows incidentally that he was aware, for he says that the discernment of the higher quality gives it “a divine and authoritative right of preference,” and still he makes the affirmation of this divine right and authority no part of conscience. If he had said that conscience is a knowledge of the quality of our springs of action as higher and lower, together with the affirmation of obligation to choose the higher, he would have come nearer the truth. There would at least have been a knowing together with something else. But conscience really is the knowledge by the man of himself as the subject of obligation, that is of moral law : just as consciousness is the knowledge by the man of himself as the one subject, identical and indivisible, of thought, feeling, and willing. Here the *knowing with* is a knowing of ourselves, together with that law of obligation which, though a part of ourselves, seems to come in as the representative of a higher power. It comes in as a voice behind us, saying, “This is the way, walk ye in it.”

In treating of the principles of action, I have thus far spoken of

¹ Essays, vol. ii., p. 15.

them, especially of the will, as agents. This is convenient, but may be misleading. The will is not an agent. Every question of conduct goes up, with whatever impulses, or reasons, or affirmations of obligation there may be for or against a given course, to the man himself, the person who can not be conceived of without these particular powers, but is yet more than they. In speaking of the faculties abstractly, we are apt to lose the sense of substantive being, and of that causative power which raises man above nature and without which freedom and responsibility would be impossible.

With such an agent, a free cause, a person to whom every thing must be carried up, we have a construction readily understood, and which will enable us to deduce from it the conduct we should pursue. We have first the three great divisions of the mind now universally accepted, and only need, at that point, terms that correspond to the division. This is essential. So long as the terms used shall overlap the dividing lines, so long as it shall be left doubtful whether a good may not be the product of the will, and goodness of the sensibility, there will be confusion of thought. We have next a graded list, open to correction, but clearly the next thing needed, of the springs of action, or active principles, each having before it a distinct object that corresponds to it, rational love being pre-eminent. We next have conscience with a place and function wholly different. Never acting except on condition that other faculties in the region of the sensibility have presented different forms of good as objects of choice, and so, in this sense, conditioned on a sensibility, it comes in with its command to choose among the principles in action at any given time that which is highest. If the principle thus chosen be moral love, that will be limited in its action by nothing above it. Love of God with *all* the heart, and of our neighbor as ourselves, is the only limit; but if it be any other principle, the law of limitation must come in. It may not act except so far as shall best minister to the activity of the principle above, or at least so far as shall be compatible with the best activity of such principle.¹ Adhering to this law, it is impossible that any principle of action should be made paramount except the highest. To make such principle paramount would be selfishness, for there is no selfishness that does not consist in subjecting some higher power to a lower, and in all such subjection there is selfishness. To make any such principle paramount would

¹ See "Lectures on Moral Science," Lect. 3.

be to dethrone that which is highest in ourselves, and so would be degradation ; it would be to disobey conscience, and so would be guilt. By its very nature and function, conscience must forbid the usurpation of supremacy by an inferior principle of action.

Such a system is beautiful in itself and grand in its results. Regarding the individual man, we see every principle of action in its own place, working for its own end, and at the same time recognizing that law of all healthy organisms by which each part works only up to a point that is for the good of the whole. This law, however, it observes not automatically, but as subject to an authority that is intelligent and has a right to command. By the observance of such a law under such an authority, the highest good of the individual is secured as the reflex of the action of his highest powers upon their appropriate objects, and his whole good by the action, together with that, of each lower power according to the law of limitation. Looking next at man as a social being, we reach vastness of results, and so grandeur as well as beauty. The problem here is to find a construction that would demand conduct equally beneficial to the individual and to the whole, equally regardful of the rights of man and of God. But for this nothing can be needed but love as the highest active principle, with conscience as the highest regulative principle. With love universal and conscience alert, with nothing above love to limit it, and with conscience to see that there shall be nothing below to interfere with it, there would be an order of society fitly symbolized by the order of the heavens. From that order there would come a higher music than that of the spheres. Besides the glory that would go up to God for designing and creating such a being, there would be the peace on earth and good-will to men foretold and celebrated by angelic song.

Whether the above solution shall ever be generally accepted is not for me to say. If it be, it must be more generally understood than it has been, and it is hoped the foregoing statement may aid in causing it to be thus understood.

THE FRENCH EXHIBITION.

I.

THE PALAIS DU CHAMPS DE MARS.

ON the first of May, the people of Paris awoke in a state of great anxiety: it seemed as if the destinies of the Republic had been in question. From early morning the Parisians had interrogated the sky. "What sort of weather shall we have?" was in everybody's mouth. The atmosphere was heavy, the morning uncertain, with mingled haze and sunshine. The satisfaction of the Conservatives increased with every cloud appearing on the horizon. At one o'clock all seemed lost. At the precise moment when the cortege was leaving the Trocadero an immense black cloud burst upon the assemblage. The people heroically remained for an hour under a deluge of rain accompanied by thunder and lightning; carpets had to be spread out under the feet of the cortege as they crossed the Bridge of Jena. At two o'clock it cleared up, the sun shone, and the immense panorama looked fresh and dazzlingly brilliant, as if newly painted by a magic brush. After a little hesitation, the sky had decided in favor of the Republic.

The inauguration was an admirable spectacle, full of grandeur; and it is now universally confessed that after the undeniable success of the enterprise the French Republic has sent its roots to the very heart of the country, to a depth which defies winds and storms, and that the fragile sapling of some years since is, at last, a tree.

The industrial palace of the Champ de Mars occupies a rectangle of 650 meters in length and 350 in breadth. Seen as a bird flies, it is easy to perceive that it is composed of a certain number of galleries in juxtaposition, of different breadths and different heights, all directed lengthwise. In this direction, one remarks two galleries higher and wider than the others, and which form the sides of the rectangle itself. These are reserved for machines. The longitudinal galleries are crossed by only four others. These four transept galleries are very broad, and rise above the others

to a considerable height: the two which form the small sides of the rectangle are the great vestibules; the two intermediates serve as promenade galleries, and are called *promenoirs*. Just in the middle of the edifice is a long street, or rather a long court, which goes from end to end, and is only broken by the vestibules and *promenoirs*. It has been found necessary to prolong them from one end to the other, in order to secure the communications between the two portions of the divided palace.

It is in this court, with air on every side, that the fine-art building has been placed; and, to guard against fire or some other accident, it has been thought prudent to isolate it completely. This building, or rather these buildings, form the spine of the exhibition. We may prefer the plural number, for this spine is itself broken in the middle (which is the very center of the exhibition), to leave room for what was to be the pleasure-garden, according to the first idea of the architect. But the original programme had been complicated and modified; and one of the most important modifications was due to the resolution taken by the city of Paris to have a special exhibition of its own. This Parisian exhibition has swallowed up all the middle part of the garden, and has left at each extremity only a separated fragment; but the pavilion which contains it, with its ribs of iron so harmoniously united to bricks and tiles and terra-cotta, is charming, with its elegant polychromy and calculated lightness. Paris owed to the world, which blindly follows the tyranny of its fashions, to be represented by this miracle of science and taste.

At each extremity of this pavilion is the bit of garden mentioned above, and on each side is an entrance to one of the two halves into which the fine-art galleries are divided. These entrances are by porches, adorned with cupolas of a detestable taste and ill-assorted composition. The façades and doors underneath the porches, although more tormented in their architecture and richer in their coloring, are in worse taste still. As to the building for the fine arts, it is a long and commonplace affair, detached on every side from the palace of the Champ de Mars by a street; and it is precisely one of these streets which, according to a lucky inspiration, has become one of the great attractions and principal curiosities of the exhibition under a name henceforth celebrated: *la rue des Nations*.

The idea of showing in a series of façades specimens of the architecture of different countries and different epochs was cer-

tainly attractive; but it is to be regretted that several nations should in this circumstance have attempted to outdo reality: the specimens of their genius excite suspicion. Amongst the most remarkable of these constructions, is that of the Netherlands; Portugal has represented the famous cloister of Belem; England, some pavilions of the time of Queen Anne and Queen Elizabeth. The most magnificent and most admired of these improvisations, but not the most faithful, is the superb palace in which Belgium has developed the happy idea of displaying her best and most precious materials. Her gray granite, bricks, red and gray marbles, are associated in a warm and somber harmony. It is said that in this successful fancy-work, she has spent no less than 600,000 francs.

The straight and relatively simple parts, between the advancing pavilions, are admirably successful, but the pavilions themselves will not please everybody. An exception could be made in favor of the central one, whose restless forms are at least light, and awake interest by their strangeness; but those at the extremities are ungraceful, and an absolute failure. Nothing could be more ugly, vulgar, and pretentious than the dead wall which reaches the height where the cupola rises out of it; nothing more illogical than to see the thin ribs of these flimsy domes crown such a heavy mass; and nothing more contemptible than the small cupolas which stand in attendance on the big ones. As a completion of evils, the heavy basement, whose awkwardness might have been overlooked had it been painted in the prevailing tone, is particularly brought under notice by the help of the most glaring yellow. It is impossible not to be struck by a defect which seems so insolently proud of itself. This is a remarkable example of the really incredible faults which men of taste may commit when taste forsakes them.

After surveying the *ensemble* of the Palais du Champ de Mars, one might say that this kind of architecture is wanting in originality, if not in structure at least in its forms, and to be Oriental in its general aspect, in its insertions of mosaics and tiles, in its elevation of cupolas or squinches. Without denying the truth of the accusation, we think there are extenuating circumstances in the case. This Oriental architecture has always been traditionally chosen for public fêtes, and the general aspect of a universal exhibition, with its cafés, bazaars, restaurants, and annexes, is obviously that of a fair, also a kind of popular fête. Lastly, this kind of architecture adapts itself marvelously well to the intrinsic qualities of iron—to its stiffness and to its flexibility.

THE PALACE OF THE TROCADERO.

As for the Palace of the Trocadero, it can only be considered as a sort of large theatrical scene, intended to inclose harmoniously this cosmopolitan fête. The *mise en scène* is a success. It has frequently been asked to what style this architecture belonged? It is a new one—the international style—in which the Byzantine, Romanesque, and Florentine are mixed in an agreeable manner. The form of these constructions, taken as a whole, is that of an immense horse-shoe, turned towards the Champ de Mars, and holding forth its great arms as if to embrace the second half of this double project. A public hall, spacious enough to contain six thousand peoples occupies the center, where its rotunda projects like an enormous body. On each side there is a lecture-hall.

The wings arranged as porticoes serve for shelter and promenades; they widen at their extremities and finish in an elegant pavilion. Behind the colonnade they contain long and naturally curvilinear rooms, lighted by glass roofs. These rooms contain the retrospective exhibition, which is expected to prove a great success.

When close to it, the rotunda of the great public hall seems greatly swelled; seen a little further off the prominence is somewhat flattened, but the disappearance of this defect only serves to show another. I wonder why the colonnades of the great horse-shoe aisles should not be as high as the aisles themselves. From the Champ de Mars the columns lose all proportions and produce the effect of skittles. The Etruscan red tint, behind the colonnade, is well devised to give prominence to the columns, and successfully detaches them from the wall to which they seemed to adhere formerly when seen at a distance; but, on the other hand, this stratagem is perhaps responsible for an appearance of meagerness in the columns as they stand out against the background. All the structure is in alternate courses of white and reddish stone, the friezes ornamented with mosaics; and this polychromy, always in its proper place and used with taste and moderation, produces a charming effect, and gives a look of gayety to the monument. After all, the daring idea of dividing the exhibition by the Seine has proved a happy one from a picturesque and decorative point of view. The two palaces of the Trocadero and Champ de Mars are separated by two parks, or rather by a park situated on both sides of the river; the garden forms a sort of immense walk in the axis

of the two buildings, and enables one to enjoy all the different perspectives. On the right and on the left the grounds are picturesquely laid out: bowers grow, flowers blossom, rocks rise up and water filters through them and falls at last into vast basins.

Whether in the Trocadero galleries, or on the terrace of the Champ de Mars, the sight is splendid, although somewhat spoiled and vulgarized by the immense fair which spreads itself there. But, on the Bridge of Jena, the eye only rests upon magnificent spectacles. It is on this bridge, chosen by the architects with wonderful tact as the center of a perspective circumference, that the impression received is the most vivid and noble, because the numerous aspects of this complex composition appear so harmoniously blended together.

Before us rises the Trocadero, with its sloping gardens and the cascade, which, after a fall of thirty-three feet, descends to its basin by a giant's staircase; the whole crowned by the palace, whose arms approach you with I know not what inviting grace. Their half circle, which is completed by the imagination of the spectator, incloses a scene which, without them, would seem scattered and wanting in unity. Seen from the garden, even the famous towers, three hundred feet high, which criticism has treated so unkindly, find indulgence from the contented spectator. Many other things might make him forget that he is in France; but in these towers he will recognize the French tendency to excess, in word or deed, and an expression of national pride in the festival offered to the world.

Behind us are the park and the palace of the Champ de Mars; on the right and on the left the Seine, with the perspective of its quays lined with public buildings; whilst below, under our feet, tremble the reflections of this ephemeral and brilliant fête in the ripples of the great river, which seems to carry them out to sea.

It would be difficult to assign limits to the extension of universal exhibitions, but I think it would be a folly to go further. I even hope that exhibitions come within the general law of evolution, which does not allow the things of this world to remain stationary, and orders that they shall decrease when they cease to augment.

In another paper I shall endeavor to give some idea of the history of the Exhibition, and the many forms of opposition it was obliged to overcome.

ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL WEALTH.

IV.

OUR ANNUAL SAVINGS.

IN a previous article the conclusion was reached that the net annual income, or the true value of the annual product of the United States, for the year 1870, was, approximately, five thousand millions of dollars (\$5,000,000,000). The question next in order that comes up for consideration is, How much, under ordinary circumstances, of this net annual income, can or does the nation save and make available as new capital, in the work of producing a further and larger measure of national abundance?

Before entering, however, upon its consideration, it is desirable to form some idea how this net annual income apportions itself in respect to capital and labor; or, in other words, how much may properly be set down to the credit of capital, and how much to the credit of labor. And, first, as to capital:

If we assume the value of the aggregate accumulated wealth, or capital, of the country to have been thirty thousand million dollars (\$30,000,000,000) in 1870, and that it earned, as an instrumentality in the work of national production, what would be equivalent to an average annual interest of six per cent, then capital's share of the annual income of the country for 1870 would have been one thousand eight hundred millions, or, say, in round numbers, *two thousand millions* (\$2,000,000,000); for that capital in the United States in prosperous years has, as a whole, earned more than six per cent, can not well be doubted.

How much, next, of the annual national income was the product of labor? In search for definite information on this subject, there is but one source to which an inquirer can go in the United States, with any sense of satisfaction, and that is to the recent work of the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the State of Massachusetts. Other States have within the last ten years authorized statistical inquiries in respect to labor, capital, the distribution of wealth, and the ex-

tent and diversity of the employments and pursuits of their people ; but, in general, their legislative authorities seemed to have assumed that reliable results could be obtained almost or entirely without the expenditure of money,¹ and that any person competent to perform ordinary clerical labor was competent to originate and direct investigation. The result has been that, with the exception of some branches of statistical inquiry conducted annually in Ohio under the direction of its Secretary of State, and the census reports of Rhode Island and New York published in 1877 (the former by Dr. E. M. Snow, of Providence, R. I., and the latter under the direction of Hon. John Bigelow), there has never been any comprehensive statistical work done by any of the separate States, outside of Massachusetts, [that is worthy of any attention ; and yet nothing is more certain than that, without such investigations, there can be no adequate and safe basis for great departments of legislative action.² The elaborate and careful statistical investigations which have been made in Massachusetts, especially the work recently done under the direction of the present Chief of the State Bureau of Labor Statistics, Hon. Carroll D. Wright, go far, however, to make up and atone for the neglect and deficiencies of other States in this direction, and constitute the most valuable contributions of exact knowledge that have ever been made in this country touching the relations of labor and capital, the accumulation and distribution of the wealth of an important and highly civilized State, the diversity and productiveness of its employments, and the relations between the earnings and expenditures of the wage-earning and salary-receiving classes of its population. In fact, no economic inquiries have ever been made in Europe which, in point of value and reliability, are superior to what are embodied in the Massachusetts labor reports—including the State Census—for the years 1874 to 1878 inclusive ; and they fully warrant the assertion recently made to the Legislature of Massachusetts (January, 1878) by the State Board of Supervisors of Statistics, that “it is because this com-

¹ In 1873, the Legislature of the State of Maine created the office of “State Industrial Statistician,” and provided that the scope of its inquiries should embrace “our manufacturing, mining, commercial, agricultural, and other industrial interests, together with the valuation and appropriations for various purposes of the several cities and towns of the State.” “But the resolve,” says the statistician appointed, in his first and apparently last report, “provided for no clerical assistance, nor made provision for any compensation to those who might render valuable aid.”

² It was a maxim of Napoleon, “that statistics mean the keeping of the exact account of a nation’s affairs, and without such account there is no safety.”

monwealth has endeavored, along with her other educational forces, to understand the conditions of her people, that she occupies the position that she does, and that the reports of her departments are sought all the world over, and are considered the chief sources of information on subjects pertaining to the broad realms of social science in America." And yet it is probably in accordance with the exact truth to say that not one person in ten of those who in this country—in the Federal Congress, State legislatures, or in unofficial positions—have recently been most active in discussing the relations of labor and capital, and in proposing bills and plans for the better regulation and co-ordination of the same, have ever studied these reports, or even so much as known that they have come into existence.

But to the facts on which this judgment respecting the work of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics is based, and which constitute in part an answer to the question under consideration :

For the year ending May 1st, 1875, the Bureau obtained returns (in most cases carefully prepared) from employers, showing the yearly wages of 266,339 employés of both sexes; and, also, from 71,339 persons direct—55,515 males and 15,324 females—who were the recipients of wages: the whole number of persons returned under the State Census of 1875 as employed in *all* the mechanical and manufacturing industries of the commonwealth being but 305,963.

Investigations so extensive as these have never before been instituted; the European reports on earnings and the cost of living of wage-laborers having never been based upon a number exceeding fifty, while the returns of the United States Government have been based upon a number no larger.¹

The general result arrived at from the analysis of this great body of labor statistics was as follows :

In manufactures.....	235,951 employés.	Average yearly wages, \$462 27 ³
In occupations.....	30,388 " " "	580 45 ³
In both ²	266,339 employés.	Average yearly wages, \$475 76

¹ Compendium, Census of Massachusetts, p. 249.

² Under the term "manufactures," the directors of the Massachusetts Census included all those products which require, in their make, labor and raw materials; that is, things produced by hand or machinery from material called stock. Under the term "occupations," they classed those industries "where an added value is given an article by new processes or manipulations, with the use of little, if any, additional stock."

³ These averages were "drawn from the actual working time and actual wages paid, and not from any computation based on a weekly wage."—*Compendium, ibid.*, p. 157.

The further analyses of these returns, together with much additional information, also warranted the Bureau in deciding the following to be the average apportionment of the amount of annual wages of the different sexes and ages:

Males above 15.....	\$568 13 per annum.
Females above 15.....	343 42 “ “
Both sexes under 15.....	146 65 “ “

Answers in respect to yearly wages made by individuals independent of proprietors (50,062 males and 14,659 females) gave a yearly average of earnings, of all ages, of \$482.72 for males, and \$198.75 for females. Twelve per cent of all males, returning answers as above, earned additional income in various ways before or after the regular day's labor at the regular employment had been done, or on days when no regular occupation was being pursued. The average of these earnings was \$119.69, a sum of considerable importance as an auxiliary in the support of a family. The average number of days worked by males throughout the State was 241.65, and by females 258.96; 55,515 of the former and 13,997 of the latter making answer directly.

The Massachusetts Labor Bureau also obtained returns from 9557 “salary-receivers” in the State for the year 1875—7748 males and 1806 females; the class “salary-receivers” embracing not merely professional men—government and corporation officials, clergymen, teachers, editors, etc.—but also generally all persons following handicrafts and avocations involving manual labor, whose pay amounted to more than ten or eleven hundred dollars per annum, as engineers, master-mechanics, master-mariners, engravers, draughtsmen, overseers, florists, nurses, chemists, etc.¹ On the other hand, many persons were included in this class who received comparatively low rates of pay—inferior in many instances to the average of the wage-receivers—as salesmen, clerks, teachers, etc. The average annual earnings of this class of laborers in Massachusetts, deduced from the above specified number of returns, was found to be for males \$1,016.16, and for females \$429.36. As in the case of wage-receivers, a considerable percentage of the salary-receivers augmented their annual income by other earnings. The average *daily* wages of male salaried persons was found to be \$3.09; and of female salaried persons \$1.94.

¹ Examples were found, though not in large numbers, of strictly wage-receivers, in Massachusetts, whose annual earnings ranged from twelve to fifteen hundred dollars per annum.

The next point investigated—namely, the number of persons dependent for support on the “wage” and “salary” receiving classes in Massachusetts—is an important one, as indicating the average annual *per capita* distribution of the proceeds of labor. The total number of persons making satisfactory answers to this inquiry, on the part of the Bureau, was 80,893—63,263 males and 17,630 females; and of this total, 71,339 were from the “wage” class and 9554 from the “salary” class. The whole number returned by the 80,893 as dependent upon them for support was 142,385, or $1\frac{7}{10}$ on the average for each individual; but of the 80,893 returning answers, 33,037—17,350 males and 15,607 females—had no dependents. The average number dependent on each individual of the 47,864 who returned answers as having dependents was $2\frac{9}{10}$, or, including the worker, $3\frac{9}{10}$.

If we assume $2\frac{7}{10}$ persons as dependent on an average on the earnings of each wage-receiver for support (counting in the worker as one of the three), and \$475.76 as representing the average annual earnings of each such worker, then the annual *per capita* income of all that portion of the population of Massachusetts dependent in 1875 on wages for their support was \$172. On the other hand, if we exclude that portion of the workers who returned “no dependents,” and the majority of whom were probably unmarried or possibly minors, then the average number dependent for support on the earnings of each wage-receiver (including the worker) would be $3\frac{9}{10}$, and the annual *per capita* income of each such dependent (on the basis of an average receipt of \$475.76) \$119.65.

Reasoning from similar data, the annual *per capita* income of those dependent in Massachusetts in 1875 on the receipt of salaries (paid to males) for their support was \$338.78.

This somewhat detailed analysis of the recent census and labor statistics of Massachusetts finds abundant warrant, in the opinion of the writer, in the circumstance that these returns have really offered for the first time in the history of the United States, and perhaps in the entire history of civilization, an opportunity to get below the surface, and study as it were from the interior, and from a standpoint of assured accuracy, the social and industrial relations of the people of a great, wealthy, and highly civilized State. And it will be also interesting and profitable, in connection with this discussion, to point out the extent to which, in such a State as Massachusetts, the use of natural forces applied through machinery has been brought in to supplement labor and increase the powers of

production; for in this department of investigation, the Massachusetts investigations are also probably more complete and reliable than any that have ever before been published. Thus it was found that the total power of the steam-engines and water-wheels employed in the industries of the State in 1875 was equivalent to the hand labor of 1,912,488 men; and that, with the aid of the labor of about 300,000 men, women, and children to guide and direct the application of these motor forces, this labor was actually performed every working day of the year. "In other words, the industries of Massachusetts, without the aid of her motive-power, would require a population of about 7,400,000, or nearly $4\frac{1}{2}$ times as great as it is now, to furnish the hand labor necessary to carry them on."

Leaving now that section of the country where labor is better paid and more skilled than the average, and going to the other extreme, where labor is less paid and less skilled than the average—namely, in the Southern States—it will be found that the average earnings of ordinary wage-laborers at the South for the year 1875 was about \$15 per month for males and about one half that amount for females, board included in both cases; or, \$180 and \$90 per annum, respectively. For skilled laborers, the remuneration, as elsewhere, is greater. Were statistics for this section available, it would also probably be found that the population, as a whole, at the South, is less dependent individually, or rather more self-supporting, from the direct proceeds of their labor, than in New England; as was the case during the period of slavery, when the entire slave population (which comprised the great majority of the laborers), except the very young and the physically disabled, worked regularly.

A conclusion, therefore, from the above data, that the annual income of the country which falls to the share of labor is equal to an average of somewhat more than \$100 *per capita* for the entire population, or, in round numbers, was for the year 1870 about \$4,000,000,000 (four thousand millions of dollars), could not fairly be open to the charge of being an excessive estimate; and this sum, added to the two thousand millions before apportioned as the legitimate share of capital, would make the annual *gross* income of the country for 1870 six thousand millions. Such an apportionment, it may be noted, furthermore, agrees exactly with similar conclusions arrived at by Mr. Dudley Baxter, of England, in 1867, who, as the result of his investigations for that year, apportioned the annual income of the United Kingdom in the ratio of one third

from capital and two thirds from the "profits and earnings" of labor. Deducting from this gross income a proper amount to represent the income derived from Mr. Baxter's "non-productive" or "auxiliary" occupations, or the second-hand or dependent income paid out of original earnings for services not directly productive—as those of physicians, clergymen, officials, etc.—we have a confirmation of the previous estimate that the *net* income of the country for 1870 was from \$4,500,000,000 to \$5,000,000,000.

Assuming the value of the annual net income of the nation for 1870 to have been \$5,000,000,000, and that this sum was equally apportioned among the then population of 38,538,000, the average income of each person, or the average value of the share of each individual of what the nation annually produces, would have been about \$130 per head. In Massachusetts, for 1875, it will be remembered, the average annual income of each person dependent for their living on the receipt of wages was estimated at \$158; and of each person dependent on the receipt of salaries paid to males, at \$338.

In Great Britain, which, as already shown, outranks every other country except the United States in the amount of its annual income, the *average* income of the whole population, about one fourth less than that of the United States, was very carefully estimated in 1870 to be £28, or \$140 *per capita*. Again, if we assume five thousand millions as the net value of our annual product, and *ten* per cent of this to be left over after providing for the sustenance of the whole people, and defraying all expenditures for education, amusements, wear and tear, and taxes, then the aggregate of the *annual* savings of the nation will be \$500,000,000; and this, it is believed, is as large an estimate as we are warranted in making under the most favorable circumstances.

Here, also, we have little to appeal to in the way of direct support and testimony. But the most ordinary observation will at once tell us, that for any one of the great branches of domestic industry to earn and pay regularly *ten* per cent over and above all legitimate expenditures, including repairs and renewals, is the exception rather than the rule.

Recurring again, however, to the statistics of the Labor Bureau of Massachusetts, the information they afford under this head will be found in the highest degree interesting and instructive. Thus, in 1875, from the answers returned, after direct application, by 39,543 males and 7701 females (working for wages), respecting the aggre-

gate yearly cost of their living, and from the answers from a much larger number of wage-receivers respecting their annual income, the Bureau deduced the following conclusions: Average yearly earning (wages), males, \$482.72; females, \$168.76. Annual cost of living, males, \$488.96; females, \$181.86. The results arrived at from the analysis of corresponding returns received after application from salary-receivers were: Average yearly earnings, males, \$1,016.16; females, \$429.36. Average annual cost of living, males, \$913.35; females, \$358.72. Considering the case of males only, the yearly earnings of salaried people in Massachusetts was therefore on the average about 11 per cent in excess of the cost of their living; while among wage-laborers the earnings were slightly less than the cost of living. In a large majority of the instances, however, in which the earnings of the male wage-receivers of Massachusetts were returned as less than the cost of living, the evidence seems to be conclusive that the deficiency in question occurred, mainly or exclusively, in the case of the heads of families, and that it was fully supplemented, and even more, by the earnings of minor children or the wives of the laborers; so that, in 1875, the Director of the Labor Bureau of Massachusetts felt warranted in considering the following conclusions as established: That "in the majority of cases the working-men of that State do not support their families by their individual earnings alone; that children supply from one fourth to one third of the entire family earnings;" "that more than one half of the families of working men in the State save money; less than one tenth are in debt; and that the remainder make both ends meet." In the report of the Bureau for 1876 (p. 342) it was estimated by the director that the average annual income of *both* working men and women combined, in Massachusetts, *from all sources*—usual daily wages, other earnings, garden crops, and, in the case of married men, from the earnings of wife and children—was \$459.93; cost of living, \$439.09; possible average savings, \$20.82, or less than *five* per cent of the annual income.

From the above presentation, the reader will form some idea of the nature of the evidence which has led every person who has given any attention to this department of economic inquiry to the conclusion that, be the value of the annual product of a nation what it may, by far the largest proportion of such product must necessarily be consumed as rapidly as produced in order that the individual constituents of the nation—its men, women, and children—may simply live, and make good the loss and waste of capital

previously accumulated; leaving but a small fraction of the annual product in the form of surplus or accumulation which can be used for effecting a future increased production and development. It would also seem to be in the nature of a natural law, that mankind as a whole can achieve little more materially as the result of their labor than a subsistence, varying in its degrees of comfort and abundance according as they bring intelligence, industry, and economy to the work of production; and that it is utterly futile for one generation to seek to save the next from toil to any extent by the mere accumulation of capital. It is also a fact, long recognized, that in those countries or communities which are esteemed most thrifty, and where wealth is most evenly or equitably distributed, the great majority of those who die leave no estate requiring legal administration.

In fact, there are few things more transitory and perishable than that which we call wealth; and as specifically embodied in the ordinary forms we see about us, its duration is not, on an average, in excess of the life of a generation.

To illustrate further how small, even under the most favorable circumstances, can be the annual surplus of production over consumption, it is only necessary to compare the largest estimate of the value of our annual product with the largest estimate of the aggregate of our national wealth to see that, practically, after two hundred and fifty years of toiling and saving, or for the period of time which has elapsed since the country became the abode of civilized man, we have only managed as a nation to get a few years ahead in the way of subsistence. Thus, for example, the census of Massachusetts, taken in 1875, under the direction of the State Bureau of Labor Statistics, afforded, through its gathered statistics, one of the finest opportunities ever presented for accurately judging of the accumulated capital and value of the annual product of one of the most highly-civilized, highly-educated, and prosperous States that has ever existed; and a careful study and analysis of these statistics by Mr. Edward Atkinson, of Boston, with the co-operation of the Director of the Census, Mr. Wright, has led to the following conclusions: First, that although the property discovered by the local assessors of Massachusetts for taxation in 1875 was in round numbers \$2,194,000,000, or an average of about \$1330 for each inhabitant of the State, the *real* value of the accumulated capital, or property, of the people of the State—the product of labor—was very much less. Or, after deducting from the assessors' valuation the

value of the land, "which is the gift of God to the race, and is not the work of man," and making other and sufficient allowances for omissions in valuation, and for the counting of debts—bonds, notes, mortgages, etc., as property, that the entire capital of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts saved for future use—"its mills, works, railroads, dwellings, warehouses, goods, furniture, material on hand for food and clothing"—is less in value than \$1,000,000,000 (one thousand millions), or in the ratio of about \$600 per capita. Second, that the value of the annual product of the labor and capital of the State for 1875 at its point of ultimate distribution, making allowances, as before, for duplications and omissions in valuations, was about (\$500,000,000) five hundred millions, or a trifle in excess of \$300 per capita. It therefore follows, from this estimate of the existing ratio of capital to production and subsistence in Massachusetts, that if the people of that State should now "all cease to work, and could eat and wear their houses, railroads, factories, and goods of all kinds, they would consume them all within *two* or three years, and come down to the same necessity as their Pilgrim fathers experienced, only worse, because the present population of Massachusetts could not at once get a subsistence from its own soil if forced to work with only as much capital in the form of tools as the Pilgrims brought over with them."

The above statements also furnish an explanation of what to some may appear a mystery—namely, the disappearance of the wealth of the great and rich nations of antiquity. Egypt, Assyria, Tyre, and especially Rome, had undoubtedly at one time large accumulated wealth. What became of it? The answer is, that as wealth accumulated, and luxurious habits came in and increased with its possession, a large part of the capital of these nations was expended unproductively. Bad laws, unjust taxation, and the rapacity of rulers gradually retarded or prevented accumulation. And finally, civil and foreign wars, and the irruption of hostile armies into the state prevented production; and when production ceased the people and the state went so thoroughly out of existence, that of all the wealth of the great and rich nations above named, nothing has come down to us except, singularly enough, those things which, like their tombs and public monuments, never had a money valuation. The idea was formerly entertained by some that Japan—which for centuries had refrained from commercial intercourse and exchange with other nations, and whose population, reported frugal and industrious, had lived entirely upon the products of their

domestic industries—must have large accumulated capital or wealth. A larger knowledge has, however, proved that Japan has comparatively little accumulated capital, and in this sense is really a very poor country, and that such a result is due mainly to two causes: First, an almost entire lack of modern tools and machinery of production, by reason of which the population worked with the minimum of profit and advantage. Secondly, the nation was governed by a large number of feudal chiefs, “Daimios,” each one of whom surrounded himself with the largest possible number of guards or attendants, whose business it was to wait upon their master, and who regarded it as derogatory to follow any branch of productive industry. The country, therefore, produced but little, a large proportion of the male population were professional idlers, and every year’s production barely sufficed, and was not unfrequently inadequate, to meet the yearly demands for ordinary consumption. Accumulation under such circumstances became impossible, and famine sometimes reduced the population.

The investigations of Mr. Atkinson also led him to the following interesting conclusions respecting the relation which taxation—national, State, and municipal—sustains in Massachusetts to the average annual income of its people. For the year 1875, the sum of State, county, and municipal taxes in Massachusetts amounted in round numbers to about \$30,000,000 (the aggregate taxation sustained by the cities of the State alone having been \$19,514,000). Supposing only an average consumption by the people of the State of the articles on which national taxes and import duties were levied, the annual proportion contributed by Massachusetts to the national revenues was also about \$11,000,000, making an aggregate of taxation on the State for the year 1875 of \$41,000,000, or a little more than eight per cent on the total annual product of the State, or about \$25 *per capita*. This would leave \$275, on an average, to each person out of an annual average of \$300 produced *per capita*; and out of this average must be paid the cost of subsistence, the cost of distribution, the maintenance of all improvements, the repairs of all fixed investments; and after these disbursements the remainder would constitute the *possible* profit, or addition to capital, for the year.

In reasoning, furthermore, on this subject of our annual national savings, it is important to keep clearly in mind that, in the case of a nation as in that of an individual, the possibility for increasing the aggregate of surplus wealth or capital is one thing, and the actual

increase that, on an average of years, is actually attained, is quite another thing. And, as helping to a clear idea of, in what savings, especially from a national point of view, consist, attention is asked to the following statement given by an English economic writer of repute,¹ who has recently discussed this subject :

"Savings," he says, "are the surplus of things made over things consumed. When the owners of this surplus—each man for himself—decides that this surplus shall be applied to increased means of production, it becomes capital."

"An interesting question, little thought of, now presents itself: Where are these savings? Where are they [in the case of England]? In what form do they exist? Not in consols, certainly, or old railway shares, or shares in old companies; nor in fine houses and gardens freshly made, for these last are not capital. Most savers, no doubt, purchase investments—shares in companies, and railways, or consols, or other stocks—but this does not tell us where the savings of the nation are. These investments were in existence before the saving was made. They remain unchanged. The man who buys such an investment does not determine where the saving he has made shall be. He transfers his money, and it is what the seller does with this money which determines not only where the saving shall be, but whether there shall be any saving at all. If he sells his railway shares to the saver, and with the money he receives pays for fox-hounds or race-horses, he destroys the saving made by the buyer, and the final result is an unaltered state of the public wealth. But if the seller of the investment employs the proceeds as capital, then it is he who decides what and where the saving shall be. He may drain his farm, or build a new mill or ship, or take shares in a new railway to be made, or make roads on his estate; by doing any of these things he creates fresh capital in the country: he saves and gives a definite shape to the saving. The income of the nation is permanently increased by this act."²

¹ Bonamy Price, "Chapters on Practical Political Economy." London, 1878.

² Mr. Price also makes clear a matter about which people in general entertain most crude and fallacious ideas—namely, the part which money plays in the business of national saving. The operation of increasing the capital of the country by saving, and productively using the result of saving, are effected, he says, "by the agency of money, but the money is not the thing saved. There is the same money in the country, whether any saving has been made or not. Nor do the savings exist in banks, for a bank has only its buildings, its ledgers, and its reserve in gold as wealth, and these are unchanged by the savings of the country. Banks play a large part by deciding where the savings shall be, but the savings are not in them. By advances and discounts they decide, in multitudes of cases, what form the savings shall take. They may help a ship to be built, or a new railway constructed, or draining carried on, or any great trade operation entered into. The men who receive the advances and do these things—they give form and body to the saving, but the banks are only intermediate agents by means of pieces of paper. If, on the contrary, the banker makes an advance to a man, on mortgage, who desires to make large ornamental improvements on his house or park beyond his means, he helps to destroy capital. When the advance is repaid the borrower must have sacrificed a portion of his capital."

That the possibilities for annually increasing the national surplus capital, or the quantity of instrumentalities valuable for facilitating the work of production and augmenting the material abundance of the people, are at present far greater in the United States than in the older and more densely populated countries of the Old World, a little reflection will make evident. In the former, individual and national wealth is rapidly augmented by what may be termed mere appropriation, or discovery and occupation merely. Thus, for decades of years in the United States, thousands of square miles of land, originally of little or no value, have annually been made highly valuable, and brought into the lists of realized wealth for taxation, by simply connecting them, as it were, with the minimum amount of previously acquired capital, and by the expenditure of comparatively little labor. Instances have not been uncommon where the crop of the first year has reimbursed the pre-emptor (settler) on the fertile lands of the West and North-west, not only for the small government payment requisite for the attainment of a fee-simple in the land, in the first instance, but also for the expenses of cultivation, inclosure, a moderate supply of farm implements and animals, and the personal subsistence of the cultivator until the realization of a second crop. And, at the present time, nothing is more common than the announcement of the augmentation of national or individual wealth by the discovery and appropriation of hitherto unknown deposits of coal, ores, and other useful minerals. In the Old World, on the other hand, most of the natural resources, originally the free gift of nature, have long ago been fully appropriated, and in part exhausted. Every foot of arable land has its owner or tenant, and in most instances has been long worked to its utmost capacity. Every mine, quarry, forest, or tree bearing fruit has its possessor; and even the right to fish in the waters, or capture the wild beasts of the field or the fowls of the air, has become a matter of exclusive individual ownership or privilege. The value of national resources as elements of national wealth have therefore long ago been fully estimated in Europe and other countries old in civilization; and for the aggregate of their accumulated capital to be augmented by the discovery and application of new natural resources is now a matter of rare occurrence.

One of the leading obstacles which stands in the way of the attainment by the people of the United States of the largest possibilities of annual capital accumulation—one which invariably and

specially attracts the attention of all Europeans who study our social economy, and which in a great degree unquestionably admits of removal or remedy—is what may be termed *the sin of national wastefulness*, especially in the use of all food products, as well as of lumber, coal, and other like materials. It was the common remark of the French officers who visited our camps during the war, that an equally large French army could be easily supported on what an American army habitually wasted. The destruction of property by fire in the United States is also something which finds no parallel in the experience of any other country—the present average loss for years not signalized by unusual disasters being estimated as at least \$60,000,000; while occasionally an equal or greater loss than the average annual aggregate is involved in single conflagrations, as at Boston or Chicago. Of course every dollar of property thus destroyed is not only so much *directly* withdrawn from the wealth and producing capacity of the nation, but the high rates of insurance which such fire losses necessitate constitute in addition a continual and heavy tax not only on all those who insure, but also upon the consumers of all the insured property that enters into consumption. Some one has aptly remarked, in view of this peculiar national expenditure, that if a traveler had related that some barbarous and remote nation whom he had visited was accustomed, for no good or well-defined purpose, to thus annually destroy so large a proportion of its property or annual savings, his story would be regarded as incredible, or if true, that the nation concerned was not overburdened with sanity; and yet we regard ourselves as a typically shrewd people.

The value, measured in money, of the largest addition which the nation, on the basis of its available labor and capital in 1870, has ever made, under favorable circumstances, to its accumulated surplus of capital, has been already estimated as not in excess of \$500,000,000 (five hundred millions of dollars). But if this is the ratio of the accumulation of national savings in years of prosperity, how small must be the net gain of wealth to the nation in those years when the conflagrations of a single night—as at Chicago and Boston—sweep away accumulations, reckoned in the one instance at 120 and in the other at 70 millions of dollars; or in those other years when the nation, intoxicated with false ideas respecting the extent of its wealth, consequent upon an unnatural inflation of prices through an excessive issue of paper money, or from other causes, indulges in all manner of unproductive expenditures, shirks physi-

cal toil, and works with less than its maximum of effectiveness. It is a point often overlooked, that under these circumstances capital is largely abstracted from the store of former accumulated product in place of being added to it, and often wastes away, as it were, by *dry-rot*, more rapidly even than in the time of war. On the other hand, it is probably a fact that a nation often accumulates wealth with the greatest rapidity during these years which are especially characterized as "*hard times*," for it is during such periods, under what has been termed "the healthy stimulus of prospective want," that the greatest industry and economy are practiced. "Mankind are always as lazy as they dare to be." One of the oldest, most experienced, and successful business men and financiers of the valley of the Mississippi once remarked to the writer, that he was satisfied that the United States never grew rich so fast as in what were termed the disastrous years succeeding the panic of 1837, when men gladly worked for fifty cents per day, and wages, the prices of land, of food, and other necessary commodities were in like proportion.

POLITICS AND NATIONAL PROSPERITY.

The study of this subject of the national income and net savings also suggests some thoughts respecting the connection of the policy of the National Government and the prosperity of the nation, which may be worthy of attention. In the United States, politics—certainly of late—have been very generally regarded as something little akin to the business of the country. To affirm, indeed, that a man is a politician is almost equivalent to affirming that he is not practically acquainted with or interested in industrial or commercial pursuits; and in the opinion of not a few who have had large share of late in determining great matters of state there is little or no connection between politics and business. "I consider," said one Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, a few years since, "the interests of the Treasury and the interests of the merchants of New York as diametrically opposed to each other." "Human governments," said another,¹ "can have but little influence over the causes that produce the rise and fall of prices, the abundance or want of employment. . . . To attribute the distresses, which I know you suffer with the rest of mankind, to any causes growing out of the administration of our gov-

¹ Speech of Hon. John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury, at Mansfield, Ohio, August 17th, 1877.

ernment, is extreme folly." With such expressions of opinion, therefore, from those who ought to be qualified to speak authoritatively, it will be well to reason a little about this most important question.

Governments, it is most true, are not omnipotent. They can not make men wise who are naturally foolish. They can not give brains to those to whom nature has not been generous. They can not restrain people from being extravagant when they ought to be economical, or from engaging in ill-considered, speculative enterprises. But, apart from the regular working of natural laws, there is no one class of agencies which so powerfully affects the material interests of the people, which so determines the size of their loaf, the cost of their coats, the price of their fuel, the purchasing power of their money, and the remuneration of their capital and labor, as the policy which the government adopts. Thus, for example, the National Government of the United States takes to itself exclusive control of the following matters: the relations of the several States; the imposition of taxes on domestic products and foreign merchandise; the regulation of commerce; the kind and character of the money the nation shall use for making exchanges and measuring values; and the amount of national expenditures. If these trusts are administered rightly and wisely, then in such a country as ours, so full and overflowing with all manner of resources, there can be nothing that can prevent national prosperity except ignorance and lack of enterprise and industry on the part of the people; and of a deficiency of these attributes the American people have certainly never been accused. But if, on the contrary, these functions and trusts of government are not wisely administered, there can be no great and abounding national prosperity, though all other circumstances favor.

Thus, suppose that, by reason of Federal mismanagement—executive or legislative—of national trusts, the relations between the different sections of the country are made discordant and hostile when they should be peaceable and friendly; that taxes and expenditures are so excessive as to absorb an undue proportion of the profits of industry; that the medium of exchange and the measure of values are made uncertain and fluctuating, and that trade with foreign nations is impaired or prevented, and the markets for the products of domestic industry are in consequence restricted; and that, by reason of some one or all of these occurrences, the wheels of industry cease to move, the fires on the hearths of the forges and furnaces

go out, and trade becomes stagnant? We all know what then happens to capital. The newspapers reiterate that daily. It becomes unremunerative, wastes away, or is held idle. But how many fully appreciate what happens to labor? The statistics of the Labor Bureau of Massachusetts, before adverted to, make answer in part in indicating that in that State, where labor is paid a high average and is most intelligent, the maximum possible saving for working men and women, working regularly, is not, on an average, in excess of from \$20 to \$24 per annum.¹ So that, if a laboring man, earning at the rate of \$1.50 to \$2 per day, is deprived of the opportunity of employment by reason of the derangement of industry for only so short a time as ten to twenty days in the course of an entire year, then not only is his whole chance of laying up a surplus provision against future want, sickness, and old age swept away, but a nearly equivalent amount—expended for support—is deducted from his fund for living; and he is carried over at once from a condition of comparative abundance and comfort to one of discomfort and scarcity. From such a stand-point, therefore, it would seem to be evident that politics, or the science of government, in place of being a matter to be hurrahed over, or made the subject of action based on personal ambition or emolument, or on compromise and expediency, is in reality a part of the most serious and important business of life, and finds its most intelligent and necessary expression in seeing that nothing in the nature of obstruction or disturbance shall be artificially or needlessly created which can in any way diminish the amount of the annual product of the nation, or impair the equality of its distribution among the masses.

Man without tools, and by his simple, unaided efforts, can accomplish but little in the way of production; but by controlling and using the forces of nature, and by the practice of industry and economy in conjunction with such using, the amount of material abundance which he can produce (*pro duce*, to *lead forth*) from the earth—the source of all wealth—is practically unlimited. Remove now all the unnecessary and artificial obstacles which ignorant and selfish legislation has placed in the way of the equitable distribution of this abundance, and the amount of unavoidable poverty and scarcity falling to the lot of man will be reduced to the minimum. The trouble with this nation to-day, is not that it has too little of accumulation, but rather that it does not know how to use, to the best advantage, that which it has.

¹ Report Labor Bureau of Massachusetts, 1876, p. 342.

SCIENCE AND THEOLOGY—ANCIENT AND MODERN.

II.

THE Stoics, like the authors of the Bridgewater Treatises, had pressed science into the service of religion by the theory of final causes. They had examined the eye, and had found an organ constructed curiously to enable us to see. So the ear seemed to be made to hear, the feet to walk, the hands to minister to our various necessities. In the whole system of nature they had found an extraordinary adaptation of means to special ends, and the universe, as they supposed, was generally subordinated to the interests of man.

From the evidence of contrivance they had passed to a contriving mind, and had built together a specious fabric of natural theology. Lucretius met the Stoics on their own ground, and anticipated precisely the modern objection to the same positions. The argument creates more difficulties than it removes; for if we are to suppose every thing which exists to have been designed, we have to account for the existence of evil, while scientifically the inference of intention confounds organization with mechanism. In machinery the instrument is manufactured to supply a need which has been felt already. Men dug the ground with their hands before they invented spades, and they used spades before they invented plows. They made plows to do the work more easily which they were already doing with inferior means. They fought before they used shields and lances; they slept on the ground before they had beds; and they ate and drank before they had dishes and drinking-cups. In the organized works of nature the process is reversed. The use does not produce the instrument, but the instrument occasions the use. We see because we have eyes, we speak because we have tongues of a peculiar form, we hear because we have ears. But without eyes there could be no sight, without tongues there could be no articulation, there would be no sound if there were not ears to

hear. We are too feeble and too ignorant to place ourselves behind the purposes of the Maker of the universe and insist that he intended this and that. We do not know what he intended. We see only that he does not work as we work, and if we insist on evidence of conscious design, we make the moral phenomena of human experience hopelessly inexplicable. Organization is not contrivance, but immeasurably superior to contrivance. What it is we can not tell. We see only that the organs which we so much admire do not come into existence complete, as we should expect to find them if they were made with a determinate purpose. They are developed slowly, age after age, in successive modifications of a single type, the fish's fin becoming the wing of a bird, or the arm and hand of a man, the fish's scales becoming the bird's feathers; the horse's hoof a variation of the finger nail.

Having launched man into the world, Lucretius traces his history along the lines of the modern palæontologist. Sir John Lubbock might have transcribed many passages from him without altering a word. He describes the unclothed, houseless biped, hiding helplessly in caves, in danger of carnivorous beasts, and poorly feeding himself on roots and leaves. A branch of a tree provides him with a club and pebbles are his first missiles. The stone age follows. He tears the ground with flints. He rises to bows and arrows. He kills animals and clothes himself with their skins. He sees sparks fly, and learns partly by accident the use of fire. He warms his lodging with it and dresses his food. A forest breaks into flame on a mountain-side. Straying afterward among the ashes of the conflagration, he finds copper ore which had cropped above the surface smelted by the heat. He examines it, he heats it again and finds it soft and malleable, and when cold once more he discovers it to be hard as stone and available for a thousand uses. The copper age succeeds the stone age, and the iron the copper, and so on through all the epochs of mechanical discovery. The necessities of his body being provided for, the mind begins to work. The man opens his eyes to the wonder of what is around him. He has done much for himself. But forces are at work about him and within him, before which he is helpless. Pains rack his bones, disease lays him prostrate and powerless. Tempests destroy his crops. Floods sweep away his homestead and his stock. The thunder rolls, the levin bolt shoots from the cloud. The earth shakes, the meteor blazes across the sky. The sunrise and sunset do not strike him with wonder. He has been accustomed to them from his birth

and he knows that if the sun disappears, he will find it again when he wakes from his slumber.¹

But what the sun was, or what the moon, or what the bright procession of glittering gems which on cloudless nights passed over the vault of the sphere in majestic calm, what these were who could tell? The largest and brightest of these orbs moved among the stars, on courses of their own, perhaps with life, with motion, with motives, with will and purposes of their own. The clouds, too, the fierce harbingers of storm and desolation, what were they? Awe-stricken men called them gods, or the work of gods, with passions like those of man. They bent before them with trembling deprecation of their wrath. They invented religion, and in so doing filled themselves with causeless terrors which banished peace from their waking thoughts and filled their dreams with phantoms.

But their misgivings were not to haunt them forever,

Ignorantia causarum conferre Deorum
Cogit ad Imperium res et concedere Regnum.

With knowledge of the causes of things, the dominion disappeared of these imagined beings. Nature, when examined reverently, showed no caprice, no sign of interference or passion or willfulness; one unchanging sequence of natural cause and natural effect prevailed throughout the universe. Each phenomenon was preceded by some natural force producing it, and each advance of science was a guarantee to men of security and happiness. Miserable man was, and miserable he would be, so long as he was haunted by the dread of the unknown; not that the gods themselves, whatever they might be, inflicted pain on any inferior creatures; the gods were blessed in themselves and paid no heed to mortals. But wretched mortals tortured their own souls by causeless fear and terror. Thun-

¹ It would seem true that, what we call the "solar myth" had been already suggested as an explanation of the current legends; but the theory found no favor with Lucretius, who dismisses it in a few lines as sensible as they are beautiful.

"Nec plangore diem magno, solemque per agros
Quærebant pavidī palantes noctis in Umbris,
Sed taciti respectabant somnoque sepulti,
Dum roseâ face sol inferret lumina cœlo.
A parvis quod enim consuerunt cernere semper
Alternò tenebras et lucem tempore gigni
Non erat ut fieri posset mirariē unquam,
Nec diffidere ne terras eterna teneret,
Nox in perpetuum detracto lumine solis."—*De Rerum Naturâ, lib. v.*

der and lightning were the chief strongholds of superstition. Horace, we remember, professed to have been converted by a thunderstorm. Lucretius, though his knowledge fell far short of ours, was still satisfied that these aerial disturbances were natural phenomena. There was never thunder from a clear sky. Clouds accompanied it always, and clouds of a peculiar character. Could it be believed that the Olympian Jove came down into a cloud to be nearer to his mark? If the thunder was his voice, he would warn before he struck; but the flash always came before the sound. If the lightning struck the wicked, some sign of purpose might be admitted,

"icti flammus ut fulguris halent,
Pectore prefixo documen mortalibus acre."

But these fiery missiles fall on the innocent and the evil alike. They fall on the shrines of the gods themselves as readily as on the palaces of tyrants. Most often they fall on the earth or into the sea. Were we to suppose that the Omnipotent was practicing his hand? Lucretius did not know the phenomena of electricity. But with intuitive genius he had anticipated two, at least, of our most important modern discoveries. He had perceived that force was a constant quantity, that it was not expended, but was converted from one form into another. He had ascertained, also, that heat and light were intimately connected with force. A blow produced heat; sparks flew when steel was struck with flint; lead would melt by friction, even by the friction of the air when passing swiftly through it. His editor, Creech, selects this particular theory as an illustration of his scientific credulity. Lucretius had in fact struck on the exact explanation of the incandescence of meteoric stones.

From thunderstorms Lucretius passed to the other aerial phenomenon of rain. Rain was credited to Jupiter Pluvius, or whoever it might be. Lucretius showed, with ingenious clearness, that rain did not descend from any reservoir of waters above the firmament. It descended because it had first ascended by evaporation; moisture rose from the sea, rose from the ground, rose whenever any wet thing became dry. In the sky it condensed into clouds, from which it fell again in rain.

So going one by one, through the chief strongholds to which superstition attached itself, the Epicurean poet insisted, and as we all now admit, insisted truly, that every one of them could be traced to natural causes acting in a definite way, and that there was no sign anywhere of miraculous interposition.

Of this universal system man was a part, but not the chief part, as in his vanity he imagined. Nature, in her work of generation, had no special thought of man, above her other children; she had placed him on the earth, a being who, if he could control his passion and imagination, if he could labor quietly and enjoy the fruit of his labor, was capable of modest happiness, and was equally certain of misery if he gave way to wild ambitions or disordered appetites. Society formed naturally, and regulations were made for the good of all, to enable society to hold together. If man would submit to these regulations, and would fulfill such functions of labor as fell to him, he might live out the space of years which nature had allotted to him in peace and content. His allotted time being over, then comes the end. And what is the end? From such a philosophy there could come but one answer. Lucretius is only peculiar in this, that the answer which he gives has no note of sadness in it, but is proclaimed as a message of good news, a deliverance from groundless alarms. The future life which haunted the consciences of the early nations was an anticipation of torment. So far from being any check on vice, Lucretius insisted that it was a provocation to crime by adding new terrors to death. The enormities into which men were seen daily plunging were adventured only to escape want and poverty, and want and poverty were dreadful because they were avenues to death. But death rightly looked on was no fearful thing, scarcely a thing to be regretted. What was death? The separation of soul and body. And what was soul? When a child was conceived did some immortal spirit come racing through the sky to take possession of the growing germ? Not so at all. Soul was generated with body and corresponded to body. In the human body there was a human soul. In an animal body there was an animal soul. A horse had not the mind of a man, nor a man the mind of a horse. The soul was born with the body, and grew with its growth. Feeble, like its tenement, in infancy, it strengthened as the body strengthened, came to its maturity when the youth became a man, and with the coming on of age mind and limbs lost their power together.

Whatever might be the nature of the soul, it was inseparably connected with an organized system of matter, and could have no existence independent of it. The human soul and the animal soul were the same in kind, they differed only as their bodies differed, and resembled each other in the same proportion. At death the soul of both dissolved like smoke, and ceased to be.

"Ergo dissolvi quoque convenit omnem animai,
Naturam ceu fumus in altas aëris auras."

In a human body, and nowhere else, could a human soul have existence. Clouds did not form in the sea. Fish did not swim on dry land. Blood did not flow in a flower-stalk, or sap in stones. To every thing there was an allotted place. The mortal had no fellowship with the immortal.

Was this a sad conclusion? "Rather," says Lucretius, "it is the most consoling of certainties. Death is nothing, for where death is we are not. Before we were begotten empires were convulsed; provinces were wasted with fire and sword; nations were sunk in wretchedness. We knew nothing of these calamities. They touched not us. We could suffer nothing, for we were not. As it was before we began to live, so it will be again when we have ceased to live. Storms may roll over the earth, land may be mixed with sea, and sea with sky. We shall know nothing of it. The substance of our bodies will be in other forms, with other souls attached to them. New beings will have come into existence, to live and pass away as we did. But those beings will not be *us*. The continuity once broken is broken forever. We shudder when we look upon a corpse. We imagine that when our bodies are corrupting, we shall be in some way present and conscious of our own decay. It is not so. Our bodies will decay, but we shall not be present. We shall not be any more. We shall not suffer any more. "Ah!" some one says, "must I leave my wife and children, and my pleasant home? Must all be taken from me?" They will not be taken from you, for *you* will have no being. You will not miss them. You will know no regrets or vain longings for what is gone. Your friends will lament for you. You will not lament for them. You will be in peace.

"Why, then, unhappy mortal," says Lucretius to the vain complainers, "why do you grieve? Why cry out on death? Has your life been happy, the banquet is over; you have taken your fill; depart and be thankful. Have you been unfortunate, has life brought you sorrow and pain, why wish for more of it? Life and sorrow end together. Would you live forever? The terms of human existence do not alter. Had you a thousand lives they could bring you nothing new. You would but tread again the same circle. As it has been with you, so it would be, though you could repeat the process to eternity. This is nature's sentence, and who shall gainsay her? Dry your tears. Peace with your idle whines. Use your time wisely while it is yours. A little space and it will be gone. The ages before you were born are a mirror in which you can read the ages to come. The past has no terrors in it. The future has

none, unless you create them for yourself. Real indeed they are to you as long as you anticipate them. Tityus and Sisyphus, Cerberus and the furies ! the thought of these will cause you agonies as long as you believe in them. Know these spectres for what they are, the offspring of your own fears, and be at rest. Who and what are you that you dream of immortality ? Wiser and nobler men than you will ever be have lived, and are gone. Accept your fate. There is no remedy."

Such was the Lucretian creed, which has this merit in it, that it is free from cant. There is no half belief here ; no affectation ; no professions from the teeth outward, of what the heart disowns ; no feeble struggling to reconcile the irreconcilable ; no half-formed misgivings, which take from our actions their pith and marrow, and make us dread to look into our consciences for fear of what we may find there. It was a creed naturally accepted by resolute men who were too proud to play intellectual tricks with themselves, and in it is expressed completely the practical genius of the Roman empire. The multitude never adopted it. The multitude continued their offerings at the temple, consulted the oracles, and prayed, or affected to pray, to the gods. The State did not openly profess it. The State maintained scrupulously the established decencies and ceremonials, but it was the real conviction of the Roman intellect. It was the creed of Julius Cæsar. It was the creed at heart of Cicero. Tacitus would not have called himself an Epicurean, but his opinion was substantially the same. Above all, it was a confession of the faith on which for four centuries the civilized world was ruled. The Romans knew nothing and cared nothing for spiritual ideals. Peace, order, justice between man and man, and material prosperity, these were the sole aims of the Roman administration, and the explanation of their contemptuous toleration of the motley superstitions of the age.

Nations have never been formed on such principles. Nations in their infancy aspire to something else than material prosperity. They have beliefs, enthusiasms, patriotisms, with a savor of nobleness in them. Cæsar himself owed his conquests to the self-devotion of his soldiers, his own affection for them, and to his inconsistent idealism. And the experiment of the Roman empire showed that nations can not any more live by such principles after they have arrived at maturity. Coarse minds are brutalized by them. The average mind rejects them, and prefers superstition, however wild. Gibbon considered that, on the whole, the subjects of the empire

enjoyed greater happiness in the years which intervened between the accession of Trajan and the death of Marcus Aurelius than at any period before or since ; but it was a happiness in which their nature became degraded, and when the shock came of the barbarian invasions they had lost the courage to resist.

It would of course be preposterous to pretend that there was any general resemblance between the state of things under the Roman sovereignty and the present condition of Europe and America. Then the whole civilized world was held down under a single despotism. Now free and powerful nations confront each other, each jealous of its rights, and resolute to maintain them ; each professing to prefer honor to prosperity. And yet in the long run the fate of nations is determined by the convictions about the nature and responsibilities of man which are embodied in their policy, and are entertained by the ablest thinkers ; and every where, it may be said, opinions are now professed by men whom we agree to admire, and are accepted by politicians as the rule of legislation, which recall the phenomena of the time when the old order of things perished, as if high cultivation itself was like the blossoming of a plant, the final consummation of a long series of past efforts which precedes a great change. The flower sheds its petals. Seed-vessels develop in the place of it, from which after a long winter there arises a new era.

The nations of modern Europe, like the early Greeks and Romans, formed their original policy on religion. For centuries states and individuals alike professed to be governed in all that they thought and did by the supposed revelation which was given to mankind eighteen hundred years ago. Avowed disbelief of it there was none ; of secret, silent misgiving there was probably very little. For practical purposes that revelation was accepted as a fact, as little allowing of doubt as the commonest phenomena of daily experience. The universal confidence received its first shock at the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Just as the original pagan creed was made incredible by the legends with which it was overspread, so Christianity was overgrown by a forest of extravagant superstitions. Conscience and intelligence rose in revolt, and tore them to pieces. For a time all was well. The weeds were gone ; the faith of the early church was restored in its simplicity. The Huguenots in France, the Lutherans in Germany, the Puritans in England and Scotland were as absolutely under the influence of religious belief as the apostles and first converts. Providence to them was not a form of speech, but a living reality. The preambles of the English

Acts of Parliament referred always to the will of the Almighty as the foundation of human law. Skeptics even then had begun to exist. There were men who, after the authority of the Church had been shaken, had not acquiesced in the authority of a book; and philosophy commenced its search for other grounds of certainty; just as it commenced in Greece before ordinary men had begun consciously to disbelieve in Paganism. But in neither instance had these first efforts any wide effect. The time was not ripe for Democritus; it was not ripe for Hobbes or Spinoza. In an age when the massive intellect of Cromwell was satisfied with Protestant Christianity, and hungry village congregations could demand a second hour from their preachers, philosophy might speculate in its closet, but it could not affect popular sentiment. The disintegrating forces, however, worked on below the surface. Puritanism and its ways went out of fashion. The austere virtues of the Commonwealth were followed by folly and dissipation, and free thought again raised its head. A new and enlightened generation turned with shame and penitence from a piety which sent wretched old women to the stake for crimes which had no existence save in the diseased brain of cowardly fanatics. Disbelief in any present exercise of supernatural power extended backward upon the past. The mythologies, the oracles, the auguries of the old world came to be regarded as dreams. The miracles of the medieval church were dismissed as forgery and illusion, and the cures still alleged to be worked at the shrines of Catholic saints were used as an argument, being admitted to be false, to show how these legendary stories had passed into belief. The Old and New Testament resisted longer the dissolving influence. They were protected by the enchantment which still surrounded the accredited records of revelation, and the history of the chosen people was looked on as exceptional and special. But a charm, however sacred, could not long repel the restless efforts of the speculative intellect. If miracles were so inherently improbable that we were entitled to reject without examination every alleged instance of contemporary supernatural interposition, on what ground could we draw a line so rigid between sacred and profane history? The lives of the saints were as full of marvels as the Book of Kings or the Acts of the Apostles; why were we to disbelieve every story which lent support to a religion which we did not like, while we insisted on the absolute truth of each single detail which we found in the Bible? Revelation, it was said, was itself a miracle; the divinely authenticated author-

ity for a miraculous history. Such an answer was a tacit concession that a miracle could not be substantiated by human evidence. The spirit of Democritus had revived in Epicurus; the spirit of Hobbes revived in Hume. The *Essay on Miracles* threw into words a conviction which had been already formed in every logical mind in Europe. If the supernatural was to be admitted any longer, it must be received by faith; it could not be proved by reason. So far as philosophy had a word to say about the matter, the theological position had been taken by storm. Hume's arguments were desperately resisted, as it was natural that they should be. Ingenious attempts were made to recover the captured lines, but the conclusions demanded were too weighty for the premises. No human skill could make it probable on grounds of reason that while profane history was full of fiction and mistakes, every incident and every word should have been recorded exactly in sacred history. Such a history would be itself the greatest of miracles; and to assume a miraculous book was an act of faith, as Hume said, and it could be nothing else.

In the last century there were no penny newspapers carrying over the world the newest discoveries, with leading articles and criticisms addressed to the million. Philosophic writings had a small and select circulation, and the million continued to think as their fathers had thought. If we can believe Berkeley and Butler, however, their most accomplished lay contemporaries had ceased to believe in Christianity as completely as Pericles and Alcibiades had ceased to believe in Jupiter; and had the political condition of the world remained undisturbed, the doubt would have probably extended downward, and the state of opinion at which we have at present arrived might have been anticipated by half a century. But the growth of liberalism on the Continent had been swifter than with us. The catastrophe of the French Revolution, with the enthronement of the Goddess of Reason, appeared as the visible fruit of infidelity. The English mind was terrified back out of its uncertainties, and determined, reason or no reason, that it would not have the Bible called in question. It was decided that Hume had been sufficiently answered by Lardner and Paley. The discussion was not to be reopened; and English middle life returned for nearly half a century to the fixed convictions of earlier times.

Behind the banner thus resolutely raised came an effort to restore the influence of religion on the heart and emotions. First there was a prominent revival of evangelical piety. As the wave of spiritual

feeling lost its force, it has been succeeded by superstition and by a less sincere and simple, but still ardent appeal to tradition and Catholic principles. The leaky vessel has not been repaired, for repairs were impossible, but the chinks and flaws in her planking have been tarred over and painted. Stained windows have gone back into the churches, and the white light which sufficed for the simple, truth-loving Protestants have been replaced by the enervating tints so dear to the devotional soul. Organs and choristers, altars and altar ornaments, fine clothes and processions, the mystery of the real presence, in the name of which more crimes have been perpetrated in Europe than can be laid to the charge of the bloody idol in Tauris—we have them even now among us in full activity. The religious mind has set itself with all its might to make things seem what they are not, and turn back the river of destiny to its sacred fountains.

In vain. Practical life has meanwhile gone its way. The principles of the once abhorred French Revolution have been adopted as the rule of political action, even in conservative England; and silently, without noise or opposition, we have taken Jeremy Bentham for our practical prophet, and have admitted as completely as was admitted by Augustus Cæsar, or Trajan, that civil government has no object beyond the material welfare of the people. The will of God has no more a place, even by courtesy, in our modern statutes. Political economy is the creed which governs the actions of public men; and political economy, by claiming to be an interpretation of a law of nature, dispenses with Providence, while it assumes as an axiom that the masses of men are, have been, and ever will be influenced by nothing else than a consideration of material interest. Eccentric individuals may have their generousities, their pieties, their tastes for art or science or amusement. Interest is the one constant commanding motive on which the practical statesman can rely. Respectable people fight against the unwelcome truth when it is thrust upon them inconveniently. They believe in political economy, and they believe that they believe in Christianity. Naively and unconsciously they betray their true convictions in the language which they habitually use. When the English Liturgy was written, "*wealth*" meant well-being. Well-being is now *money*. Ask what a man is worth, the answer is his rent-roll. Has he been fortunate? He has made a good speculation, or he has inherited a "legacy" when he did not expect it. Is the nation "prosperous"? Where should we look

but to the rate of wages and the imports and exports? Are we in an age of progress? The income-tax decides. The standard of human value has become again what it was under the Cæsars, and which Christianity came into the world to declare that it was not. People continue to go to church. They continued then to go to the temples. They say their prayers in public, or perhaps in private. So they did then. The clergy pray for rain or fine weather, and on great occasions, such as the potato blight, the archbishop issues a special form of petition for its removal. But the clergy and the archbishop are aware all the time that the evils which they pray against depend on natural causes, and that a prayer from a Christian minister will as little bring a change of weather as the incantation of a Caffre rain-maker. We keep to conventional forms, because none of us likes to acknowledge what we all know to be true; but we do not believe; we do not even believe that we believe, the bishops themselves no more than the rest of us; no more than the College of Augurs in Cato's time believed in the sacred chickens.

An energetic people are impatient of insincerity, and the convictions which we all act upon have at last found a voice precisely as convictions of an analogous kind found a voice in Lucretius. We have practically eliminated Providence from the administration of things. The Lucretian philosophy has revived again, reinforced by a vast accumulation of new knowledge, to tell us, as Lucretius did, that the universe can be accounted for without the hypothesis of a Providence. The theory of development, as it is called, does not deny the existence of God any more than Epicureanism denied it. It denies only that the phenomena require the existence of such a being to account for them. For a time, even after the authority of tradition was shaken, science seemed to be on the side of religion. The evidence of design in nature was urged, as it was urged by the Stoics, in proof of a designing mind; and as long as each species of plant and animal was believed to be distinct from every other, each one of them required a special art of creation to bring it into being. Both positions are now abandoned by advanced scientific thinkers. Lucretius' objections are again held to be fatal to "final causes." If the "*omnia ex ovo*" is not an acknowledged certainty, if we are not yet agreed that we are all descended from a jelly-fish, yet every naturalist of consequence is convinced that the phenomena of life are produced on constant and uniformly acting principles of law; that the history of the animal creation is a his-

tory of progressive growth, lower forms being succeeded by higher, as the foetus in the womb develops into a man, without any sign of the action of any external energizing powers.

Moral and historical philosophy have modeled themselves on the same type. Moral philosophy, based on the necessities of society and general expediency, needs no God or voice of God, in the conscience, to explain its principles, while the admitted facts that the character of a man depends on his organic tendencies, affected by education and circumstances, have modified, in spite of us, our notions of free-will and our definition of moral responsibility. In history, again, ingenious writers discover laws of evolution, causes operating through centuries, determining the characteristics of successive epochs, exhibiting individuals as the plaything of broad and general forces, and reducing still further the limits within which they can be the authors of their own actions. Unchanged in principle, the Lucretian interpretation of life and its conditions is passing swiftly into general acceptance. And now arises the serious question how far these notions will go, and how they will affect such spiritual belief as we still continue to hold? The theory of development may be held, and is held, by many persons who look forward to a life beyond the grave. Can this expectation any longer allege a rational ground for itself, or is it a plant which grew in another soil, and lingers now as an exotic in a climate with which it has no natural affinity? Time will show; but meanwhile we may learn something from the history of the past. In the Rome of the Empire, religion had less to say for itself than it has now, and science relatively had far greater advantage over it. The print which has been left by Christianity on the character of mankind is too deep to be effaced or disregarded. Yet even in the Roman Empire, the sciences which mastered the intellect could not master the emotion, and there is an insight of emotion which the intellect can not explain, but which nevertheless does and will exercise an influence which can not be ignored; and there are virtues necessary to human society which will only grow when emotion is allowed to speak.

The educated Romans had satisfied themselves that there was no hereafter; that Tartarus was a dream, and that at death they faded into smoke. They could discourse eloquently on the good and the beautiful. They could enforce order by the policeman. They could develop useful arts. They could cultivate science and

material progress. They could create the condition, in fact, which was so impressive to the mind of Gibbon. But morality and purity and charity, patriotism, enthusiasm, even art and poetry, withered under a creed which deprived life of its human interest and the imagination of every object which could kindle it. Very remarkably, even among statesmen like Celsus, who still held to the scientific formula of things, a belief in a future life and future retribution made its way once more against the wind into the position of an admitted truth. The better sort of men clung vaguely to the moral principles of religion; and when paganism was fairly dead, all that had been true in paganism, a belief in God, a belief that the world after all was not deserted by a moral government, that our earthly life is but the threshold of our true existence, all this revived in Christianity. Centuries passed before the transformation was complete, centuries of miserable retribution for the long pursuit of a godless, material prosperity. The civilized animals (for animals only they had proclaimed themselves to be) were awakened roughly from their dreams by the fierce inrush of the "Scourge of God" out of the northern forests.

Man's nature is the same as it always was. Science has much to teach us, but its message is not the last nor the highest. If we may infer the future from the past, a time will come when we shall cease to be dazzled with the thing which we call progress, when increasing "wealth" will cease to satisfy, nay, may be found incapable of being produced or preserved except when relegated to a secondary place, when the illusions which have strangled religion shall be burnt away and the immortal part of it restored to its rightful sovereignty. A long weary road may lie before us. Not easily will an inviolable atmosphere of reverence form again round spiritual faith to warn off the insolent intruder. Piety, reverence, humble adoration of the great Maker of the world, are in themselves so beautiful that religious faith might have remained forever behind that enchanted shield, if imaginative devotion could have kept within bounds its wild demands upon the reason. Not till Catholics had piled superstition on superstition, not till Protestants had elaborated a speculative theology which conscience as well as intellect at length flung from it as incredible, did the angels which guarded the shrine fold their wings and fly. The garden of Eden is desecrated now by the trampling of controversy, and no ingenious reconciliations of religion and science, no rivers of casuistic holy water, can restore the ruined loveliness of traditionary faith. But the truth which is

in religion will assert itself again as it asserted itself before. A society without God in the heart of it is not permitted to exist; and when once more a spiritual creed has established itself which men can act on in their lives, and believe with their whole souls, it is to be hoped that they will have grown wiser by experience, and will not again leave the most precious of their possessions to be ruined by the extravagances of exaggerating credulity.

THE CENTENARY OF ROUSSEAU.¹

I.

IT was on Sunday in the spring of 1728, and the citizens of the charming city of Geneva have been to church listening to doctrines nominally of the old school of Calvin, although much of the old fire had burned out, and left only their form. After the services it was common for the young people, especially those not of the strictest sect, to ramble in the neighboring fields; and there is always a latitudinarian tendency in young blood and muscle. At this time an engraver's apprentice, a youth of sixteen, with a brace of companions, joined the ramblers, and started upon a long walk. The youth had already been twice punished for not returning in season, and he shrank from a third experience of that kind. He hurried back to the city, eager to be in full time to find the gates open; but he was half a league behindhand, and before he could reach the walls the evening bell had rung, the gates were shut, and the draw-bridges raised. The poor fellow flung himself upon the ground in despair, whilst his comrades made fun of the affair, and thought only of finding their way home in the morning and explaining their bad luck to easy parents. He made up his mind not to go back. The world was all before him, and he took his chance. He had a hard time, but he found grander work to do than engraving under a harsh master. When next this youth came to live in Geneva he brought a name known through Europe; for who then did not know John James Rousseau, the most eloquent of French writers and the most daring of radicals; the apostle of the empire of nature and man, as Calvin was apostle of Christ and His saints? Yet at times he mourned over that truant act, and in his *Confessions* he wrote that but for that folly "I should have passed, in the bosom of my re-

¹ 1. "Saint-Marc Girardin. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Sa Vie et Ses Ouvrages." Avec une Introduction par M. Ernest Bersot, Membre de l'Institut. Two vols. 12mo. Paris, 1875: Charpentier et Cie.

2. "Rousseau." By John Morley. Two vols. 8vo. London: Chapman & Hall. 1873.

3. "History of French Literature." By Henri Van Laun. Three vols. 8vo. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1877.

ligion, of my native land, of my family, and my friends, a mild and peaceful life, such as my character required, in the uniformity of work which suited my taste, and of a society after my heart. I should have been a good character, good citizen, good father of a family, good friend, good craftsman, good man in all." Very likely he was sincere in this sigh for the simplicity of his young days, but it was not the whole of his heart, and this eulogist of nature had his full share of human weakness towards the world, its great men, its fair women, and its fame.

Now that a hundred years are closing over his grave, let us try to look a little into the life and genius of this man, with an especial reference to his influence in our day. It seems best to speak first of his years of preparation, then of his working time, and to close with some thought of what he has done that will not pass away.

I. When young Rousseau thus left his native city there was very little either in his education or character to give promise of his coming renown. The second son of a Genevan watchmaker in moderate circumstances, and of a mother, a minister's daughter, who died in giving him birth, he became virtually the only child by his elder brother's running away and never returning; and he seems to have been the pet of his kind aunt Jacqueline, who took his mother's place and never allowed him to go into the street with other children alone. He began his schooling by reading with his father the stock of romances that his mother left, and they sometimes sat up all night to finish some fascinating volume, not without the free flow of tears, which was so easy in the Rousseau constitution. When the romances were exhausted, the father's more substantial library was resorted to—a very good collection of history and general literature, with a copy of Plutarch's Lives, which was the boy's especial delight, even more than Bossuet's eloquence or Molière's fun. So his education began with romance, and even in the history which he most liked romance was as conspicuous as instruction. So the tone was given in boyhood to his whole life, and the child, who when a man wrote that he was born almost dying, is thus described in the famous Confessions: "I had no idea of things, but all sentiments were already known to me. I had conceived of nothing. I had felt every thing." In 1722 his father, who was no pattern of good temper, and who easily passed from tearful pathos to jealous spite, quarreled with the Geneva Council, left the country, broke up his household; and the son was sent for two years to a neighboring village to school. There, in a minister's family, he found

less to tell of his studies than of his personal experience, and no passages in his *Confessions* are more significant than his description of the beginning of the bad habit that so tainted his life, and the outbreak of that indignation at injustice which made him such a volcano in literature and politics. Leaving school, Rousseau returned to Geneva and lived two or three years with his uncle, not doing much at his books, and on the lookout for something to do for a support. It was in question whether he was to be a watchmaker, a lawyer, or a minister. He preferred the latter of the three; "for I thought it a fine thing to preach," he says. Preach he did, and always, but not from the pulpit; and after trying his hand without success in a notary's dull office he was apprenticed to a bad-tempered engraver, with the result already recorded. Such was the lad who at sixteen ran away from Geneva, much of a scapegrace, yet not without strong impressions of early religious training, and great love for his native place.

Rousseau's personal history has been so fully written out, and the particulars are so near at hand, and so familiar to well-informed readers, that it is not well to go much into details, and it is best to be content with pointing out the influences that most developed his mind, and shaped his thought and life. It is important for us to remember that this runaway apprentice, who so easily cut loose from home and country, and made so light of history and law in his glorification of individual independence, was eminently a child of the ages, and carried the great past with him in his reckless tramp through Europe. He was of the old French stock, and only three generations in a direct line separated him from Didier Rousseau, the son of a Paris bookseller, and the first emigrant to Geneva in 1529, seven years before Calvin came. The fact of Rousseau's ancestry is well worth mentioning in connection with his radical and revolutionary career. There was a Nemesis in his mission, and his work was part of the retribution which France drew upon herself by the repression of the religious liberty which was the safety of Germany and England. Of course the Jesuit reaction against the Reformation had not begun in France in 1529, and the butchery of St. Bartholomew and the assassination of Henry IV. and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes were in the future; yet France had set her face against the new life, and the son of Didier Rousseau was one of the advanced guard of refugees, whose exile was to be expiated bitterly in the coming years, when the long imprisoned yearning for freedom broke its way out in fire and blood. The end of that

Hegira of Huguenot faith and character is not yet, and this centenary of Rousseau has many serious lessons for Frenchmen who love their country, and who hope and pray for liberty with law, and for reason and conscience with faith and loyalty; Frenchmen whom Saint-Marc Girardin so nobly represented.

In sketching his course of training for his public career, it is apparently proper to divide his years of preparation into three periods, the first of them closing with his flight from Geneva at sixteen, in 1728; the second ranging from 1728 to his stay in Paris, where he went in 1741; the third period taking in the eight or nine years of his Parisian life, with the episode of his Venetian adventures, and ending with his first taste of fame in 1749. What education he received in the first of these periods we have seen in a hasty glance. The second period, which embraces the important term from sixteen to twenty-nine years of his age, was more fitful and less happy. He faced towards Savoy, found shelter at a village a few miles distant with a priest, who introduced him to a new convert to Romanism, the famous Madame de Warens, the good-hearted, pleasing, but strangely weak woman who became afterwards his paramour, by whose influence he was sent to a convent at Turin. There, in the Hospice of Catechumens, his sense of decency was shocked by the manners of some of his fellow-seekers for light; yet he with marvelous ease gave in his adherence to Rome, and arriving at the Hospice April 12th, 1728, abjured his Protestant faith April 21st, and was baptized into the Romish Church two days after. He may have had some thought of the splendid career of St. Francis de Sales, who brought so much elegance and eloquence to Geneva after Calvin's austere rule, but he makes no mention of it. He seems to have had no earnest doctrinal convictions of any kind, and his nominal conversion was rather an easy acquiescence than a religious change, with perhaps a predominance of dread of going back to Geneva, and a desire to find friends and bread. If love of the flesh-pots of Egypt had any thing to do with his return to the old Church of Rome, he certainly had no great measure of such reward, for the ghostly fathers of the monastery, helped by the offerings of the faithful of Turin, set him adrift on the wide world with twenty francs in small money to live upon. Then came years of fitful service and vagrant travel, with adventures among all classes of people, vain attempts to study theology, then to be a land-surveyor's clerk, whilst his destiny turned mainly upon his association with Madame de Warens, with whom he took up his residence at

Chambery in 1732, and with whom he lived in the romantic retreat of Les Charmettes from 1736, with intervals of interruption, till 1741. Offended by her fickleness, perhaps disgusted by her looseness, he accepted a tutorship under hopeful auspices at Lyons, and, near dying of its drudgery, he found the way back to his old haunts, only to be more convinced that there was no home for him there. Then he faced for the second time toward Paris, and in 1741 he made his home in the city which, in spite of all his professions of love of nature and dislike of society, was to be the mistress of his destiny, his school, his motive, his love and his hate, his fascinating charmer, and his warning example. Paris has a strange way of treating all sorts of royalty; and the majesty of genius has found her as fickle as has the majesty of lineage and arms. She left the new-comer awhile without notice, and then accepted him as the "last sensation" when he came out with his startling paradoxes. When his daring touched the foundations of conventional order, and made courtly harlots straighten up in horror at his heresy, she proscribed his book and his person; and years afterwards, when the old order was shaken, Paris placed his bones in her stately Pantheon and gave her fairest crowns to his brow. Two powers struggled in alternate love and hate in Rousseau, and Geneva and Paris stood for the whole world to him; and whilst Geneva inspired his thought, Paris ruled his life and hastened his death.

In Paris, Rousseau, on his return from Venice, towards the end of 1744, committed himself to two lines of influence that acted upon him through life. He took to himself, for better or worse, a coarse, ignorant, but not foolish or heartless servant-girl, Theresa Le Vasseur, whom after a fashion he married about twenty-five years afterwards; and he also began the literary work that gave him his fame. This man was from first to last a living paradox, a bundle of contradictions, and we are met at the outset of his public career by these two startling contradictions: He who was to be the most famous reformer of society, love, and marriage, and to rebuke the vices and falsehoods of the prevailing manners, and to kindle even among refined women a great enthusiasm for conjugal and parental affection, began his literary life by taking a low-bred creature for his housekeeper and companion, after having lived for years with a well-born and well-bred lady, who prefaced her proposals to him with a little sermon on prudence and health very much in his own preaching vein. Then, again, the man who was to be the great master of French style, and eloquent beyond any of his

race, and the father of the new literature of France, was near his fortieth year before he came out as an author, and had given any proof of his rare quality.

We must leave the first of these contradictions to the sagacity of novel readers; but as to the singular contrast between his scatter-brain habit of study, his vagrant ways, and the exquisite style which bloomed out late from so unpromising a plant, there is much to be said in explanation, although perhaps we must rest after all in the stubborn fact that the style was in the man, and it was bound to come out, as every herb bears flower and fruit after its own kind. It is obvious, however, that he had one advantage as a writer which mere scholastic pens fail to have. He was not swamped, as so many learned men are, by a deluge of dictionaries, a flood of words. He saw nature and life, men and things, at first hand, very much as the old classics saw them; and he had much of their naïve and realistic way of reporting what he saw. This classic directness is all the more remarkable in that he was in one respect less like the classics than any of the great writers of his time, and he abounded in what the classics were quite free from—the sentimentalism that constantly turns upon itself and insists upon feeling of its feelings instead of feeling things. So he brought a kind of Homeric freshness into the new age of introversial thought and subjective sentiment. At the same time, whilst he was not overburdened by much learning, he contrived to find out pretty much all that had been said and done by the great thinkers and actors in history, and hard as it was for him to give his mind to severe and continuous reading, he held on to his book or his man in spite of poor memory and slow logic, until he was master of the idea or system. So he seems to have known Plato and Cicero, and to have been no stranger to Fénelon and Bossuet, Locke and Hume. He picked up a little Latin and mathematics, and was at home in botany and music.

Every plant has its own time to flower, and is hurt by forcing; and Rousseau was not a century plant, but perhaps a half-century one. His bloom apparently came alike from his nature and training, and from his atmosphere and exposure. He was a genius, but not one of the regular line and accepted order. He was neither a born philosopher, poet, nor painter. He originated no new idea, and left no original creation of character in poem, drama, or fiction. His peculiar province was human society, and nature was its field. His rambling life of nearly forty years opened to him every aspect of society in Switzerland, Italy, and France, where as servant and

secretary in good families he saw much that the world does not see, and books and conversation revealed to him the world which he had not seen. In his way, moreover, he had always been trying his tongue and pen at expression. He was a great talker and letter-writer, and so he had been making rough studies before his great works began. He had been training himself in primary schools before his great university received him; and he found himself face to face with no less a subject than the civilization of the eighteenth century—the subject that he was to treat before he knew of his election to his post, not as a novice, but as an expert, not as a raw student, but from the professor's chair. He opened his mouth, or rather he moved his pen, and his style came. It came as the clusters of the well-placed and nurtured vine yield at harvest their rich juice. What makes the choicest vine possess its unique and original flavor, how far the stock and how far the soil and the air and the exposure to the sunshine and rain do it, it is not easy to say. But we know the wine when we taste it, and the Rousseau vintage has a touch of the inebriating Falernian of Homer and the mystical *Lachrymæ Christi* of Dante, with passion and pathos in its thrill. The taste of it has brought strange companions together in fellowship; and Robespierre and Chateaubriand, St. Just and Lamartine, Jefferson and Priestley, Goethe and Byron, Madame de Staël and George Sand have clasped hands over that fascinating cup. The eighteenth century, and perhaps the nineteenth, has had no such master of style as this runaway engraver's apprentice, John James Rousseau; and whilst a critic as keen as Sainte-Beuve finds certain vulgarisms in his diction, and says "his style, like his life, contracted some of the vices of his early education and of the bad company which he kept at first," he allows that "the style remains still the surest and the firmest which one can offer in the field of modern innovation," and he calls Rousseau the "father of the literature of the heart and of the painting of inward life."

THE SIZE AND ORGANIZATION OF ARMIES.¹

GENERAL UPTON'S work is so closely crowded with facts, and the conclusions drawn therefrom are of such vital interest to both England and America at the present time, that we can not afford to pass them lightly by. They derive additional importance for the reason that they are presented to the public by an officer of rare merit and excellent character, a graduate of the Military Academy at West Point, a brilliant commander of artillery, infantry, and cavalry during the late war, the author of the infantry tactics now in use by the militia as well as by the regular army, and for five years a painstaking and conscientious instructor of the art of war at the Military Academy. In short, he is acknowledged by those who know him to be one of the most accomplished soldiers of his day. He is, withal, an untiring and methodical student, and has brought to the task, which he has just finished, both experience and ability, supported by a genuine enthusiasm for the profession of arms. An earnest desire to see his country free itself from the disadvantages of a policy of expedients, and establish a simple, economical, and efficient military system, adapted to its real wants, and at the same time governed by such just and correct principles as have been approved by its own bitter experience, as well as by that of all other modern nations, is apparent in every page of the work before us. It is but the merest truism to say that the first step towards a correct conclusion, in reference to any subject of human interest, is to observe and correctly understand the facts connected therewith, and the principles which connect and govern them in their proper relations with each other. The statesman can depend no longer upon native instinct or untrained ability, however brilliant, to guide him successfully in dealing with the problems of modern government. This is an age of skepticism and progress, and he who would be wise must

¹ "The Armies of Asia and Europe: Embracing Official Reports on the Armies of Japan, China, India, Russia, Italy, Persia, Austria, Germany, France, and England, accompanied by Letters Descriptive of a Journey from Japan to the Caucasus." By Emory Upton, Brevet Major-General U. S. Army. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1878. Pp. 446, 8vo.

observe carefully and study thoughtfully whatever subject claims his attention. If he would avoid error, he must not blindly follow the precedents of the past. These remarks are true in reference to the arts as well as to science; and yet Congress, which shapes our institutions, and in a large measure controls our destiny as a nation, seems to have utterly failed to comprehend them, at least in reference to military matters. It has been said that the American people belong to the most warlike and the least military race in the world; and while this may not be literally true, it is perhaps sufficiently so to suggest and explain the difficulty which has hitherto been met with by all who have undertaken to arouse an active and intelligent interest, whether in or out of Congress, in the importance of establishing our military institutions upon sound and progressive principles. It has been frequently asserted that, having no dangerous neighbors, we need no standing army, especially so long as neither Mexico nor Canada are more highly blessed with that expensive luxury than ourselves. Our Indian wars are nearly at an end, and our government is established on an enduring foundation; peace and order reign throughout the land, and hence it is urged that the army should be greatly reduced, if not disbanded. But this is a hasty conclusion. It is only necessary to point to the labor strikes and the lawless destruction of property last year, which paralyzed the business of the country, and defied the State governments and militia everywhere, to show the danger of acting upon it. It will be remembered that the very foundations of government were threatened, and that order gave place to anarchy, till the Federal courts called upon the regular army to assist their marshals in enforcing obedience to the law. As population increases, and the struggle for existence becomes sharper, the danger of strikes followed by violence and internal commotions will increase. What has happened may happen again; the Commune has established its headquarters in New York, and has its branches in every State; and it is but the part of wisdom to recognize a well-organized army as necessary to a strong and stable government. The average politician, "reposing full trust and confidence in the courage and patriotism of the people, points with pride" to the fact that our volunteer system, modeled upon that of England, where compulsory military service is as a rule unknown, has carried us successfully through four desperate and sanguinary wars, including the most formidable rebellion mentioned in all history. But we should not forget that England, being an insular country, and the foremost maritime power of the world, is almost

entirely free from the danger of invasion, and hence, although warlike in the highest degree, has failed to keep pace with the Continental nations—each standing armed at its neighbor's door—in perfecting the machinery by and through which all her strength and resources can be brought to bear with certainty, economy, and promptitude, either for offensive or defensive war. Neither should we forget that although “the sun never sets” upon the dependencies of the British Crown, with its 250,000,000 subjects, its entire armed force amounts to less than 400,000 men, one half of whom are serving in India, and the other half scattered throughout the world; nor that while the army in India, according to the author, affords the best example for our study and imitation, the English army at home presents more features for our avoidance and condemnation than any other, except that of China. It is true that England has made great conquests, and exerted a tremendous influence in all parts of the world; but it is also true that these conquests and this influence are due rather to her naval supremacy, backed by her great wealth, than to her army—in spite of, rather than because of, her military system. While every other nation has discarded the idea of voluntary, and substituted therefor that of compulsory military service, based upon the well-settled principle that every able-bodied male citizen owes his first duty to his country, England and America alone adhere to the notion that the patriotism of their people will fill the ranks of their armies whenever necessity requires it. While the Continental nations have made extraordinary progress in perfecting the organization of their armies, England and America have made no progress whatever, but have adhered steadily to the practices and traditions of the past. Their statesmen have given far more attention to internal politics, or to the spread of their political and commercial influence, than to the study of military organization. The time has come when they should change their policy, but for widely different reasons.

Russia, with her army of nearly 2,000,000 men, has conquered Turkey, and from her advanced positions in Central Asia is thought to be threatening India. Should she maintain her conquest, and fasten upon Constantinople, England, under the control of her present administration, will not hesitate to fight for her supremacy in the East. If diplomacy fails to secure compliance with her demands, she will be forced by the excitement of her people, if not in self-defense, to declare war against Russia. The first step thereafter, will be to secure her communications with the East; and to

this end she must occupy Asia Minor, Egypt, Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan, and Beloochistan, either as an ally, protector or conqueror, thus uniting all of Southern Asia under her sway. Indeed, she could well afford to permit Russia and Austria to divide Turkey in Europe, if they would consent in turn to her peaceable absorption of Turkey in Asia, and the countries lying between the Mediterranean and her Indian possessions. Could the British Government in this manner extend and consolidate its power in Asia, the Eastern Question would be settled upon a rational and permanent basis. Through her naval supremacy and her control of Gibraltar and Malta, she could always maintain her connection with Egypt and the Levant; and this, with the help of the Suez Canal, and the railroads she would certainly build through the valley of the Euphrates, would enable her to meet the Russians at every point, from the Castle of Asia to Peshawur, with more than even chances of success. Speculation as to the policy of England from our point of view is perhaps idle; but with Lord Beaconsfield every thing seems possible, and he may yet surprise the world with some such policy as we have indicated above, to be carried out through diplomacy by preference, but through force if necessary.¹ Be this as it may, no thoughtful person can read what General Upton says of the firm but beneficent rule of England in India, without earnestly wishing to see that rule extended over all of Southern Asia. On the other hand, no one can read his account of the organization of the home forces of England without perceiving at once the inadequacy of her army to a great Continental war, and the necessity of its reinforcement by troops from her dependencies, and its reorganization upon the same wise principles which were observed in the reorganization of the European and native forces serving in India. With its boundless resources of men, material, and money, the British Empire is still one of the foremost powers of the world, and when its government shall in earnest set about perfecting the machinery for the effective utilization of those resources, the strongest government may well beware how it leaves her the slightest excuse for going to war.

Happily there is no such emergency upon us as that which is now at the door of England. Peace prevails throughout our land, and upon all our borders; and yet the book under consideration

¹ Since this article was written the *London Times* and *Pall Mall Gazette* have published articles advocating the establishment of a British protectorate over Turkey in Asia.

contains an important lesson for us, if we would but learn it. Our little army of less than 25,000 men, scattered over half a continent, claims our fostering care. Its officers are acknowledged to be well educated, well behaved, and deserving. Indeed, we do no violence to the facts when we say that in these respects they are not, as a body, excelled by the officers of any other nation. Mostly educated at West Point, and trained in the varied and exacting service of our frontiers, or in the bloodier experience of the civil war, they are recognized everywhere as worthy of the highest consideration, while their honesty and fidelity have become proverbial throughout the land. Occasionally one has fallen by the wayside, overcome by temptation; but we may fairly offset this by the remarkable fact, that at the end of the late war the entire visible power of the country, both North and South, was controlled by a few generals, most of whom had served in the regular army, but not one of whom ever sullied his hands by an ill-gotten farthing, or used the power intrusted to him for personal or ignoble ends. When it is remembered that at that time every army, nearly every army corps, and a majority of the divisions in both the Federal and Confederate armies were commanded by graduates of the Military Academy, we may well stop to consider the significance of this statement, and whether or not we should continue to be indifferent to the causes and influences which have rendered it possible. Our regular army, small, neglected, and organized on a defective plan, has exerted an enormous influence upon our growth, prosperity, and civilization. Sustained by the patriotism of the people, and supplemented by the volunteers, it has been largely instrumental in saving the government in more than one great emergency, and no one can say how soon or in what manner it may be called upon to save it again. It is true that it stands apart and alone, and has always been looked upon with envy and suspicion by a few politicians and demagogues. It has been called a "pretorian guard, dangerous to the liberties of the people," while West Point has been denounced as a "hotbed of aristocracy;" but it is within limits to say that the former is less like a pretorian guard than any military force ever organized, while the latter is the most thoroughly democratic institution in this or any other republic. Neither wealth nor social position is of the slightest value to the cadet in his course through the Military Academy; every one stands upon his own merit, all are treated alike, and no one is permitted to graduate unless he reaches the prescribed standard of efficiency.

The survival of the fittest is absolutely the law, and it is no more than just to say that the law is fairly and impartially administered. Indeed we are within bounds when we declare that our Military Academy is the most creditable institution connected with our system of government. It has paid the country back a thousand-fold for the money expended upon it; and its welfare and improvement should always command the favorable attention of Congress, rather than its active hostility, as is too frequently the case. It has always been justly and honestly administered; it inculcates patriotic and national principles, a loyal devotion to duty, and a faithful subordination of the military to the civil authorities, whatever may be their political complexion. It is, therefore, entitled to the confidence and support of both political parties, and should not be made a bone of contention between them.

The system of military education at West Point, differing from that of all other countries except Japan, where it has been copied, grew naturally out of the necessities of our situation. When the Academy was founded the country was sparsely populated, and schools and colleges were scarce; the government as well as the people was poor; hence it was found necessary to educate the cadets in every thing except the merest rudiments, and at the same time to train them practically and theoretically in all the branches of the military art, and also in all the studies necessary for a scientific education. As the country has increased in wealth, schools and colleges have grown up everywhere, and hence the standard of admission to the Academy has been gradually raised; so that, although it still requires proficiency in only the common branches of a plain English education, the original idea that every cadet should be instructed, practically and theoretically, in all the duties of each arm of service is still the fundamental principle of the establishment. The result is that the corps of cadets is perhaps the only body of troops in the world equally familiar with all the practical duties of infantry, cavalry, artillery, ordnance, and engineers. The graduates are at the same time the only officers who, at the beginning of their active career, are equally at home in all arms of the military service. As a matter of course we are not to be understood as suggesting that all are equally good, or that any are perfect. To the contrary, after they leave the Academy and are assigned to their particular branch of service they have much to learn; and here is precisely where our system of military education is imperfect. In every country of Europe, each branch

of service has its special school, and some branches have several grades of schools. We have an artillery school at Fortress Monroe which has done, and is doing, much to elevate the scientific and practical efficiency of that arm, although it can hardly be said to enjoy a legal and permanent existence. A school for the infantry, to be located at Fort Leavenworth, has been suggested, and some steps may have been taken towards its organization, but a school for the cavalry has hardly been talked of yet. It is true that the officers of all arms are well trained in the practical duties of small commands, both in garrison and upon the frontiers; but their service is far from favorable to careful theoretical study. The engineers have a torpedo station, where the officers, who may chance to be serving with the battalion of engineers, are carefully taught such practical duties as the limited means at hand will permit. The greatest school of all, that of service in the staff departments or corps, is carefully and rigidly closed to the body of our officers. The favored few, who, by political influence, chance, or merit, as the case may be, secure appointment to the vacancies as they occur, become specially familiar with the duty of the corps to which they are appointed; but the great mass of the officers remain always in that branch of service which they choose or to which they are assigned when they are first appointed to the army. There are many disadvantages resulting from this condition of affairs, the greatest of which is enmity between the officers of the line and staff, a lack of incentive for study, and a lower standard of efficiency for both. In every other country the staff corps are composed of but a few higher officers permanently attached to them, while the lower grades are filled by selection for a limited period of years, and always after a careful examination upon a prescribed course of studies appropriate to the particular branch of the staff service to which the officer aspires. These examinations are generally regulated by law, and conducted by distinguished officers who have passed them successfully or been specially selected therefor.

In the army of India the system of examination and selection is carried to such an extent, that even the seven European officers of each native infantry regiment, and the eight of each native cavalry regiment, are detailed from the staff, after passing a special examination in tactics, law, languages, and civil and military administration. In view of the fact that the staff is interchangeable with the line, and is continually regenerated by this same system

of examination, most rigidly applied, it will be seen that the chance for an incompetent person to reach a high command or an important position is reduced to a minimum. It is but proper to explain that the Indian army was not reorganized till after the transfer of the government from the East India Company to the Crown, and that this reorganization grew directly out of the lesson taught by the Sepoy rebellion. So thoroughly has the work been done, however, that the author, after describing it fully and clearly, declares the Indian army, as it now exists, to be the best model in the world for our imitation. We note only one serious omission from his account of it, and that is, he fails to explain the means, if any there are, by which its ranks are to be kept full. It seems self-evident that a system of compulsory military service is necessary there if anywhere, and that the organization of the machinery for carrying it efficiently into effect is one of the gravest problems with which England has to deal. Voluntary service may prove sufficient under ordinary circumstances, but its failure in India in times of great commotion can scarcely be a matter of doubt. It is incompatible with either a highly organized or a primitive state of society, unless both patriotism and fanaticism are unusually active and well sustained. It failed most signally, under exceedingly favorable conditions, to fill the vacancies either in the Federal or the Confederate armies in the latter days of the Rebellion, and must always fail when similarly tested.

We learn from the work before us that our military system differs from that of European nations in four essential particulars.

First, our officers are educated for all branches of the service, while theirs are educated for special branches. In this the advantage is probably with us at the start.

Second, our staff corps are permanent and closed; each officer, once admitted, becomes a part of his special corps, and, except in the engineers and ordnance, may retain his position and receive his promotion "in turn," and not otherwise, without ever becoming a whit more capable than he was the day he was appointed. In all European armies the staff corps are open, and are generally "organized in such manner that the officers constantly pass from the line to the staff, and the reverse. They thus keep in sympathy with the troops, know their wants and fighting qualities, and, furthermore, know how to manœuvre them in nearly every emergency that may arise."

Third, our army is maintained upon a basis of expedients, dic-

tated by national excitement or partisan feeling; the ranks of the regiments are filled by voluntary enlistments, the lawful strength of each remains practically unchanged, and when additional force is required, regiments of volunteers or militia, the men and officers of which are alike green and untrained, are called out for short terms of service, and are generally discharged by or before the time they become inured to actual warfare. In all European countries military service is compulsory, and every able-bodied citizen must render it when called upon, first with the colors for a period varying from three to five years, second in the reserve from four to seven years. Thus a large part of the able-bodied citizens are trained and ready for service whenever called upon.

Fourth, the regiments of our army have neither depots nor reserves; their organization is inexpansive, and they are in practice generally weaker in times of war than of peace. In all European armies, except that of England, each regiment of infantry, artillery, cavalry, and engineers has its depot, occupied by one or more companies, whose principal duty is to collect, equip, drill, and forward the men called in from the reserve as they are needed. The armies themselves are maintained on two distinct bases—one known as the peace footing and the other as the war footing. The relative strength thereof is determined by political and economical considerations, the general rule being, however, that an army on the peace footing is about half as large as on a war footing. The soldiers, after being discharged from service with the colors, remain four or five years longer subject to recall to the ranks as a reserve of trained men, by which the army can be raised almost instantaneously to a war footing, and still have a surplus of disciplined men to fill such vacancies as may be occasioned by casualties or disease. In addition to the regular reserve of trained soldiers, a second body of men, known as the “ersatz (or supplementary) reserve,” is maintained by some countries, as Germany and Italy. These men are called upon only in case of prolonged war; their training is limited to a few months, but it is sufficient to teach them their places in the ranks, and to accustom them to the use of their arms. Military service usually begins at twenty-one, and continues, in different countries, from twelve to twenty years.

There are a number of other points of difference, relating to organization, discipline, promotion, and general administration, but for want of space we cannot allude to them more specifically. The most perfectly organized army of Europe is, perhaps, that of the

German Empire, which, between the 15th of July and the 1st of September, in 1870, "was mobilized, crossed the frontier of France, overwhelmed a great army, forced it to seek the shelter of its fortresses, securely invested it, captured an emperor at the head of a relieving army, and destroyed what was supposed to be the strongest military empire on the globe." If, in the language of the author, we now compare our military policy during the first century of the Republic with the present military policy of European nations, we shall find that the difference lies principally in this—"that while they prosecute their wars exclusively with trained armies, completely organized in all of their parts, and led by officers specially educated, we have begun and have prosecuted most of our wars with raw troops, whose officers had to be educated in the expensive school of actual war. As the result of this policy, the War of the Revolution lasted seven years, the War of 1812 two and one half years, the war with Mexico two years, and the War of the Rebellion four years. The total number of men called out in the War of the Revolution was 231,771 continentals, and 164,087 militia—total, 395,858. In the War of 1812, 38,136 regulars, 458,463 militia, 10,110 volunteers, and 3049 rangers—total, 509,808. In the war with Mexico, 26,922 regulars, 73,532 volunteers—total, 100,454; while during the War of the Rebellion, according to the figures of the Adjutant-General, the number of volunteers of all classes which took part in the rebellion and were regularly discharged was 2,234,421. In addition to the volunteers, 402,659 militia were called into the service, making a grand total of 2,683,759 men."

The author has not furnished us with the cost of these wars, nor with the losses incurred therein, except in the case of the last-mentioned, in which of the Federal losses were 304,369 killed or died of wounds and disease. The losses of the Confederates, as nearly as can be determined, were between 200,000 and 250,000 men, making the total number of citizens who perished in the war something over one half million.

We trust that in his promised work upon military policy General Upton will give the relative losses of the regulars and volunteers in battle and by disease, and the relative amounts of money expended for these troops. Comparisons should also be made between the relative cost of our wars and those of Europe, so far as it is practicable to make such comparisons. These figures, we do not doubt, will show more conclusively than many volumes of argument the inexcusable extravagance and inefficiency of our military system.

In order to increase the economy and to diminish the disparity of the loss of life due to the differences between our military policy and that of Europe, the author suggests two plans—either of which if matured in time of peace and adhered to in time of war, will produce far better results than any we have hitherto attained. His first plan

“is to so organize the regular army that by the mere process of filling its cadres it may be expanded to such proportions as to enable it, without other aid, to bring our wars to a speedy conclusion.

“The second plan is to prosecute our future wars with volunteer infantry, supported by the regular artillery and cavalry, apportioning the officers of the regular army among the volunteers in such manner that all of the staff departments, and, if possible, all of the companies, battalions, brigades, and higher organization, shall be trained and commanded by officers of military education and experience.”

It will be observed that neither of these plans can be carried into effect without special legislation, resting upon the following fundamental conditions: That every able-bodied male citizen shall perform military service when called upon to do so. The country should be divided into military districts and sub-districts, to which should be assigned certain military organizations, the men of which should be recruited within their limits. The government, both national and local, must abandon the payment of all bounties, and rely upon its right to draft men into the service whenever any district fails to furnish its quota. This should be done through a provost-marshal-general's department. The machinery for enrolling and drafting must be ready at all times, so that the recruits shall be forthcoming the moment war is declared; the regiments of all arms of service must have depots representing them in the districts to which they belong, the duty of which shall be to collect, arm, equip, and forward all recruits to their regiments. All commissions should be issued by the President, and when the army is increased to meet the contingencies of war, commissions should be provisional for the war, one third of the promotions to be made for distinguished skill and gallantry in battle, upon the recommendations of the military commanders in the field, or upon the report of boards specially appointed to investigate the act of skill or gallantry. And, finally, the whole military scheme and policy must be perfected in time of peace, in order that it may be made to work efficiently in time of war.

The chief object to be kept in view in the proposed reorganization is that the army, in time of peace, shall be simply a training-school to prepare officers for staff duty and to hold high commands,

to which end, in the author's opinion, "it is indispensable that an interchangeable relation should be established between the staff and the line."

The lowest grade of the permanent officers of the different staff departments should be that of major.

"All captains and lieutenants being so many supernumerary officers of the line, detailed from two to four years, with a legal provision that after each detail the officer shall serve with the troops, either in his own or some other arm of service, for a period at least equal to one half the time he was detached."

"Should we decide to reorganize our staff departments so that each shall be composed partly of permanent officers and partly of supernumerary officers of the line, detailed for a term of years, we may assure ourselves that we are making no rash experiment by recalling the facts previously stated, viz. : That in India all of the officers in the adjutant-general's department, quartermaster-general's department, ordnance department, all brigade majors, fort adjutants, personal staff officers, and garrison instructors, are detailed for a period usually limited to five years ; that in England all officers in the adjutant-general's department and quartermaster-general's department are detailed for the same period ; that in Austria all of the officers of the adjutant-general's department belong to the line of the army in which they receive their promotion ; and that in Italy, Germany, and Russia, no officer, even after receiving a permanent appointment in the staff, is exempt from service with the troops."

"To the War Academy, and to the principle of requiring every officer of the staff to serve with troops in the line, before each following promotion, is ascribed the brilliant success achieved by the German staff in the Austro-Prussian and Franco-German wars."

In carrying out this plan of reorganization, the author recommends the consolidation of the adjutant-general's and inspector-general's department, and the substitution of the following organization in time of peace :

"One general, 6 colonels, 6 lieutenant-colonels, 12 majors, and 12 captains, the grades above captain to be permanent, each major being required to serve a term of three years in the line before being promoted to lieutenant-colonel, his place during the interval to be filled by a major from the line. The grade of captain to be filled by the detail of captains from the line for the period of two years, during which time they should learn to perform the office work at the head-quarters of the different military divisions and departments."

In time of war the organization of this department

"should consist of the necessary number of officers for bureau work at Washington, and an additional number for the field at the rate of 1 major, chief of staff, and 1 captain for each brigade ; 1 lieutenant-colonel, chief of staff, and 2 captains for each division ; 1 colonel, chief of staff, 1 lieutenant-colonel, and 3 captains for each corps ; 1 general, chief of staff, with the necessary number of field officers and captains for each army."

Under this organization, the author correctly says :

"The chiefs of staff would be enabled to devote themselves to the study of maps and to the collection of such geographical and statistical information as would qualify them to assist in directing the movements of troops, while their assistants would perform the work of adjutant-generals, inspector-generals, and mustering officers, done heretofore by officers of separate departments."

It can scarcely be doubted that this would prove efficacious and economical. It would encourage the officers of the line to prepare themselves for other than regimental duty, while it would secure for the adjutant-general's department a higher order of talents than has hitherto been assigned to it; and this is paying it a high compliment, for the officers of that department, as now organized, will compare most favorably with those of any army in the world.

The quartermaster's, subsistence, and pay departments, and the signal corps, should all be reorganized on the principle of detail, for which the law need only prescribe that all the captains and lieutenants now serving with these corps "shall be distributed as so many supernumeraries to the infantry, artillery, and cavalry," the captaincies in future to be filled by captains or first lieutenants detailed from the line for the period of four years. In time of war, these departments should be provisionally increased by the addition of a sufficient number of officers to give the necessary staff to each corps and army. All vacancies above and including that of major in the permanent part of these departments should be filled by selection from the officers who have been on detail or been trained therein.

Promotions to the permanent grades of the pay department should be made by selection from the old and meritorious officers of the service, and not, as is now too frequently the case, from clerks and politicians who have served principally in Washington.

The engineer corps should consist, as at present, of 1 chief of engineers with the rank of brigadier-general, 6 colonels, 12 lieutenant-colonels, 24 majors, 30 captains, 26 first-lieutenants, and 10 second-lieutenants, "the first and second lieutenants to be supernumeraries of the line, detailed for a period of four years." Promotions to the grade of captain to be made by competitive examination, open to all first lieutenants who have been detailed or served in the department.

The artillery and ordnance should be merged into a single corps, with a chief having the rank of brigadier-general; the artillery to consist of the same number of officers and men as at present; the

ordnance, under a chief of artillery and ordnance, to consist of 5 colonels, 5 lieutenant-colonels, 10 majors, 15 captains, and 15 first-lieutenants, the captains and lieutenants to be supernumerary officers of artillery, detailed for the period of four years.

The peace organization of the infantry should consist of the present 25 regiments, divided into 2 battalions of 4 companies each, with the 2 remaining companies as a regimental depot; the company on a peace footing having 3 officers and 54 men, the battalion having 15 officers and 218 men, and the depot company 3 officers and 11 men. The regiment, according to this scheme, including field, staff, 2 battalions and depot, would have 40 officers and 460 men, or a total strength of 500 men; and the 25 regiments on a peace footing would have an aggregate strength of 12,500. By doubling the number of enlisted men, the strength of this organization would be increased to about 25,000. [On the war footing, each regiment of infantry should consist of 2, 3, or 4 battalions and a depot, according as the infantry is to be increased to 50,000, 75,000, or 100,000 men. The present army would furnish, on a basis of 50,000 men, 2 officers of military experience to every company of infantry. Expanded to 75,000 or 100,000 men, it could still furnish an experienced captain to each company. The extra lieutenants required should be selected in time of peace, as in other countries, and their names borne on the Army Register below the grade of second lieutenant. They should be taken from non-commissioned officers of the army; from such graduates of colleges as have been instructed by officers of the army detailed as professors of tactics, in accordance with the present law; from graduates of State military academies, like those of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Vermont; and from officers of the National Guard or Militia—all being required to pass such an examination as shall be prescribed for supernumerary officers.

Adopting the model prescribed for the infantry, each of the 10 regiments of cavalry should, according to the author, be organized into 3 battalions (as at present) and a depot—1 battalion to consist of 4 companies and the other battalions of 3 companies each, the remaining 2 companies forming the depot to be stationed in the State whence the regiment is to draw its men and horses. Giving the field companies a strength of 62 men, the strength of each regiment would be 49 officers and 650 men—total, 699—and an aggregate strength of 6990 for the 10 regiments on a peace footing. Increasing the men to 100 per company, and adding an extra company to the battalions of 3 companies each, the strength of the regiment,

on a war footing, would be 69 officers and 1256 men—a total of 1325—and an aggregate of 13,250 for the 10 regiments.

The peace organization of the artillery should be maintained on a basis capable of immediate expansion. "It should consist of the present number of batteries organized into a corps, or of the 5 existing regiments organized into 3 battalions each, with 2 batteries as a depot." On this basis, with the proper increase of battalion adjutants, quartermasters, and a slight increase in the strength of the companies, the regiment would amount to 62 officers and 605 men—total, 667—while the aggregate strength of the five regiments would be 310 officers and 3025 men. With the artillery and ordnance consolidated under a common chief, the ordnance department should be composed of a sufficient number of permanent officers to insure its uniform operation.

The depots of the several regiments of artillery could be advantageously located at the great arsenals for the protection of government property, and for the more ready procurement of the facilities and means of instructing the recruits in the use of the various kinds of guns employed in the service.

The war strength of the artillery could be increased, so as to meet any demands likely to be made upon it, simply by increasing the strength of the companies and supplying them with batteries, at the rate of four guns to each one thousand men of the various arms.

The author gives the details of an expanded organization for an army of 63,000, 88,000, and 113,000 men, including in each case 13,000 cavalry; and which, by comparison of our present and expansive organization with the proposed peace establishment, shows that we can effect the transformation by the addition of only 210 officers to the 1529 already on the Register; while the number of enlisted men, as compared with the number now allowed to the three arms of service, can be reduced by 2110. Dispensing with the battalion adjutants and quartermasters, the number of additional officers can be reduced to the 25 majors required to place the field officers of infantry on the same footing as the artillery and cavalry. If the expansive system be adopted, and the President be authorized under certain specified contingencies to increase the strength of the army, we can vary the war footing anywhere from the peace establishment of, say 20,000 to 140,000 men, by simply increasing the privates of the companies in all of the regiments, or in such regiments of each arm as may be designated after an intelligent consideration of the circumstances requiring the increase.

The foregoing plan has two essential advantages over any that have hitherto been submitted to the War Department or to Congress. First, it proposes an interchangeable relation between the staff and the line ; and, second, it suggests the means by which the regiments shall be made expansive and kept fully up to the requirements of active service. Our limits forbid a detailed reference to or discussion of all the points involved in the reorganization of the army as proposed by General Upton, but there is one which even the average politician can not fail to discover. We refer, as a matter of course, to that one which provides for depots to each regiment. These depots, it will be remembered, are to be permanently located, and necessarily in the various Congressional districts, where small barracks would have to be constructed, and where all the money expended therefor or thereby would have to be disbursed.

The author has done his work well and conscientiously, without heat or prejudice, and with a noticeable absence of argument for argument's sake. The facts presented by him are stated with soldier-like brevity and directness, and are then left to speak for themselves. Let us hope they will command the attention they deserve, and that they will at least secure for the author a place on any commission or board which Congress may appoint for the purpose of considering the subject to which they relate, and upon which they throw so much light.

We can not more forcibly impress upon our readers the necessity of adopting General Upton's or some other carefully prepared plan for the permanent reorganization of our army, than by quoting the closing words of his conclusions: "Should we recoil before the small expenditure required to give us most of the advantages of an expansive peace establishment, we ought to bear in mind that in interest alone on our national debt, mostly accumulated as the fruit of an expensive military policy, we have paid in the last ten years more than \$1,500,000,000."

INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION.

IT may be deemed Quixotic to venture now upon predictions of renewed prosperity, but it is held that the limit of the fall in prices has been reached, and that in the practical disappearance of the so-called premium on gold we have evidence that our normal commercial relations with the world are about restored. On that fact, and others, may we not predicate renewed prosperity at no very distant day?

The enormous increase in our exports and the so-called balance of trade in our favor may not be in themselves evidence of prosperity, and may be for the moment even an evidence of present adversity, but it indicates that the conditions precedent to a renewal of prosperity have been reached. The great volume of our exports consists of articles in which we have an advantage in position and in the cost of production over all nations: our corn and meat Europe must have, or suffer from want; our cotton she must buy, or her operatives must be idle and her commerce crippled; our oil, our lumber, our leather are articles of common need, not of luxury; and many of our goods and wares, either by their quality or their price, command the markets of the world. With these products, in which we have the advantage of position, we may command the gold of the world, if we choose; and now that the gold standard has been reached, every one will soon admit the facts. On the other hand, there are but few articles that we import that can not be spared, if we choose to do without them. Adversity is the great teacher of economic truth, and many now listen to whom such words as these were but as idle wind when spoken a few years since.

Had these facts been considered in 1865 and 1866, and had the surplus revenue of the government, then accruing in gold coin, been thereafter steadily applied to the payment of the demand notes of the government, a vast portion of the disaster which has since ensued would have been avoided. In the next ten years a surplus revenue was received by the government *in gold coin* to the amount of over five hundred million dollars, which was misused in the pur-

chase of bonds not due, while the payment of the demand notes of the government continued to be repudiated; the inflation of prices was wilfully continued; the era of railway speculation and of municipal indebtedness and extravagance was promoted and made possible; relief from the necessary evil consequences of war was deferred, and a fictitious prosperity retarded for a time the necessary reduction of prices and of the cost of living, which it was then obvious must be the conditions precedent to the return of true prosperity.

A few men, often denounced as theorists and doctrinaires, were then accustomed to meet and consider these subjects; but their words of warning were unheeded, and no attention was given when they declared that there were "breakers ahead."

In these days of gloom and depression, it is perhaps now as fit to suggest that the "breakers are nearly passed," and that our way may soon be upon a smooth sea, beneath pleasant skies, under which the stormy danger of utter shipwreck will be forgotten.

The one lesson which both the theorist and the practical man have had cause to learn during the last ten years has been that the industrial forces of this country may be in some measure turned in one direction or another by war and by legislation, or by both combined, and that the condition of individuals may be altered for better or for worse by such causes, but that the productive power of the nation can only be affected in a moderate degree by either. An ample production of all the means of subsistence equal to any possible demand is absolutely sure under our present conditions; and all that we need now to consider in respect to legislation is to discover such rules relating to currency and taxation as shall not so alter the mode of distribution as to make even an abundance of material things cause temporary distress to the community.

Legislation may for a time act as a retarding force; but even bad laws can only retard, they can not prevent, general prosperity and comfort in this nation.

In the autumn of 1868 the writer prepared a statement of the cost of the War of the Rebellion, then but recently ended, for use in the political campaign in which further inflation of the currency was one of the main points at issue. In that article, and in another prepared in the summer of 1869, he endeavored to call attention to the impending dangers of enormous losses to the business community, to those engaged in the production and distribution of merchandise—danger alike to bankers, merchants, manufacturers, and

common carriers; which danger, it was even then evident, must ensue from the impending and necessary decline in the prices of all commodities. He endeavored to prove that the most vicious effect of the legal-tender notes had been to enhance the *retail* prices of all goods and wares to a much higher ratio in respect to the specie standard than had happened in regard to *wholesale* prices, especially the wholesale prices of farm products; that from this great enhancement of *retail* prices, and consequently of the cost of living, had come the rush of men into the work of distribution, rather than of production; and that as the abnormal demand of war had then ceased, and the more abundant production of the mills, mines, and works had begun to effect a decline in prices, there must be a great reduction and an adjustment to new conditions, and eventually a reduction to a specie standard under such new conditions, before any real prosperity could be assured. After endeavoring to prove that while the wholesale prices of cotton, corn, meat, and other exportable commodities ranged with gold at the ratio of only 135 or 140 to 100, he then said (August, 1869), "It now takes 175 to 200 cents in paper to buy as much at retail as 100 cents in gold would buy before the legal-tender act was passed; . . . there must be such an adjustment of prices that 100 cents in paper and 100 cents in gold will buy an equal quantity of any thing; and in this necessary adjustment of prices is our danger. There is danger staring us in the face: danger to those engaged in distribution; danger to merchants, traders, bankers, and to all debtors."

"Production can not cease, quantity can not fail to be made, abundance must be the rule, but since prices have been inflated by the issue of a false and fluctuating standard of value, and since distributors have thus been placed in danger, that danger they must meet, and the necessary loss they must incur."

"Inflation can only aggravate the danger. Contraction, until our currency comes to the standard which regulates itself—that is, to the specie standard—cost what it will, and hurt whom it may, is the only cure; *if it does not come through voluntary legislation, it will come through involuntary bankruptcy.*"

It was then (in 1869) useless to attempt to reason on the subject; it was necessary for this nation to buy its experience at the cost of disaster. It was without avail to refer to the experience of other nations, or to our own bitter losses from the Continental currency. We were said to be a law unto ourselves, and it was assumed that the great economic laws of humanity did not apply to us. We

have learned the lesson, and the last chapter seems to have been opened. Now it behooves us to see if we are not really richer than ever before, and if we lack any thing but confidence in ourselves to give welfare to each and all.

The dawn of the era of true industrial reconstruction can be faintly seen amid the strife of dying parties and the struggle over dead issues.

All attempts to measure the contraction needed in 1868 and 1869 were vain; all attempts to figure out a sum of notes adequate to the business of the country were then, as now, futile. Since then the contraction has come; it has been less than many supposed necessary, but without it the par of gold could not have been reached. The framers of the Resumption Act may have builded better than they knew, or they may have astutely reached by indirection the result which could not be directly carried through Congress; and unless the empirical and probably unlawful proposition to reissue and keep in force a fixed sum of *legal-tender* notes shall again cause distrust, confidence and enterprise may soon be manifest.

This necessary danger of declining prices existed in 1868 and 1869, and the consequent depression was then as evident as it became in 1873; but the national lie which was inscribed on the note which by legislation had been made lawful money—the repudiated promise to pay dollars on demand—had yet more malign work to perform. This potent instrument of war was turned against those who had authorized its use under the plea of necessity, and converted into an instrument of destruction, when without necessity its terrible force was willfully continued.

Its only useful purpose—that of collecting a forced loan in time of need—being ended, it next promoted the era of corporate and municipal borrowing. Then ensued the railway mania and the extravagant municipal expenditures; and for five years, until the panic (so called) of 1873, the necessary reduction of prices was deferred and the action of the causes of danger indicated in 1868 and 1869 was retarded, while the necessary losses and causes of bankruptcy were increased. At length this necessary result ensued, borrowing ceased for lack of credit, and vast bodies of men, who had since 1861 been employed first in war and next in building railroads not yet wanted, or in municipal work of all sorts, both public and private, were thrown out of employment, to attempt to find occupation in the normal and legitimate arts of peace.

In that attempt they were met by the fact that vast improvements had been made in all the manufacturing and mechanic arts; that in many branches women did the work that men did before; that such had been the improvements and inventions since the ante-war period—many of them stimulated by the need of war—that a far less number of hands were needed in very many branches of industry even to compass a larger product. Thus it has happened that not only vast numbers of persons, whose occupation during the war and after the war, until the crisis of 1873, had been in the work of distribution, and others whose work had been in producing the commodities needed for war or for railway construction, were together forced to seek new occupations in new places. Such an industrial reconstruction must be slow; and hence the cause of long-continued depression has been deep-seated, and we have had years of want in the midst of abundance under conditions that have made recovery apparently almost hopeless. An industrial revolution has, in fact, occurred not only in the South, but in the West and North as well.

In 1868 and 1869 the burden of debt was mainly confined to that incurred for war purposes, which could have been easily borne. The speculative era, based on borrowing abroad and at home, vastly aggravated the danger of the necessary decline in prices, while postponing the date of its occurrence. In 1868-9 private indebtedness was very small compared to that existing in 1873.

But the end of this period of depression and loss must be near, and though a vast amount of individual bankruptcy and loss may yet remain to come to light—the wreck of past extravagance or misfortune—yet the evidences of an era of national prosperity are now as patent as were the evidences of approaching adversity in 1868 and 1869. No man can predict the date at which the favorable turn in affairs will become evident to all, but the elements are at work. Abundance never yet ruined a nation, and the term over-production is only exceptionally fit: to apply it to the general conditions of a nation only marks the speaker or the writer as a charlatan. Never before in the history of this nation did the elements of material welfare and prosperity exist in such abundance as at the present time, and the blunders of legislation can only defer their beneficent action.

The actual destruction of war and the burden of war debts are not to-day the chief factors in our condition; on the contrary, the war and its debt are in a material sense worth all their cost, and the abolition of slavery alone far more than offsets the burden of

national debt by the increase of wealth to which it has opened the way. The establishment of the national banking system, when once it is adjusted to a specie basis, may also prove a vast benefit to the whole community. This system formed a part of a consistent, even if in some respects unwise, fiscal system; and had the original act not been perverted by subsequent mislegislation, the present prejudice against banks might have been avoided, and their truly beneficent function have been recognized by all. In order to determine the actual conditions which now control our material welfare, it is necessary to consider this question of the cost and destruction of the war separately, and then to treat the conditions succeeding the war.

It is even now commonly assumed that our present depression is to be traced back to an actual destruction of capital during the war; but for this assumption there is no ground. The capital of the North actually and largely increased during the war, and at the South the devastation was confined to narrow lines and few places; nor was there much real capital at the South to be destroyed, the blight of slavery having forbidden the accumulation of real wealth. The individual losses of property in slaves were not only no loss, but a gain in productive power, as has been well proved by the vast increase and variety of Southern products. Let us now turn our attention to the facts in respect to the actual cost of war.

The income of the United States Government from April 1st, 1861, to June 30th, 1868—seven and a quarter years of active war, or of excessive expenditure growing out of war—was as follows:

From internal taxes.....	\$1,123,100,488
“ customs.....	830,804,468
“ land sales.....	5,145,213
“ direct taxes.....	12,831,645
“ premium on sales of gold, sales of captured or abandoned property, and sales of surplus war material.....	241,467,672
	<hr/>
	\$2,213,349,486
From loans.....	\$2,511,000,000
Less Pacific Railroad loans.....	26,000,000—2,485,000,000
	<hr/>
Total.....	\$4,698,349,486

The sum of internal taxes and customs revenue of these seven and a quarter years—over \$1,965,000,000—was a little more than the entire revenue of the country from the adoption of the Constitution to April 1st, 1861. This income, and that from loans, was all ex-

pendent ; and this gross expenditure for seven and a quarter years, amounting to \$4,700,000,000, partly in gold and partly in paper, is the measure or price of the labor performed by and on behalf of the government during seven and a quarter years. Assigning \$700,000,000 as ordinary peace expenditure, somewhat more than \$4,000,000,000 represent the effort or labor of the North. This is the measure of the consumption of war in commodities or services. To this sum must be added the measure of the effort of the Southern States in resistance, if we wish to reach an actual measure of the whole cost of the war to the nation ; but this latter sum is to be computed only during four years of actual war, and at a less amount than the force exerted by the North, because it was mainly defensive. It may be assumed to have been equal to the force represented by \$2,000,000,000 of such dollars as were used in the North.

The sum of this actual and hypothetical war expenditure is \$6,000,000,000. If we convert this sum into terms of labor, the following result is reached : Annual cost North and South for four years of actual war, about \$1,100,000,000 ; a little over \$3,000,000 a day for every day in the year, including Sundays, which sum, assuming the average payment of two dollars a day to each person, represents the work of 1,500,000 men, beginning with the President and ending with the drummer-boy ; or, in the arts of production, beginning with the manager of the railroad and factory, and ending with the mule-boy and the switch-tender—all alike engaged in an effort entirely abnormal and destructive, *but destructive mainly as to the capital which the war itself called into existence.*

In like manner, for three and a quarter years after the war a war expenditure, approximating an average of nearly \$500,000,000 per annum, continued, which sum, under the above rule, further represented an abnormal effort or exertion of labor measured at over \$1,600,000 per day for each working day, excluding Sundays, equal to the work of 800,000 men at two dollars each per day. The actual cost of the war may therefore be stated as the labor of 1,500,000 men for four years of actual war, and of 800,000 men for three and a quarter years of quasi war. To this must be added the actual destruction of capital previously accumulated, which can not be measured in money, but which would represent a far less sum, as it only occurred in the actual path of the contending armies.

These proportions are not exact but approximate ; possibly a somewhat larger ratio of labor should be assigned to the period of

actual war, and less to the subsequent period of quasi peace; but the aggregate is about right if the average of two dollars be accepted as the measure of an average day's work. In respect to this, it should be considered that included in this average are the highest officials of state and of corporations, and the least paid operative of the factory or employé of the camp. It is assumed that a statement of cost in actual days' work brings the immensity of the effort into far clearer light than a statement of the price of that effort in dollars. Payment was in part deferred, but the labor was done during the actual period of the destructive consumption of war.

This exertion of force or labor for the period named implies a demand for iron, steel, wool, leather, cotton, corn, wheat, pork, and other commodities consumed by the soldiers or by the working men and women engaged in supplying them, the quantity of which can not be imagined in tons, pounds, or yards, but can only be measured in dollars and days' work. A very small portion of this supply of commodities was borrowed from abroad during this period—certainly not over five per cent—as the great era of foreign borrowing came later for purposes of constructing railroads.

What was the effect upon the supply of this excessive and abnormal consumption of and demand for the products of farms, mills, mines, and works? *The demand induced the supply*, and, under the stimulus of profit, there was not only no net destruction of capital, but a vast accumulation in the North: new mines were opened, new mills were built, new works were constructed, new fields were improved, new inventions were made, old inventions were perfected, new processes were adopted, and new methods of production and distribution were applied.

Every one worked either harder, or by new inventions or processes more effectively; and while one portion of the increased product went to meet the war demand and was consumed, another portion was applied to increasing the tools of production or distribution—that is to say, to an increase of capital. It matters not, in this view of the case, that a part of this increase was mortgaged; because the debt *then* incurred was mainly held at home, and merely altered the conditions of the home title, but did not alter the fact of accumulation. This new capital was called into existence by the stimulus of the war itself, and while the consumption and demand of the war existed.

Demand induced supply, and the effort or labor of those who were

not engaged in war or in the supply of war material became equal to the emergency. On every side crops increased, buildings and works were multiplied, and railroads were extended. Not a single great Northern crop decreased. The mower, the reaper, the buggy plow—sometimes driven by women—the sewing-machine, the faster spindle, the better loom, the steam-hammer, the machine tool, all operated under constantly advancing prices, yielded ample supplies, while the unification and connection of the railway system, perfected in 1861-2, made distribution far easier than before.

May not this rule be deduced: "In a country of great natural resources and largely peopled, the demand of war creates its own supply; and the material destruction of war is only to a small extent a destruction of capital previously in existence, but largely a destruction of capital which might not have been so soon called into existence except for the war itself"? In such case, if the Government only dare impose the taxes the whole cost can be defrayed at the time the effort is made. In the North, the ability and willingness to pay taxes kept far in advance of the courage of legislators in imposing them. The South paid its own cost, but it was unevenly distributed by the collapse of its currency, and it was not easily met, because the barbarism of slavery had previously forbidden almost the beginning of the arts of peace within the limits of the States which slavery had kept in a condition of passive war.

The real cause of subsequent industrial and commercial depression and of loss in the North (as in England after the peace of 1815) was the cessation of the war demand, and the necessity which ensued for the discharged soldier to seek new fields and new modes of work; and this necessity also applied to a large portion of those who had been engaged in subsisting the soldier while he was occupied in the war itself.

The depressing effect on many industries thus abnormally forced into existence by war, was, as we have stated, obscured in our case, and deferred from 1868 to 1873 by the railway mania and the era of excessive municipal expenditure.

In four of the years last named over 20,000 miles of railway were constructed, representing an expenditure of labor of not less than 250,000 men at \$2 for each working day, while the municipal expenditure went far to absorb the work of as many more.

At last, in 1873, the culmination came, and the true and necessary remedy only then became apparent. It then became evident

that the work of the country must be applied under the normal conditions of peace, and that there could be no complete restoration of prosperity, even if the bad conditions of the currency and of taxation were cured, until the population of the United States should be redistributed between city and country, between warehouse and workshop, between factory and field, between mill and mine, under these normal conditions of peace. Until that is accomplished we shall have the glut of unsalable abundance on the one side, and the penury of unemployed labor unable to share this abundance on the other.

This redistribution is proceeding most rapidly in the South, next in the West, and least rapidly in the East; because it is more difficult for the artisan and the operative to change his or her occupation than it is for the men who have been employed in outdoor labor, either of the field, the mine, or the forest.

The South has really a better opportunity to adjust itself to the new conditions, because its change is from the passive war of slavery, through active war, to conditions of real peace and prosperity now for the first time attainable. Hence the changes in both the position and condition of labor in the South are among the most startling events of this century, and the claim to be the Empire State may within ten years pass from New York to Texas.

In attempting to solve these questions one is at first apt to impute too much ill effect to badly adjusted taxation. In respect to the question of taxation, bad methods doubtless aggravate other causes of depression and loss; but it must be remembered that more excessive taxes were borne and greater fluctuations in the currency occurred, without grave injury to the material property of the North, while the war demand and supply were working, than have been felt since; and it was only in the effort to adjust labor to the normal conditions of peace that the ill effects of excessive taxation became apparent.

When what I have called industrial reconstruction is completed we shall hear but little of excessive taxation, unless in some exceptional places.

When labor is rightly distributed, and has adjusted itself to the conditions which climate and soil render fit, the work of each year may be sorted about as follows: If the day be ten hours' labor of the aggregate force at work, say six hundred minutes, about five hundred minutes will be given to the subsistence of that year, sixty to eighty minutes to the maintenance and accumulation of capital,

and not over twenty to forty minutes in the heaviest-taxed State to the payment of taxes. It is safe to say that the improvements and inventions applied to production since 1861 have been so great that five hundred minutes a day will yield greater abundance than six hundred minutes' work would then; and if a market can be found for the produce, six hundred minutes' work will yield more surplus capital, and pay the taxes beside, than the same amount of labor would then yield with almost no taxes to be paid.

It will be observed that the time assigned to taxation is $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the whole labor of the day. When expressed in the number of minutes of work—20 to 40 minutes—this does not represent a heavy burden, yet three and a half per cent of the annual product of the country would probably represent a sum more than equal to the present national revenue from customs and excise combined; in other words, twenty minutes a day devoted to sustaining the government and reducing the national debt. The quick distribution of the product of labor is the end now to be sought; and when that is accomplished the bugbear of excessive taxation will disappear before the advancing tide of population.

Let me repeat. Capital, in the strict sense of economic science, being a result of labor saved for future use, it is safe to assert, and it can be proved, that the actual capital of the Northern States vastly increased during the seven and a quarter years of war and of quasi peace. At the end of this period there were in ratio to the population more railroads, more factories, more iron and coal mines opened, more mills, more warehouses, more dwellings, and more improved lands than at the beginning; there was an actual and large increase of capital, and this increase of capital, at the prices justified by the war demand for its products, was vastly greater than the mortgage which had been incurred upon it in the form of national or municipal debt. But it appeared, as soon as the war demand and the demand induced by the railway mania and by municipal expenditure ceased, that this accumulation of capital, except so far as it consisted of improvements of farm lands, was in many cases misplaced; and that it could not be used, or its products could not be consumed in this country, until some new kind of employment should give occupation and purchasing power to those who had been employed under the conditions of war and of railway construction.

Then came the disastrous conditions of declining value in the capital thus abnormally accumulated and misplaced, while the

mortgage remained the same or became heavier as the currency gradually approached the specie standard. In many cases both capital and mortgage have ceased to exist, and those who depended upon their income are forced into competition with the workmen, whose occupation has ceased, and the distributors, whose occupation has passed away.

The welfare of a community consists far less in the amount of accumulated capital it may possess than in the quick distribution of its productions. A quick distribution and an ample consumption, rather than a large accumulation, give evidence of prosperity. Of what does our present alleged over-production now consist? Of cotton, corn, coal, goods, wares, and merchandise—too many houses, too many railroads, too many mines, too many factories! What are these but capital in the strictest sense? Is it an accumulation that benefits any one?

Not yet; but from this accumulation has come the seeking for new sources of demand and the effort to increase consumption.

Of what consists the alleged abundance of money seeking investment and easily to be borrowed at lower rates of interest than ever before prevailed in the North and East? Is it not simply this mass of loanable capital in cotton, corn, coal, meat, iron, leather, lumber, and the like, seeking use? What is needed to bring it into active use? Can it be any thing but a renewal of confidence in the future progress of the nation and a just and righteous standard of value?

This vast excess of consumable capital finds its first expression in the attempts to find a foreign market for all kinds of products, and the strange picture of an excessive shipment of all the elements of subsistence to foreign lands, while thousands of our own countrymen are insufficiently supplied at home for want of the means to purchase: a picture differing only in degree from that seen in India, of great shipments of wheat from some of the ports nearest to the region that had been stricken with famine.

When our own country is restored to a normal condition, our exports in ratio to our numbers may again decline, and we may once more see imports and exports more nearly equal; and this will be far more consistent with true welfare.

The corollary seems to be this:

The bit of earth which we call our country is a tool in our hands, by which the productive forces of nature can be converted into the supply of any demand that may exist, no matter how unusual or

excessive, and production is and always will be ample for any need. The whole question of prosperity consists in the right distribution of the working forces, as they should be sorted, into farmers, artisans, mechanics, manufacturers, merchants, and professional men. War, inflation, and extravagance have disturbed and altered all these conditions, and have caused a false distribution of labor; peace is working out only beneficent results, painful as the process may be; and the prosperity that must ensue when the new distribution of work and of workers has accomplished itself, no man can foresee. The capacity of this country, freed from slavery, served by 75,000 miles of railroad, and furnished with a sound national banking system on a specie basis, and with its land hardly begun to be occupied, may perhaps be imagined by some sanguine men, but can not be realized by the community until the evidence is before their own eyes.

The present enormous exports, based on prices substantially at a gold standard, give evidence that our relations with the world at large are restored to normal conditions, that our new market is found, and that our so-called over-production will soon assume its true beneficent aspect, and no longer be a cause of depression or loss.

Note should also be taken that since 1869 the conditions of the production of gold and silver have changed so absolutely as to cause all the statistics of the past to be of little value. The financial question of the future is one of *geology*.

Gold and silver up to 1849 were the products of barbarous or semi-civilized nations, and were therefore very costly. Until the opening of the Pacific Railroad semi-barbarous and costly methods still obtained even in our own country. But since the opening of the railroad in 1869, new conditions, never before existing in the history of the world, have been applied to the production of the precious metals.

The gold-bearing States and Territories are now permeated by 5000 miles of railway, reaching the very mouths of the mines; on either side are the most productive fields and grazing grounds of the world; coal is adjacent, and in an ample supply; the English common law is enforced; science is applied under the safest conditions; labor is abundant; and wages at two dollars a day, in dollars of their present value, will yield a comfortable subsistence: *these are conditions of low cost unknown in history*. What will be their effect? A single mine of copper in Michigan has altered all the con-

ditions of the world in respect to copper, and has changed its value. A single range of mines of silver in Nevada has altered for the moment all the conditions of the world in respect to silver, and has for the moment made a new cause of distrust and depression, because its value in relation to gold has been changed. *What is the quantity of gold to which the new conditions of cost are to be applied?* What will be the effects of the increasing supply which the methods of science under safe laws are just beginning to bring forth?

When rising prices on a gold standard begin to show results, when confidence is restored, and under safe laws wise methods of taxation are adopted, who can predict the material welfare that may ensue in a country free from standing armies and guiding itself by the common-sense of its people developed in its common schools?—a common-sense which ultimately prevails and sweeps from the statute-book the unwise laws which politicians who are not statesmen have inscribed thereon, like the Granger laws just repealed in Iowa.

Underlying the turmoil and confusion, both North and South, are there not great industrial forces at work which will control events? Will not the need of the time bring forth the men? Will not right-minded men find each other out, whatever their party or sectional divisions may have been before? So it has always been and so it will be again. In every great emergency the unerring sense of the people, sooner or later, detects the knave and the charlatan, and chooses its leaders with equally unerring sagacity. Even in the subtle dangers of questions of finance this rule will hold, and through much hardship and tribulation the dawn of renewed prosperity will safely and surely come. It may be a little sooner or a little later than this or that man expects, but the time will surely come.

In days of doubt and depression, when fraud and corruption appear to be the rule, and integrity the exception, it must always be remembered that the fraudulent transactions which seem so large are but a small fraction of each day's doings, and that underlying all apparent misgovernment there is in this country and at this time a sound common-sense, needing only time to assert its power and to control events. To doubt this is to doubt the stability and integrity of the nation.

MR. SEWARD AND MR. MOTLEY.

MR. SEWARD'S part in the events which led to Mr. Motley's retirement from the Austrian Mission in 1866 was severely criticised at the time, and pretty widely condemned. As both these eminent gentlemen are now in the hands of their biographers, the following statement is submitted as a contribution towards the rectification of impressions which are believed to have been the fruit of erroneous and imperfect information, and to have done great injustice to one who will fill a conspicuous chapter in our national history.

One evening, at the house of Mr. Seward in Washington, in the latter part of February, 1867, I alluded to a correspondence I had been requested to initiate, between the late Emperor Napoleon and our late President, Andrew Johnson, with a view to a better understanding between the French and American governments in regard to the French occupation of Mexico. Mr. Seward said that President Johnson was disposed to reply over his own signature to the letter with which the Emperor opened the correspondence, but that he objected, saying to the President that European sovereigns might write to each other about their public concerns, for no one could call upon them for their correspondence, but it would never do for him to engage in a correspondence with any foreign potentate which might not be suitable to communicate to Congress. Mr. Seward then went on to say that President Lincoln had a habit, of which he himself could not approve, of writing to everybody who wrote to him about the public business, and even about matters most distinctly the attribution of his Cabinet ministers. Johnson, he said, was in that respect more considerate to his associates in the government. He never entertained a complaint from any quarter that he did not submit to those whom it specially concerned. He then instanced the letter which McCrackin wrote about the diplomatic representatives of the government in Europe in 1866, and went on to give a history of the incidents which finally led to Mr. Motley's retirement from Vienna.

Some two years later, in the month of March, 1869, while I was breakfasting with Mr. Seward at his house in Auburn, and a few weeks only after he had ceased to be Secretary of State, Mr. Motley's nomination to the English Mission the day previous became, very naturally, the subject of conversation. I remarked that nothing had happened during his career as Secretary of State from which his reputation had suffered so much with the more enlightened classes of our country, as from the part he was supposed to have had in the incidents which led to Mr. Motley's resignation of the Vienna Mission, and I expressed my regret that judgment had been allowed to go against him by default.

He said he knew the impression left by that incident was a bad one, but he could not help it. Then, having obviously forgotten that he had given me an account of the transaction two years before he proceeded to recite it again. I made a memorandum of his statements, on both occasions, the day they fell from his lips. They differed in no important particular. Without pretending to use Mr. Seward's precise language, I am able, with the aid of these notes before me, to give, with entire accuracy, the impressions which he may be presumed to have intended to leave upon my mind. They were in substance as follows :

President Johnson had been very much irritated by what he regarded as the treacherous desertion of him by leading Republicans in Congress. Many of the most conspicuous among them, who like himself had aspirations for yet higher honors, had not hesitated to treat him and his measures with deliberate and flagrant disrespect. While smarting under these attacks from the "enemies of his own household," he received a letter from abroad which led him to apprehend that the diplomatic representatives of the government were equally unfaithful to him, and were co-operating with his enemies at home to bring him and his administration into contempt. The author of the letter was an obscure man, by the name of George W. McCrackin, whose communication would not probably have received any attention, even from the President, but for the morbidly sensitive condition of his mind at the moment it reached him.

Instead of throwing the letter into the fire, the President handed it to the Secretary of State, and suggested the propriety of writing to the parties inculpated, and asking if the allegations were true. Mr. Seward knew every man referred to by McCrackin, for he had appointed him ; he needed no information such as the pro-

posed inquiry was expected to elicit, for his own edification. This, however, he did not say to the President. He simply answered, "Certainly, sir." McCrackin's letter had rendered the President more suspicious than before of everybody about him, and the Secretary did not deem it a propitious moment to appear less sensitive about the President's dignity than the President himself did.

When Mr. Seward returned to the State Department he handed McCrackin's letter to the chief clerk, and requested him to address a letter of inquiry, usual in a case of complaint against the service, to each of the officers whose conduct was arraigned in it. On the following day Mr. Hunter brought to Mr. Seward for his signature the letters which he had prepared in obedience to his orders; among them was one to Mr. Motley.¹

¹ The letter of the Department to Mr. Motley ran as follows :

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, Nov. 21, 1866.

SIR,—A citizen of the U. S. has addressed a letter to the President from Paris, in which he represents he had traveled extensively in Europe during the past year, in the course of which he had occasion to see something of our Ministers and Consuls in various countries. That most of those whom he met were bitterly opposed to the President and his administration, and expressed that hostility in so open a manner, as to astonish Americans and leave a very bad impression on Europeans.

He adds, that you do not pretend to conceal "your disgust," as he says you style it, at the President's whole conduct. That you despise American democracy, and loudly proclaim that an English gentleman is the model of human perfection. That the President has deserted his pledges and principles in common with Mr. Seward, who, you say, is hopelessly degraded. Your denial or confirmation of the truth of these reports is requested.

I am, etc.,

W. H. SEWARD.

The passage in McCrackin's letter which referred to Mr. Motley ran as follows :

EXTRACT FROM THE LETTER OF GEORGE W. MCCRACKIN, OF NEW YORK, TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON, DATED PARIS, 23D OCTOBER, 1866.

Mr. Motley, Minister at Vienna, does not pretend to conceal his "disgust," as he styles it elegantly, at your whole conduct.

Having been appointed exclusively by Charles Sumner, he applauds him and his revolutionary doctrines, despises American democracy, and proclaims loudly that an English nobleman is the model of human perfection.

There is not in all Europe a more thorough flunkey or a more *un-American* functionary. He tells every traveler that Sumner is entirely justified, and that you have deserted your principles in common with Mr. Seward, who, he says, is hopelessly degraded.

Massachusetts seems to monopolize a lion's share of the consulates, and Boston has no less than three first missions—Messrs. Adams, Burlingame, and Motley.

The letters were posted, and in due time their answers came. "Mr. Motley was unwise enough," said Mr. Seward, "to make a long story of it, and at the end I was pained to see his resignation." I think I may add, though Mr. Seward did not say so, Motley's was the only answer charged with resentment. The Secretary paid no attention either to his reproaches or to his resignation, but immediately addressed to him a dispatch, briefly informing him that "his answer was satisfactory," presuming that Mr. Motley had given his resignation under a misapprehension of the importance attached to the McCrackin letter, and that that would be the end of the matter.

On the following day Mr. Seward waited upon the President, as was his wont, with his portfolio, in which with other dispatches he placed this letter and the reply of Mr. Motley. When the President reached the closing paragraph of Motley's letter¹ in which he

¹ MR. MOTLEY TO MR. SEWARD.

LEGATION OF THE U. S., VIENNA, Dec. 11, 1866.

SIR,—An hour or two ago I received a letter from you, dated Nov. 21st, 1866, to which I hasten to reply. [Mr. Motley here recites at length the language of Mr. Seward's letter, and then proceeds as follows.]

My first impulse on receiving your letter was to content myself with a flat denial of their truth. On a little further reflection, however, I do not wish that there should be doubt as to my political sentiments as a representative of the foreign politics of the government. I have done my best faithfully to discharge my duties in strict conformity with my instructions. In the conflict of opinions in regard to home questions, especially that of Reconstruction, my views have never been asked for by the U. S. Government, and I should have considered it unbecoming and superfluous to volunteer a public declaration of them, as certainly should I have deemed it my duty to express them frankly whenever they were officially demanded. I do not understand that I am even now directly questioned on the subject, but after reading your letter I owe it to myself to say a few words.

I have always believed that strong guarantees should be taken against a recurrence of the rebellion and the establishment of any form of slavery, before the seceded States should be readmitted to representation in Congress. Latterly, I am inclined to the opinion that the noblest and safest course would be by an amendment of the Constitution, prohibiting the distinction of race or color in regard to the attainment of the franchise, together with a general amnesty to be proclaimed by the President. These opinions, in the privacy of my own household and to an occasional American visitor, I have not concealed.

The great question now presenting itself for solution demands a conscientious scrutinizing by every American who loves his country, and believes in the human progress of which that country is one of the foremost representatives. I have never thought, during my residence at Vienna, that because I have the honor of being a public servant of the American people I am deprived of the right of discussing within my own walls the gravest subjects that can interest freemen. A Minister of the U. S. is as deeply interested as others in all that affects the welfare of his country.

begged respectfully to resign his post as U. S. Minister to Austria, the President, without waiting to learn what Mr. Seward had done or proposed to do, exclaimed with a not unnatural asperity, "Well, let him go." "On hearing this," said Mr. Seward, laughing, "I did not read my dispatch."

For the same reason that he did not remonstrate against the President's previous directions for a letter of inquiry, Mr. Seward did not remonstrate now against this order to relieve Mr. Motley. He felt that in doing so he would only compromise himself with the President without saving Mr. Motley. He repaired to his office, and, as was his habit when returning from Cabinet meetings, took out his dispatches and distributed them to the different clerks charged with their expedition, and by accident omitted to withdraw his reply to Motley. The next day, on inquiring for it, he found it had been mailed. He immediately cabled the Legation at London to withdraw it from the bag when it should arrive, and wrote to Mr. Motley a letter formally accepting his resignation.

In conversation with such of my colleagues or members of the government here as were interested in our politics, I have uniformly stated that the conflict of opinion now prevailing in the United States was inevitable in a new country. That such discussion was the very evidence of our freedom and of our capacity to govern ourselves. That to silence discussion belongs to despots and not to a republican government like ours, and that I had entire faith that the American people would settle all disputed questions with justice. I have always been cautious, however, in such considerations to avoid any expressions of disrespect towards the President or his Cabinet. I have uniformly stated that in our own country the people were not only theoretically but practically sovereign, and that when great political questions were to be solved, appeal was made to the ballot-box. I have steadily expressed the opinion that the President and Congress would be reconciled after the people should have pronounced its solemn verdict; and I have added that all parties in the United States, as I believed honestly, desired and required the re-establishment of the Union, however they might differ as to the wisest means of securing it. This is the way in which I have been in the habit of speaking officially or semi-officially, and this is my reply to the charges contained in your letter, so far as they regard in any way the President of the United States. That "I despised American democracy, and loudly proclaim that an English gentleman is the model of human perfection," is so pitiful a fabrication, that I blush while I denounce it. Any one personally acquainted with me, or who has taken the trouble to read my writings, whether official or historical, knows that a more fervent believer in American democracy than I am does not exist in the world. My expressions of reverence for the American people during these few heroic years have erred, if at all, on the side of enthusiasm, and have often seemed to the skeptical somewhat extravagant. I scorn to dwell longer on the contemptible charge. That I have called "Mr. Seward hopelessly degraded" is a vile calumny, and it wounds me deeply that you could listen for a moment to such a falsehood. In conclusion, I have only to add that I beg herewith respectfully to resign my post as United States Minister at Vienna.

I am, etc.,

J. LATHROP MOTLEY.

When I expressed my regret that this explanation could not have been given to the public at the time, Mr. Seward replied that that would have been to purchase his own peace at the expense of the President's; to divert public indignation from himself to his chief. That, he said, did not comport with his notions of official duty. I remarked that it was a pity Motley at least could not have known how his resignation came to be accepted. "He does know it," was the reply. "Are you sure of that?" I inquired. "Yes," said Mr. Seward, "I am sure of it, but, though knowing it, he has taken no steps to let it have its weight with the public." Mr. Seward's manner and language signified that with Motley's friends and with the new President, antagonism to him was a not unavailing qualification for office or favor, and that Mr. Motley was ambitious.

Such was the substance of Mr. Seward's explanation. I have been careful to exclude from it all the implications, pure and simple, which it necessarily conveyed to the mind of a person familiar as I was with the political and official relations of all the parties, and all the facts and inferences not expressly stated by him, but presumed to be known by me, which could in any way qualify or illuminate his narrative.

For his allegations, I leave with Mr. Seward the responsibility. It would ill become me to attempt, by any thing I could say, to add to or to subtract from their authenticity. For what I shall add in the way of inference and commentary I alone am responsible.

Mr. Motley, in sending in his resignation to Mr. Seward so precipitately, committed a mistake not uncommon with people who have not been trained to official life, nor accustomed to the subordination of their personal will to that of the aggregate official force, of which they are only a fraction. He acted with haste and with temper—two most indiscreet counsellors in every profession, but especially in politics and diplomacy. Had he been accustomed to the harness of official life, when he received Mr. Seward's note he would have asked himself, "What can be Mr. Seward's motive in sending me this letter?"

"It was from the hand of Mr. Seward," he might have said to himself, "that I received the honorable commission which I hold; Mr. Seward conferred it upon me at a time when he was personally not in the least beholden to me in any way whatever; in conferring it, he probably did not secure the gratitude of a dozen politicians in the country. Mr. Seward has always treated me with courtesy

and kindness; he has never furnished me the slightest pretext for supposing that my official conduct had not been at least as satisfactory as he had any right to suppose it would be when he appointed me. Till this letter arrived I had no reason to suppose that his feelings had undergone any change to my prejudice."

Could McCrackin's letter have worked any change? Mr. McCrackin was an entirely unknown man, and Mr. Motley must have remarked, upon the first perusal of the letter, that its author could write nothing on any subject which, unless true and supported by evidence, could seriously affect a person of his high literary and official rank. Besides which, his letter was addressed, not to Mr. Seward, but to the President; which should have suggested to Mr. Motley that it was with the President, and not with Mr. Seward, that he was dealing. This should have led him to reflect, that the President was the accident of an accident; that the controlling members of his own party in Congress had deserted him, and were using every means in their power to thwart his policy and to embarrass and degrade his administration, as every one in Washington knew, with a view of preventing his being the next candidate of their party for the Presidency; that Mr. Seward himself had been for some years prominent on the list of Presidential candidates, and had a large body of influential friends, who did not yet despair of his ultimate success; that the representatives of the government abroad had generally been selected by Mr. Seward upon the recommendation or the approval of those who were conspicuously identified with the present opposition, and that under such circumstances the course Mr. Seward might take upon any matter affecting the President's influence and popularity with the country was not beyond the reach of suspicion, and was likely to be watched and scrutinized by the President with more than ordinary jealousy.

Had Mr. Motley placed himself for a moment in Mr. Seward's position when the letter of McCrackin was shown him by the President, he would have realized Mr. Seward's embarrassment. He would at least have taken counsel of his pillow, and had he done so, with all his official inexperience, he would probably have followed the example of his colleagues, and the course which it was his own first impulse to take—of contenting himself with a brief and square denial of the calumnious allegations, if they were calumnious, of McCrackin. Instead of this, he gave way at once to passion; he saw only and felt only his own trouble; he treated Mr.

McCrackin's accusations as if they were Mr. Seward's; and all the kindness and consideration which he had received at the hands of the Secretary went for naught. A letter written obviously by instruction of the President makes him unmindful of the consideration due either to the years or to the experience of Mr. Seward, and incapacitates him for seeing or imagining any of the circumstances which might palliate, and perhaps excuse, what seemed to him offensive in it. In his impetuosity, Mr. Motley betrayed the lack of a quality of first importance to a man in his position—the faith in the superior sources of information of his chief, and trust in the presumption that things which he does not understand are not necessarily wrong or unwise. Had Mr. Motley known Mr. Seward better, or had he better comprehended the difficulties of the situation of a Minister of State and especially the situation of a man occupying such a commanding position in the country as Mr. Seward did at that time, he would have taken it for granted, on reading that letter, that it was written in obedience to some new and strange current of influences, which though he might not be able at once to comprehend, he would deem it his duty to reconcile with the relations of friendliness which had always subsisted between him and the writer, until at least he had unequivocal evidence of the contrary. The absence of this sort of faith and trust will be found to constitute the special defect in the character of those public men who are commonly termed “impracticables.”

It doubtless will occur to many of those who shall read the recital of Mr. Seward, which I have given, to ask why he did not remonstrate with the President, when directed to call upon Mr. Motley for an explanation of the McCrackin letter, or why, having received what he pronounced a satisfactory explanation, he did not say as much to the President. The answer which Mr. Seward would have given to that question I have already stated. At the moment when this letter arrived, Mr. Johnson was in a state of intense irritation and more or less suspicious of everybody about him. He was not in a frame of mind to reason coolly upon its contents; the appearance of hesitation on the part of Mr. Seward to resent what the President construed into an indignity as well as ingratitude from Mr. Motley, would have been regarded as a proof of defection. The question therefore involved in his action at that moment was, possibly, whether the country should lose the services of Mr. Motley at Vienna, or those of Mr. Seward in Washington. I do not say that such was the ascertained alternative, but I do say

that there might well have been sufficient danger apparent to Mr. Seward's experienced vision to make it seem highly imprudent, if he wished to retain his position, to do any thing that should encourage in the slightest degree the suspicions that infected the judgment of the President. Mr. Johnson was a man of strong and undisciplined passions. Though his views of public policy were generally sound, his judgment of the measures and men by which those views were to be sustained and propagated were provincial and narrow. He did not habitually dwell upon a very high plane of political thought ; and he was suspected or at least accused by prominent members of his own party of a disposition to strike an alliance with the enemies of the Union, to revenge himself upon what he regarded as the treachery of the Republicans. While Mr. Seward remained in the Cabinet such an alliance was impossible. No one supposed that he would permit, nor did any one doubt his ability to prevent, any such reactionary design.

To what extent Mr. Seward supposed President Johnson capable of carrying his vindictiveness, and how far he regarded the apprehensions of such an alliance, if he were out of the Cabinet, well founded ; I have no means of determining ; but I do remember with great distinctness the feeling of security which pervaded the circles of commerce and finance, usually most sensitive to political changes, when this peril was alluded to ; and the reason, if any, invariably assigned for such security was, that there will be no danger of any disturbance or serious conflict between the President and Congress so long as Mr. Seward remains in the Cabinet.

There are no doubt some, perhaps many, who will say that Mr. Seward would have exhibited a higher order of statesmanship in refusing to lend his name to a letter which he may have thought was calculated unnecessarily to alarm or wound a member of his staff ; there are many, perhaps, who will think it would have been higher statesmanship for a prime-minister, after having announced himself completely satisfied with Mr. Motley's explanation, to have declined afterwards by the direction of the President to pursue a course which practically pronounced it unsatisfactory. Such would perhaps be the general judgment of theoretical statesmen, while practical statesmen, in this country at least, would more generally justify the course taken by Mr. Seward. I do not here undertake to say which of these two schools of statesmanship would be in the right in this instance ; but I will say, that the practical result of pursuing the policy of the doctrinaire in such a case would be sooner or later to put what I have

designated as the practical statesman in the theoretical statesman's place. When an issue is made between a minister and his chief, one must yield. In this case Mr. Seward would necessarily have been the yielding party, and he would probably have been succeeded by a man of less refined notions of official responsibility, and less tenacious of his own views; or, as the practical statesman would explain it, he would have taken a juster view of the relative importance to the country of Mr. Motley's services at Vienna, and of his own in the Cabinet at Washington.

It is possible, of course, to ascribe Mr. Seward's course to the lowest or to the highest motives; to a vulgar love of official importance, or to a profound sense of the danger liable to result from bringing on a crisis that should throw the State Department, and its then most important influences, into the hands of some man to be selected in a fit of jealousy and resentment by a President whose standards, at their best, were none of the highest. I prefer to believe that Mr. Seward felt as I felt, and as I know that many others felt, that his continuance in the State Department during the remainder of President Johnson's term of office was of serious importance to the country, and that there was great peril in any change likely to result from his retirement.

Next to the danger incident to Mr. Seward's quitting the State Department would have been the inconvenience likely to result from any weakening of his influence with the President. He could not afford to have any suspicion of disloyalty to the President get a lodgment in the President's mind, and the country could better afford in that crisis to have sacrificed a dozen ministers abroad than the Secretary of State—which would have been the inevitable consequence of any serious distrust of his fealty. If Mr. Seward was to remain there, it was for the exercise of all his powers and influence, unimpaired by half-confidences and paralyzing suspicions. Samson shorn of his strength was no more formidable to the Philistines than any ordinary man; and if Mr. Seward was to exercise that control in the government which was then deemed so vital, it was equally vital that he should be fully equipped with all the resources which properly belonged to his position.

Mr. Motley tendered his resignation for one of two reasons: either because he felt that Mr. Seward had wronged him in asking for an explanation of McCrackin's letter; or, secondly, because Mr. McCrackin had so correctly represented the views which Mr. Motley

was known to entertain in regard to Mr. Seward and the President, as to render resignation the only means of extricating himself from a false position. The offence, if any, in the first place consisted, not in any charge or accusation from the State Department against Mr. Motley, for none was made; but for informing Mr. Motley that certain charges had been made against him to the President by an American citizen who recently had been in Vienna.

Mr. Motley was simply asked to state whether McCrackin's stories were true or false. He should have been aware that there was nothing unusual in this letter; that it was the familiar usage of the State Department to communicate to its foreign representatives who were concerned, any complaints which reached it through a responsible source. The complaints of McCrackin came through a source, than which there was no higher: they came from the President. Let us suppose for a moment that Mr. Seward had been Mr. Motley's warmest friend, and that Mr. Seward had been the Minister to Vienna, and Mr. Motley Secretary of State. On receiving such a letter about his absent friend, would it not have been his first impulse to advise that friend of the fact that, if true, he might be more careful of his audiences or more prudent in his discourse; if false, that he might have the means of ascertaining the lair of his decrrier, of exposing his misrepresentations, and disarming their power for mischief, whether at home or abroad? He certainly would not think it consistent with faithful friendship to allow charges authenticated by a signature, addressed to and entertained by the President, to lie festering at Washington, their venom percolating through manifold official channels into Congress and gradually through the country, poisoning the minds of his fellow-citizens against him, and he never suspecting the existence of the cancerous calumnies that were eating away his reputation. Had Mr. Seward suppressed that letter, had he allowed it to have its work upon the mind of the President and of the President's friends in Washington and through the country, then he would have justly incurred Mr. Motley's resentment; then he would have been unfaithful, not only as a friend, but as an official colleague;] then he would have done precisely what he did not do, and what he was incapable of doing.

There was nothing unusual in the course pursued by Mr. Seward: the notification of the complaint was in pursuance of a uniform practice; it was couched in language as purely formal and destitute of personal significance as it was possible to employ; it was the same in form, *mutatis mutandis*, as the one addressed to all the

other ministers and consuls whose names were mentioned by Mr. McCrackin; and it was difficult to see how it was possible for Mr. Seward, either in his character as minister or friend, to have discharged his duty to Mr. Motley in fewer or substantially different words, without making an indecorous distinction between the Minister to Austria, and the ministers and consuls at other posts, to whom corresponding communications had to be made. Certainly, neither his letter nor the information it contained furnished Mr. Motley with any excuse or pretext for tendering his resignation.

Remains the question, whether Mr. McCrackin had so correctly represented the views which Mr. Motley entertained in regard to Mr. Seward and the President as to make his resignation, under the circumstances, his only dignified and manly resource.

This is a question, about which it is not so easy to arrive at an entirely satisfactory conclusion. It is a matter of public notoriety, that Mr. Motley owed his appointment entirely to a desire on the part of Mr. Seward to conciliate Mr. Sumner,¹ who was very sore at the appointment of Mr. Adams to the English Mission.

In the conversation with Mr. Seward to which I have referred, he distinctly stated that he would not have thought of appointing Mr. Motley upon any other ground. It was notorious that the political relations subsisting between the Secretary and Mr. Sumner had not for a long time been harmonious, and it is equally notorious that Mr. Motley's political as well as personal sympathies were entirely with Mr. Sumner. It would be very strange if a person naturally so frank in his utterances, and so entirely unaccustomed to the restraints which political life sooner or later imposes upon the tongue, should not have allowed his partialities to find expression in his intercourse at least with the foreign society in which he moved. Even had Mr. Motley been of a more reticent nature than he was, he might have easily been thrown off his guard by the impression, which he undoubtedly shared with many others, that, as between Mr. Seward and Mr. Sumner, the latter was the greater political force at the seat of government, and, therefore, that there was less occasion for him, on prudential grounds, to measure his words.

¹ It appears to have been upon the same terms that Mr. Motley subsequently received his appointment to the English Mission. In a letter which the Hon. J. C. Bancroft Davis recently published, entitled "Mr. Sumner, the Alabama Claims and their Settlement," he finds occasion to say: "It is no disparagement to Mr. Motley to say that but for Mr. Sumner's influence he probably would not have been selected for this responsible post" (the English Mission).

The absence from Mr. Motley's letter of any thing approving of, or extenuating, the course of the President or his Cabinet, lends color to the suspicion that he had not been so reserved in the expression of his opinions about them as he perhaps supposed he had been, till the question was officially brought to his notice. Probably the two hours he took for reflection before writing his letter were sufficient to satisfy him that there were but two courses for him to take as a gentleman: one, a full and frank statement of his attitude towards the government; of his entire sympathy with the course pursued by its adversaries in Congress, warred on by Mr. Sumner; or to withdraw from the office into a position where neither Mr. Seward nor any one else would have a right to call him to account. If such seemed to him the logic of the situation, he chose the latter alternative, and in doing so indirectly admitted that without any provocation, with nothing to remember in his official intercourse with Mr. Seward but kindness and respect, without a word of complaint or accusation from the State Department—for the letter addressed to him from the Department, which is the subject of this discussion, contained neither—he resigned because he was conscious that the feelings he entertained, and which, after what had occurred, true manliness required him to disclose if he remained in office, were inconsistent with the relations which should subsist between a minister and his chief.

This explanation is a conjecture hazarded upon the imperfect information which has thus far transpired upon the subject. Its soundness can probably never be tested till the private correspondence of Mr. Motley during that period shall be given to the public. Should it prove not to be the correct one, posterity will be forced to the unwelcome conclusion that Mr. Motley, in sending his resignation to Mr. Seward, as he did, acted with a degree of haste and temper unbecoming the official representative and trustee of a great nation, and with an imperfect appreciation of the uniform kindness which he had received at the Secretary's hands.

PHOTOGRAPHIC ART IN EUROPE.

SINCE I last wrote, we have been very near to losing Mr. Ruskin, who, as you will have seen by the newspapers, was prostrated for many days by an attack of exhaustion in his own house at Coniston Lake, in Lancashire. The universal and respectful anxiety about his condition during his illness, and the general satisfaction felt at his recovery, must give him pleasure, and I hope even partially reconcile him to the perversity of the age. We should all have deplored a premature ending to Mr. Ruskin's career, and although few but his most faithful disciples accept every thing as unquestionable which appears in *Fors Clavigera*, we all hope that the periodical in question may continue to appear for many a year to come. Mr. Ruskin is such a determined worker, that on one or two previous occasions he had gone beyond the limits of his strength; but this time the prostration was so complete that merely to live became almost an impossibility.

Some of your readers may hear with a certain degree of friendly interest that a formal treaty has been concluded between the Autotype Company and myself, which conveys to the company the copyright of a certain portion of my drawings. These will be reproduced by the autotype process, on rather a large scale, the size of the autotypes themselves, without counting any margin, ranging between 14 x 12 inches and 20 x 15 inches. The drawings will be of various kinds, including charcoal, sepia, pen and ink, lead pencil, etc., and will illustrate subjects taken from different countries where I have made sketches and studies. If I live to carry out the project, the result will be a small collection representing the larger collection in my own portfolios. The drawings from which the autotypes are made are purposely rendered more intelligible than my sketches from nature, which are generally scrawled over with writing and short-hand, and scarcely fit to be seen, or else so severe as to have no charm.

The carrying of this scheme into practical effect has drawn my attention more closely than usual of late to the photographic processes of reproduction which are applied to artistic drawings, and as the matter is likely to have some interest for your readers, I will say something about it briefly here.

First, there is the simple silver print on albumenized paper. When good, its one merit is perfection of detail. Nothing can be more perfect, as to detail, than a thoroughly good silver print from a drawing. It will

give every grain of the pencil, every shade of the brush, and the finest touch of pen or point. The objections to it are, however, somewhat numerous. In the first place, it is not permanent, but will surely fade at some future day ; and then you can not print it in what color you will. Besides this, the quality of its shade is very different from the quality of shades in the various kinds of drawing, and the gloss of the surface is an objection.

Many processes have been invented which overcome these objections, or most of them. The autotype is in some respects the best of these processes. It is founded on a peculiar property of gelatine when mixed with a bichromate, such as bichromate of potash. When gelatine has been so treated, it becomes insoluble after being exposed to the action of strong light, and assumes various degrees of solubility exactly in proportion as the light has been weaker. A sheet of paper covered with bichromatized gelatine, which held in solution or in suspension a very finely ground pigment, such as sepia, animal black, red earth, or whatever permanent pigment you will, may therefore be so treated by exposition under a negative photograph in the usual printing frame, and by subsequent washings, that it will give a permanent representation of the original drawing from which the negative was taken. The only objections that I am aware of with regard to the autotype process are these two : There is a slight surface gloss, which is still sufficient to destroy the surface quality of a charcoal drawing, though it is less felt in a sepia where the darks of the original may have been slightly gummed by the artist, and becomes a positive virtue in the reproduction of a study in oil. That is the first objection. The second is, that the system of printing requires so much care and attention to each proof, that there is some irregularity in the result ; but this has been overcome in a great measure by experience, and it is, of course, always easy to reject an inferior proof. There can be no doubt that an autotype so printed in bichromatized gelatine mixed with a permanent pigment is as permanent as any thing on paper can be. The bichromatized and colored gelatine, technically called "tissue," acquires after its chemical treatment the qualities of parchment or vellum, and is in some respects even superior. It resists damp, will even bear washing, and is surprisingly hard, as we soon discover when we try to scratch out any thing in correcting or altering a proof.

The inconvenience of talking about processes is that a short description is always inadequate, and a long one is sure to be tiresome to all who are not strongly interested in the subject. I may, however, say that many photographic processes have been invented for the reproduction of drawings, and that they are of the most various kinds and degrees of merit. The worst are those which are used for printing along with typographic text. If the reader could see a fine autotype from a drawing side by side

with one of the bad typographic reproductions of the same drawing, he would be amazed by the vastness of the difference. In the autotype the delicate shades are given, in the other they are blotted and blurred ; in the autotype a line will come pure and clear, except that it is just a little *melted* (if the expression is intelligible) ; in the typograph, it will be thicker or thinner than it should be, and very often it will be rotten. An etching by Bracquemond, which represented some dead birds nailed to a door, was reproduced lately as a typograph by a well-known art periodical, with the usual dreadful results—the thin lines of shading being either thickened, or rotten, or both at once, whilst the closer shading was muddled together : the whole presenting a likeness, indeed, to the original, as the thick speech of a drunken man, broken by hiccups, resembles the clear utterance of a good speaker.¹

There is generally an objection of some sort to every process, but the most essential quality is fidelity to the lines and shades of the original drawing, even when the surface of the reproduction is not precisely like the surface of the original. For example, the Woodbury process is good, because it is faithful to lines and shades ; yet its surface is objectionable, as being too glossy. I would rather put up with this than endure a loss of delicacy in the drawing. In the Woodbury process, the plate is of zinc, and the photograph is impressed in the zinc by the application of tremendous hydraulic force, after which the zinc yields impressions in slight relief, resembling in a minor degree the stamped addresses on note-paper. Woodburytypes are clear and faithful, and large editions can be printed with much regularity, but the gloss upon them is excessive. The *heliogravure* of Amand Durand entirely overcomes this difficulty, by producing copper-plates, which are exactly like engraved or etched coppers (one or the other, according to the nature of the original), and can be printed just in the same way by plate printers who know nothing about photography. This, of course, is a great superiority to all other processes when the object is the reproduction of engravings. In a Woodburytype reproduction of a print the space between the lines is always more or less gray, being tinted by the coloring matter employed ; but in printing from an *heliogravure* the spaces may be cleaned when necessary, and the impression made brilliant or soft at will. Another immense advantage is that M. Amand Durand can use all the papers, old or new, which are commonly employed for the printing of engravings.

¹ A curious evidence of the state of enlightenment amongst our art critics is that they warmly praise this abominable process for its perfect fidelity. This comes of evolving art criticism out of one's moral consciousness, without looking and comparing. I can not imagine any torture more exquisite for some sinful old painter gone to the infernal regions than just to show him a few of those horrible typographs from his works, and tell him that they are in these times of enlightenment accepted as faithful fac-similes.

The process called specially *photogravure*, which, though not, I believe, an invention of MM. Goupil, is now their exclusive property, is in fact nothing else than photographic aquatint on copper; and it has the qualities of the photograph and aquatint in combination—a pleasant dead surface in the print, a fairly faithful rendering of lights and darks in shading, and an approach to the perfection of photographic copying of detail. This process is now much used by MM. Goupil for the reproduction of pictures, and it answers admirably in some instances, but not in all. It is sometimes heavy, and impeded, as it were, by thick darkness, like a diver in muddy water. This want of transparence seems to be particularly noticeable in landscapes, where the shades are apt to be dull and vacant, and the lights spotty.¹

M. Thiel's process, called "pantotypic," is a sort of mechanical autotype process, in which the prints are taken in printers' ink from a matrix in gelatine photographically produced. It is always used now in Paris for the reproduction of charcoal drawings, and is admirably adapted to this purpose. It is, I believe, inferior to the autotype in perfection of detail; but it has the advantage of approaching much more nearly to the quality and texture of a charcoal drawing, which are lost in a great measure in the autotype by reason of the slight gloss already alluded to.

Your readers who visit the Paris Exhibition will find these processes amply represented there. They are of enormous importance as means of bringing works of art more nearly within the reach of the people. Only rich men can afford to purchase original drawings, and even original engravings by great old masters are now getting so dear and scarce, in many instances, that they are denied to men of moderate income. The applications of photography have come in to give much closer facsimiles of the originals than any that can be done by hand, but the very multiplicity of these applications makes it necessary to distinguish well between the good and the bad. If I had despotic power in Europe, I would make some of the worst processes illegal, or simply forbid them on pain of death; for surely no reasonable person will deny that a man richly deserves capital punishment for publishing coarse and horrible misrepresentations of delicate works of art. On the other hand, it would only be justice to clothe M. Amand Durand and one or two others with garments of honor, and hang chains of gold about their necks.

I mentioned the new Manchester Art Museum in a former letter. The project is now steadily advancing to a practical issue, and I have undertaken

¹ Another objection to this process, but which affects the practitioners of it more than the public, is the necessity for retouching, by a mezzotint engraver, a necessity varying in degree according to the nature of the work which has to be reproduced. In many plates the mezzotint retouches amount to little or nothing; in others they are long and laborious.

the duty of forming a collection of etchings for the museum, being happy to be of some little use to my native country. As the museum is intended to instruct and interest the people, it is not necessary that all works of art in it should be originals : thoroughly good reproductions will answer the purpose just as well ; so M. Amand Durand is going to take special impressions of his plates from the old masters, on old paper, and kindly offers them as a gift to the new museum. With these and some purchases the old masters will be fairly represented, especially if from time to time we buy an original ; and as for the moderns, there will be no difficulty in forming a satisfactory collection—no difficulty, except the abundance of materials to choose from.

In 1867 I went to the Universal Exhibition three weeks too soon, and could hardly do any work in the art galleries for want of a correct catalogue. Suspecting that there would be a repetition of the inconvenience this time, I have waited till I heard that a good catalogue was ready, and that things were in their places ; but as another contributor is to speak of the exhibition in this number of the *REVIEW*, the delay is of little importance. Every thing points to a splendid success. The most curious and exceptional effect of this exhibition is political. Both the republicans and their enemies are agreed in accepting it as a proof that the Republic has got a firmer footing in the country. All nations require, besides honest officers who keep accounts and manage serious business, a sort of flowering of national festivity from time to time ; a little splendor and gayety in the capital to make the whole land cheerful. France requires this even more than other countries. A humdrum business government would never be enough for a lively and artistic people. Monarchs supply the want by the splendors and festivities of their courts ; under a republic the same want may be satisfied by national festivals, such as the opening of the exhibition, in which the great officials take their part. The Parisians were especially delighted with the success of their own unofficial illumination. A country can not forever be in mourning for its losses ; a time must come at last when a war that is long since ended will pass into the domain of history ; and the present festivities at Paris are accepted by France as a visible sign of renewed cheerfulness and hope, as well as a good-humored rejoicing in the final completion of a revolution which has cost the country a hundred years of suffering, and has ended in the triumph of Liberty.

For Freedom's battle, once begun,
Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son,
Though baffled oft, is ever won !

FRANCE.

P. G. HAMERTON.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.¹

RECENT ENGLISH BOOKS.

MR. BROWNING'S NEW VOLUME.²—Mr. Browning has struck a new vein—or rather returned to an old one—which will prove a very agreeable relaxation to the reader after his recondite Greek studies. The poet in this volume discusses nineteenth-century emotions, virtues, and foibles. The first of the two pieces of which the work is composed, “*La Saisiaz*,” is written in memory of a dear friend whom Mr. Browning lost in the autumn of last year very suddenly. The metre employed is that in which Mr. Tennyson was so successful in “*Locksley Hall*.” The more muscular and intellectual poet has turned the theme of death and its mysteries to fine and noble uses. In language which in some parts is truly elevated and sublime, Mr. Browning discusses those questions connected with the soul and a future state which are just now absorbing the attention of literary and indeed all, circles. He reasons ably on behalf of the existence of God and of the immortality of the soul, his arguments being weighty and convincing. “*The Two Poets of Croisic*” is a poem of a totally different type. It may be described, in brief, as a strong onslaught upon the world for its part in the creation of sham reputations. He shows how two long-since deceased poets, who with their works have passed into total oblivion, managed to gain a temporary popularity. The obvious moral is that either the praise or the blame of a fickle world is worth little as a true test merit. Mr. Browning's volume will be eagerly read, and it will certainly sustain its author's great reputation.

A STIFLED GENIUS.³—Seldom has a more pathetic narrative been placed before the public than that now edited by Mrs. Craik. It is concerned with the life of John Martin, who was born in the East End of London, and rose out of a condition of the deepest poverty and hardship, not only

¹ The Editors have reserved the recent American books for notice in the next issue.

² “*La Saisiaz : The Two Poets of Croisic*.” By Robert Browning. London : Smith, Elder & Co.

³ “*A Legacy*.” Being the Life and Remains of John Martin, Schoolmaster and Poet. Written and edited by the author of “*John Halifax, Gentleman*.” London. Hurst & Blackett.

to the position of a schoolmaster, but to the exhibition of some measure of undoubted genius. Martin appears to have been one of those ultra-sensitive spirits upon whom the world acts as a blight ; and yet at times he also evinced a practical turn of mind, which seemed at variance with the general bent of his genius. After a life of toil and great suffering he expired at the age of twenty-nine. The poetical portion of the "Legacy" which he left behind him is not so striking as the work which other poets have accomplished at a much earlier age ; but the prose portion exhibits occasionally a very marked breadth of view, while it also at the same time bears witness to the extent and variety of Martin's reading. Every thing which came across him, indeed, in the way of English literature, seems to have been devoured with avidity. He died before his faculties had ripened sufficiently to allow us to judge as to the position he might ultimately have assumed in the world of letters. Mrs. Craik, nevertheless, needs no apology for the labor she has here undertaken. John Martin's life and intellectual emanations were of a sufficiently remarkable type to warrant the appearance of these memorial volumes.

THE TROUBADOURS.¹—Dr. Hueffer has dealt with a capital subject in an admirable manner. We only regret that our space will not allow us to do full justice to his work. There are few subjects more entertaining in the world of letters than the history of Provençal life and literature. The author has treated this subject in a variety of aspects, general and biographical. Many readers of the present day presumably know a little about the Troubadours, but a perusal of this handsome volume can not but vastly increase their information ; it destroys some views which have hitherto been defended, and builds up others on what appears to be very substantial foundation. It is what it claims to be, "the first continuous and at all adequate account in the English language of the literary epoch which forms its subject." Of course there is all the difference between writing a readable account of a great development like that of the Provençal literature and a recondite scientific estimate of the same movement : it is the former which the author has endeavored to present to his readers, and he has produced an eminently readable book. Mr. Hueffer has, however, for scholarly purposes, added a technical portion, which is chiefly concerned with metrical questions, in which the importance of Dante's scientific treatise for the classification of Provençal metres, pointed out by Professor Boehmer, has been for the first time proved by systematic application. With a guide like this volume, no student should experience difficulty in acquiring a tolerably thorough acquaintance with the spirit, language, and poetry of the Troubadours.

¹ "The Troubadours." A History of Provençal Life and Literature in the Middle Ages. By Francis Hueffer. London. Chatto & Windus.

LADY CHARLOTTE ELLIOT'S POEMS.¹—While these poems do not warrant, perhaps, the conclusion that there is another original singer in our midst, they are certainly marked by much beauty of expression and of feeling, and are not to be confounded with the rhymes of the mere poetaster. Judging from this volume alone, we should say that Lady Charlotte Elliot had just escaped being a fine poet. The qualities we desiderate are variety and a strong fibre. There is the soft music of the light guitar, but not the melody of "the thunder harp of pines," to quote an expressive line from Alexander Smith. Moreover, there is a constant suggestion of the influence of several living poets over the writer, though this influence is not so strong as to take the form of direct imitation, except in one instance. As in the case of many other authors, Lady Charlotte Elliot is happiest in her minor effusions; when dealing with a great subject, or a pathetic narrative of any considerable length, she seems to lack the power to grapple with it as a real master of verse would. But notwithstanding every drawback, she possesses a genuine faculty, sweet, tender, and delicate. The poem which gives the title to the volume is the most ambitious in the whole work, and is founded of course upon the old mythical story of the destruction of the Gorgon by Perseus. The subject is treated with some vigor and more music. A second volume from Lady Charlotte Elliot may establish her claims to be regarded amongst that favored few who possess the divine afflatus.

THE RUSSIANS OF TO-DAY.²—The author of "The Member for Paris" is a smart and trenchant writer, and, in a literary aspect, the present work is eminently readable. It is, however, disfigured here and there by anti-Russian prejudices, and is dedicated to the Duke of Sutherland "as a token of high esteem and admiration for his courage and patriotism." The Duke's "courage and patriotism" many people think to consist in breaking with that very old friend of his family, the illustrious statesman Mr. Gladstone, and in throwing over all the Liberal opinions to which he previously clung. The present writer touches on many points of interest, and his pictures of internal Russia will be doubtless enjoyed; but when he comes to hint at the Czar's threatened mental aberration and to prophesy revolutions, he treads upon debatable ground. No doubt Russia has all her work before her, both at home and abroad; but whether she is so near a national disruption as the author of this volume believes her to be is quite another matter.

THE ENGLISH IN SPAIN.³—This work has been very excellently com-

¹ "Medusa and other Poems." By Lady Charlotte Elliot. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co.

² "The Russians of To-day." By the author of "The Member for Paris." London. Smith, Elder & Co.

³ "The English in Spain; or, The Story of the War of Succession between 1834 and 1840." By Major Francis Duncan, M.A., Royal Artillery. London. John Murray.

piled. The long and desolating wars with which it is concerned were pregnant with great and lasting consequences to Spain. Major Duncan has been very careful in his authorities, and has laid under contribution the letters, journals, and reports of Generals Wylde, Sir Collingwood Jackson, and Askwith, and the commissioners with Queen Isabella's armies. The whole narrative is one of great interest, while as regards its practical value the work must henceforth take precedence as a history of the period and events of which it treats.

CLASSIC PREACHERS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.¹—Although the English Church can not boast of the passionate eloquence which distinguished the French divines, this volume serves to remind us that there are some great names in connection with English pulpit oratory worthy of everlasting remembrance. Such was Dr. Donne, the poet-preacher, of whom Canon Lightfoot so ably and sympathetically treats. Then, too, there is that wonderful rhetorician South, concerning whom the Dean of Durham not too exhaustively speaks; while the name of Butler, the ethical preacher, is associated with signal services rendered to Christianity as a system. These essays are admirable and entertaining reading, and it would not be a bad idea if English Nonconformists were to issue a kind of companion volume, devoted to such eminent dissenting divines as John Wesley, Robert Hall, Jay of Bath, John Foster, and George Whitefield.

BULGARIA BEFORE THE WAR.²—The interest in this work is almost discounted by reason of recent events, but it is still worth turning to as a record of personal experience. Mr. Barkley dwelt amongst the inhabitants of European Turkey for seven years, and he is consequently entitled to be heard upon the subject of which he treats. The author has no belief in the view that Turks and Bulgars can not live together in peace, notwithstanding all that has occurred. He thinks that, given a good and a just government and equal rights, the natural docility of the two races would soon cause them to submit to law, and to settle down quietly. But when did Turkey concede good government, save under pressure?

STUDIES IN LITERATURE.³—Professor Dowden is not a profound critic, though a graceful one. We should scarcely turn to his pages for an exhaustive estimate of the value of the works of those great writers whom he criticizes. Sympathy occasionally lights up this volume, and gives to the views expressed an air of freshness and novelty; but on the whole

¹ "The Classic Preachers of the English Church." Lectures delivered at St. James's in 1877. London: John Murray.

² "Bulgaria before the War." By H. C. Barkley, C.E., author of "Between the Danube and the Black Sea." London: John Murray.

³ "Studies in Literature." By Edward Dowden, LL.D., Professor of English Literature in the University of Dublin. London. C. Kegan Paul & Co.

it can not be said that the criticisms are to any considerable degree original. The first two essays, upon "The French Revolution and Literature" and "The Transcendental Movements and Literature," are in great part merely the reproduction of opinions already expressed by other writers. The best papers in the volume probably are those upon "Mr. Tennyson and Mr. Browning" and "George Eliot." Dr. Dowden is a scholarly and able man, and these qualities very largely take the place of insight and depth in his criticisms. His volume, however, is one that may be read and enjoyed with considerable satisfaction and delight.

MR. TROLLOPE'S NEW NOVEL.¹—Mr. Trollope has rarely shown to greater advantage as a delineator of character than in this very singularly-entitled novel. "Popenjoy" referred to in the story is the second title of the Marquis of Brotherton, and the narrative turns upon the succession to the Brotherton name and estates. The heroine, Mary Lovelace (afterwards Marchioness of Brotherton), is a sweet and lovable creature, who is called to pass through bitter waters before arriving at the wished-for haven. There are also several other characters very vividly drawn, and the novel generally shows no signs of declining power in one of the most prolific of English story-writers.

MISS KAVANAGH'S LAST WORK.²—Since the stories which compose these volumes were penned, their gifted writer has passed away. All the charm which pervaded Miss Kavanagh's previous stories of French life is to be found in these shorter narratives, which are pathetically bound together under the suggestive title of "Forget-Me-Nots." The stories are gracefully written, and sometimes the author rises to real dignity and beauty in her delineations of Normandy life, manners, and scenery. By Miss Kavanagh's death the English literary world has lost a careful and conscientious artist.

LATTER-DAY LYRICS.³—This is a beautiful book to look at externally, but Mr. Davenport Adams has not made the best possible selection from the serious poetry of living writers. Of course, selection in poetry is a very difficult matter when the editor endeavors to please all tastes; and Mr. Adams may, moreover, have experienced obstacles in obtaining permission to reprint the best examples of our great living poets—Browning, Tennyson, Morris, Rossetti, Buchanan, and others. Certainly it does seem to us that a better selection could easily have been made. The

¹ "Is He Popenjoy?" By Anthony Trollope. London. Chapman & Hall.

² "Forget-Me-Nots." By Julia Kavanagh, author of "Nathalie," etc. London. Richard Bentley & Son.

³ "Latter-Day Lyrics." Being Poems of Sentiment of Living Writers. Selected and arranged, with Notes, by W. Davenport Adams. London. Chatto & Windus.

author of "Orion" is left out altogether, while we have six examples from Mr. E. W. Gosse and nine from Mr. John Payne, who, *pace* Mr. Adams, do not possess as poets the calibre which entitles them to such a representation. Mr. Austin Dobson has written a bright little essay for this volume upon some Foreign Forms of Verse. The publishers, however, have done their work better than the editor.

ST. PETERSBURG TO PLEVNA.¹—Mr. Stairley, who has acted as special correspondent for the *Golos* and the *Manchester Guardian*, here adds another tome to the countless number which already exist in connection with Russia, Turkey, and the Eastern Question. The author has, however, been wiser in his generation than other writers, for he has not professed to give a dry statistical and historical account of that which he witnessed, but rather to furnish a graphic and picturesque personal narrative. In this he has succeeded admirably, and whatever may be the complexion of a reader's views on the Eastern Question, he can not fail to enjoy this volume.

GEORGE BARNETT SMITH.

LONDON.

RECENT GERMAN BOOKS.

THE student who desires to find the German or French equivalents for the technical terms in his department—be it chemistry, physics, engineering, architecture, or what it may—and the employer or inventor who is endeavoring to explain to European workmen the details of a certain task, will turn eagerly to Tolhausens' "Technological Dictionary."² It is but one of the many productions by which Baron Tauchnitz has earned the thanks of the English-speaking peoples. About 76,000 technical terms and phrases used in art, trade, and general industry are here noted in clear type and in a convenient shape. Companion volumes, in French, German, English, and German, English, French, lighten the work of translating from French and German into English.

The Germans have been aroused to fresh attention to their technical trade-schools by the lesson which Professor Reuleaux brought back from the Philadelphia Exposition. If, however, Americans do not intend that the new pursuit of technical studies in Germany shall lead to a superiority such as Germany has gained over Europe in her school system, they will do well to observe carefully and cull the good from the efforts here made for trade-education. Geisenheimer, in his "Propositions for the Shaping of

¹ "St. Petersburg to Plevna." By Francis Stairley. Richard Bentley & Son.

² Tolhausen, A. and T., "Technological Dictionary in the English, German, and French Languages." Second Edition. Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz. 1878. (xiv., 888 pp. 16mo.) 8 marks or \$2.

the Prussian Trade-Schools,"¹ offers much valuable information and many suggestions worth noting. He justly conceives the chief purpose of these schools to be the education of masters of various trades for large workshops, and of technical specialists for the great manufactories. His insisting upon the practical side of the education, and his limiting of the instruction in general to that which shall afterwards be of use, and his permission of a certain elasticity in rules on need, are excellent. Modern languages form a point in the highest department—a position that will be objected to only by one narrowly ignorant.

Mierzinski's "Tar Dyes"² must be of interest to American chemists and dyers, because of the vast opportunities open to them alike for producing and for using these colors. The book is not for popular but for special use, and offers a compendium of the researches into these colors, showing how they are produced, what their qualities and properties are, and how they are to be recognized. Frequent tabular statements and an index facilitate reference to the particular points. The myriad colors drawn from tar recall to us its uses, and the fable of the lady disdaining the odor from the coal-tarred fence, while she wore a sack of a delicate shade drawn from the tar, drank with soda-water a fruit-essence from the same source, and even took refuge in a handkerchief scented with a coal-tar essence.

We do not all dye, but we do dream; and who would not like to know something about the dreams which occupy so much of his time? Heinrich Spitta tells us a great deal about them in his "Sleeping and Dreaming Conditions of the Human Soul."³ In a moderate, exact way he lays before us an account of dreams, classifying them into dreams due to excited nerves, artificial and arbitrary dreams, and purely notional dreams. He treats also of prophetic and apocalyptic dreams. Psychologists will observe curiously his endeavors to open the psychological side of dream life.

A mathematical book will return us to the realm of facts. Prediger, even if he has a theological name, in offering us the "Elements of the Analytical Geometry of Space,"⁴ presupposes very little and leads the student far into differential and integral calculus, and that in such a way as to be easily understood by one studying alone.

¹ Geisenheimer, L., "Vorschläge zur Gestaltung der Preussischen Gewerbeschulen." Leipzig: Siegismund & Volkening. 1878. (62 pp. 8vo.) 1 mark or \$0.25.

² Mierzinski, S., "Die Theerfarbestoffe ihre Darstellung und Anwendung." Leipzig: Otto Wigand. (ff. [2], pp. 636 8vo.) 10 marks or \$2.50.

³ Spitta, H., "Die Schlaf- und Traumzustände der menschlichen Seele mit besonderer Berücksichtigung ihres Verhältnisses zu den psychischen Alienationen. Tübingen: Franz Fues. 1878. (xiv. [2], 294 [1] pp. 8vo.) 5 marks or \$1.25.

⁴ Prediger, C., "Die Elemente der analytischen Geometrie des Raumes. Zum Gebrauche bei Vorlesungen und zum Selbststudium." Clausthal: Löwe. 1878. (xiv., 358 pp. 8vo.) With 26 lithographic plates. 12 marks or \$3.

¹ Schallopp's "Chess Congress at Leipzig in July, 1877,"¹ tells of the congress instituted in honor of Adolf Anderssen, the great German player. Moreover, the introduction describes Anderssen's life, and the various chess-congresses thus far held in Germany, and the conclusion gives the games played at this meeting, thus making the book a little treasure-house for the chess-player.

The music-student may be referred to Sering's "Harmony."² It looks especially towards church music, but at the same time teaches harmony in general. Sering's position as teacher at Strassburg, his twenty-five years of experience, and the recommendation of his works by high authority will lead many to use this handbook. Insisting upon the necessity of oral, written, piano, and ear practice in the harmony exercises, he discusses point by point in the clearest way, and explains each by means of numerous examples. It is just such a book as might help to make the study of music more general and popular in our higher schools. The pupil attempting self-instruction should first take up Sering's "Introduction to Harmony" ("Vorstufe zur Harmonielehre"), which in a very full way gives a multitude of little points that are often matters of oral explanation. The multitude of college singing clubs would find in Sering's "Singing-School for Male Voices" ninety valuable pages. In the former half he teaches what to do, descending to even the smallest details of beating time and of pronunciation, and in the latter half he offers a collection of technical studies, and then a series of thirty vocal studies from the best masters. We know of few handbooks that have so much in such a small space. Moreover, as a contribution to the history of music and as a resource for male-choirs, Sering is publishing a series of sacred male-choruses, German and Latin. The four tiny numbers thus far out carry the chronological series down to A.D. 1800, having set out with the first German song, of which history knows the composer—namely, Heinrich Isaac, born about 1440.

Dr. Fauth, of the Royal Gymnasium at Düsseldorf, discusses "The Most Weighty School Questions on the Basis of Psychology."³ A devoted pupil of Lotze and an ardent pedagogue, he here deals first with "the combined instruction," then with "the principles of linguistic instruction," and lastly with the "necessity and essence of religious instruction." We think that his views upon religious instruction would hardly suit the orthodox, as indeed he himself seems to fear. His remarks upon languages, and in particular upon the German vernacular, which with certain reservations hold good for English, are of great interest, especially in so far as they endeavor to characterize languages.

¹ Schallopp, E., "Der Schachkongress zu Leipzig im Juli, 1877." Leipzig: Veit & Co. 1878. (vi., 218 pp. 8vo.) 4 marks or \$1.

² Sering, F. W., "Harmonielehre." Second edition. Magdeburg: Heinrichshofen. 1877. (xi., 203 pp. 8vo.) 2.50 marks or \$0.63.

³ Fauth, F., "Die wichtigsten Schulfragen auf dem Boden der Psychologie erörtert." Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. 1878. (viii., 174 [1] pp. 8vo.)

Krabbe,¹ in bright lectures, relates the stories of Walther von der Vogelweide, the master of the Minnesingers; of Hans Sachs, the master of the Mastersingers; and of Simon Dach, the chief representative of the Königsberg school: he seasons the narratives with apt quotations from their verses. The Nuremberg shoemaker is doubtless the sturdiest of the three poets, even though, as Krabbe tells us, he did not write the famous couplet:

“Hans Sachs war eim Schuh-
Macher und Poet dazu.”

But we must go farther back in history. Professor Scholz, in his “Egyptology and the Books of Moses,”² deals with the latest researches of the Egyptologists, among others of Brugsch-Bey and of Ebers, and shows that the Bible has nothing to fear from them. Besides a small map of Lower Egypt, the volume offers an Egyptian alphabet taken from Brugsch-Bey. If we are not mistaken, we detect, on “visible” principles of etymology, the source of the English word “boot” in the consonant “bu.” The ornithological part of the alphabet seems to consist of an eagle, a newly-hatched pullet, and an owl.

We can scarcely think that an Egyptologist would find the above work sufficiently dry, so we refer him to Von Pessl’s “Manetho’s Chronological System.”³ While the three tomes of Manetho are examined in the light of Josephus, Julius Afrikanus and Clement of Alexandria, the biblical chronological systems are referred to (pp. 133-159), and shown to depend largely on Manetho.

Tischendorf’s “Synopsis of the Gospels”⁴ appears in a fourth “revised” edition. The revision does not seem to have been much more than the correction of a few misprints of the third edition, as given in Tischendorf’s own copy, which passed through our hands. Singularly enough, the editor has failed to make two corrections printed in the third edition on page lii. by Tischendorf. This book is of use only for the English and American market, since German professors separate the Fourth Gospel from the other three in endeavoring to make a synopsis. Should the publisher ever proceed to a fifth edition, it would be well to have the literature brought down to date, and the “apparatus criticus” thoroughly revised.

In “Johann Georg Hamann’s von Königsberg’s Years of Apprenticeship and of Wandering”⁵ we find one of those odd pictures of life in the

¹ Krabbe, Th., “Aus deutscher Vergangenheit.” Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. 1878 (iv., 205 [1] pp. 8vo.) 2 marks or \$0.50.

² Scholz, A., “Die Aegyptologie und die Bücher Mosis.” Würzburg: Leo Woerl. 1878. 2.40 marks or \$0.60.

³ Pessl, H. v., “Das chronologische System Manetho’s. Leipzig: Hinrichs. 1878. (x. [i.], 268 pp. 8vo.) 6 marks or \$1.50.

⁴ Tischendorf, C. de, “Synopsis Evangelica.” Leipzig: Mendelssohn. 1878. (lx., 184 pp. 8vo.) 4 marks or \$1.

⁵ “J. G. Hamann’s von Königsberg Lehr- und Wanderjahre.” Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. 1878. (172 pp. 12mo.) 1.50 marks or \$0.37½.

latter half of the eighteenth century, mixed in religious colors. Hamann wrote to his father once that he would consider his whole life an apprenticeship. The editor would have done well to omit his additional exclamation points, and the Bible notes filling the latter pages.

The Bonn professor who attracted so much attention at the New York meeting of the Evangelical Alliance, Theodor Christlieb, has published a valuable pamphlet upon "The Indo-British Opium Trade and its Effects,"¹ wherein he comes to the support of the Anglo-Oriental Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade. After a glance at the development of the British opium trade, he recounts its destructive effects in India, England, and China. Then, touching its influence upon missions in China, he seeks a relief from the evil. It is to be hoped that the moral weight of the Continent and of America may soon so aid the English society above named as to secure the destruction of this evil. Is England's anxiety for Turkey plausible in the face of physical, mental, and moral ruin she is forcing on China and India? Professor Christlieb assures us that in both countries the consciences of the heathen would put an end to the debasing trade which the English Government sustains. The United States is not without interest in this question, as any one can see who will visit the opium-holes of the Pacific coast.

Servetus has found a faithful friend. Tollin, who now offers us the second volume of his "Doctrinal System of Michael Servetus,"² has for nineteen years been working over the life and labors and doctrines of the Spaniard, and has published already twenty-seven articles, pamphlets, and books about him. Church historians, whether they agree with Tollin's opinions or not, must be thankful to him for the manner in which he has wrought up the man and the period. He has traveled in Italy, Switzerland, and France, searching in the archives and finding too. Servetus, for Tollin and perhaps for theological scholars, has ceased to be a mere episode in Calvin's life. Tollin, with Stähelin, declares him as great as Luther, and the former styles him the representative of modern times in the age of the Reformation.

Genz, in his "Patrician Rome,"³ presents to the philologist and historian (1) a discussion of the patrician "gens," and, rising from that, (2) of the "curia." The thirty curiæ are followed by (3) the state, in "populus," "senatus," and "rex." In the fourth part the "tribus" comes under consideration, and in the fifth the relations of the patricians and of the kings are disposed of. The work and reading shown in the book will make it attractive to scholars, and in spite, perhaps, of a certain lack of

¹ Christlieb, T., "Der indobritische Opiumhandel und seine Wirkungen." Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. 1878. (iv., 64 pp. 8vo.) 1 mark or \$0.25.

² Tollin, H., "Das Lehrsystem Michael Servet's genetisch dargestellt." Vol. ii. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. 1878. (ix., 232 pp. 8vo.) 4 marks or \$1.

³ Genz, "Das patricische Rom." Berlin: G. Grote. 1878. (ff. [2], pp. 122, 8vo.) 2.50 marks or \$0.62½.

order, it will furnish a useful handbook on this question, so interesting for the history of Rome. As only too often happens, there is no index, and the table of contents consists of but five lines. The publishers could add largely to the value of the work by adding even now a full topical index, and especially an index of the Latin words.

CASPAR RENÉ GREGORY.

LEIPZIG.

RECENT FRENCH BOOKS.

THE International Exhibition, held in Paris this summer, instead of disturbing the current of literary production, appears to have increased its volume. The activity of Frenchmen of letters of all classes was never more marked than at present. Good books are published weekly, and, in addition to this, a Congress of Authors in the month of June is one of the prominent features of the festival of nations. In this assembly, and in the meetings which celebrate the centenary of Voltaire, the vast intellectual movement of the eighteenth century is passed in review. No less a personage than Victor Hugo delivers the inaugural address at the Congress. The questions of the rights of literary property, of their duration, of translation, reproduction, "adaptation," and the project of a convention procuring long-needed but unexpected advantages for the writing fraternity throughout the world, as well as the nomination of a permanent international commission for settlement of difficulties, are all under discussion. Not satisfied with this, the French have decided to hold a tournament of poetry and music in midsummer, and invitations to attend it have been accepted by all the principal European nations.

Remarkable as is the industry and fertility of authors under the existing republic, there are no such unwearied workers now as Sainte-Beuve was, from beginning to end of his brilliant yet melancholy career; and the second and last volume of his private correspondence,¹ just published, is a striking proof of that fact. A terrible atmosphere of labor environed the man from his youth to his death-bed. Short notes to intimate friends show this in amplest manner. The great critic confesses that he is driven, that he writes on the spur of the moment, and under the goading necessities of each day, as most men do in modern times. He sighs for the Horatian days, when one could accumulate the outpourings of his soul, and offer them in one imposing libation to the muses. The publishers and editors of this volume have been somewhat condemned for selling the "sweepings of an author's literary table after his death." It does not appear, however, that they have done Sainte-Beuve's character any injustice. The book strengthens the impression that the man possessed a

¹ Correspondence of Sainte-Beuve (1822-1869) 2d volume. Paris. 1878. Calmann Levy.

noble intellect, some brilliance, a trifle deadened by intense striving after polished effects; and that, at the close of his career, when public opinion was somewhat unkind to him, when he had placed himself in a false position by the acceptance of a seat in the Imperial Senate, he was embittered, angry, and now and then despaired of the world.

Victor Hugo has found time, in the midst of labors which would appall younger men, to revise and publish a very singular poem written some years ago, on "The Pope,"¹ but withheld from publication until after the death of Pius IX., because it "contains a terrible series of invectives against papal infallibility." The old poet has put into this volume of verse all the vigor, prophetic grandeur, and charming tenderness curiously blended, for which he is famous. The fancy of the poem is worth repeating. The pope falls asleep in his chamber in the Vatican, and there dreams a dream, in which he inculcates all the sublime lessons of grace, mercy, and peace which Hugo has been teaching since his youth. The dreaming pope contradicts and overturns the precedents of his line, sides with the people against emperors and kings, renounces infallibility as a monstrous mockery of God, and receives the benediction of heaven for his radical measures. In short, Hugo constructs an ideal pope; and it must be admitted that the figure is majestic and imposing. Then he brings his readers back from the illusion by making the real pope wake up, yawn, and cry, "What a frightful dream I have had!" Two new volumes of poems by M. Hugo are announced by Calmann Levy. They will be called "Tute La Lyre;" but no one would venture to predict that they will be the last from the master's pen.

M. Taine seems but little annoyed by the severe criticism of his last volume, or by the pronounced hostility of the Republicans to his candidacy for the Academy. He writes and lectures with his usual earnestness and force. One of the latest of his productions is a superb preface to a new and sumptuous edition of "The Princess of Cleves," Madame de La Fayette's exquisite picture of the polite manners of France in the seventeenth century.² M. Taine is extremely fond of falling into admiration of the elegances and refinements of that France which vanished at the advent of the great Revolution; and he is in his happiest vein in this preface in both rallying and approving the correct and classical ways of the heroes and heroines of Madame de La Fayette's romance. It is odd that the authors of the two most remarkable and original books of the season should both be candidates for vacant chairs in the Academy, and both be persecuted by a clique because of their supposed political or religious heresies. M. Taine's adversaries can never forgive him for insisting that the aristocracy is necessary in every state for the purpose of furnishing the "directing classes;" and all republicans are somewhat offended at the

¹ "Le Pape." Victor Hugo. Paris: Calmann Levy. 1878.

² "La Princesse de Cleves." Paris. 1878. A. Quantin.

good-natured satire on the emancipated working-man which M. Ernest Renan has embodied in his fantasy called "Caliban." Mr. Renan's most redoubtable enemies, however, are in the Catholic Church, which institution does not feel inclined to allow the author of "The Life of Jesus" to sit in the Academy beside M. Littré, if any thing can be done to prevent it.

England has furnished the subjects for two volumes published in May, both of which are extremely interesting. The "History of English Comedy in the Seventeenth Century,"¹ by M. de Grisy, embraces that period of thirty-five years between 1672 and 1707 which Macaulay blushed to record, and when a French critic has properly characterized as being devoted to the "Saturnalia of the Restoration." M. de Grisy appears perfectly to have comprehended this epoch when the Court of Whitehall could find no better example to copy than that of Versailles; when the slow and angular English undertook to imitate the most ridiculous vices of the nervous yet graceful French. M. de Grisy's portraits of some of the authors who, according to Macaulay, "were a shame to the language and to the national character," are acute and unsparing, and they merit careful study. One finds in them a new point of view—fresh explanations of the causes which led to so great degradation of the public taste and the dramatic literature of the time. This book has already enjoyed a very considerable popularity in France. "The Youth of Elizabeth of England"² is a careful essay on that important historical period between 1533 and 1558, which forms, as it were, a preface to the grand career of the sovereign lady. The author, M. Louis Wiesener, was formerly professor of history in the university, and is now a member of numerous provincial faculties. M. Wiesener takes occasion, in the course of his essay, to engage in an animated criticism of Mr. Froude's historical studies in the time of Elizabeth, and accuses him of unfairness and prejudice. The episodes concerning Mary Tudor, Philip II., and Jane Grey are recited in the liveliest dramatic fashion.

Of light and amusing books, fairly entitled to be classed as literature, there is the usual spring crop, and foremost among them is M. Elie Berthet's volume of souvenirs. M. Berthet is the fortunate possessor of an inexhaustible fund of anecdote with regard to such celebrities as Thiers, Baron Taylor, Madame Dorval, the great actress, Jules Janin, Cavaignac, Cherubini, Louis Philippe, Méry, and Leon Gozlan; and he has given us a series of glimpses of the characters of these noted folks, such as has never before been assembled in book form. Berthet's rare humor adds

¹ "Histoire de la Comedie Anglaise au XVII^e Siècle." Par A. de Grisy. 1 vol. Paris. 1878. Didier & Cie.

² "La Jeunesse d'Elisabeth d'Angleterre (1533-58)." Par Louis Wiesener. Paris: Librairie Hachette & Cie. 1878.

³ "Histoire des Uns et des Autres." Par Elie Berthet. 1 vol. Paris. 1878. Dentu.

much to the stories themselves of the most interesting kind. The powerful realistic romancer, Emile Zola, author of the ghostly and repulsive "Assommoir," has issued a new novel called "Une Page d'Amour,"¹ which is in striking contrast with some of his earlier works. It is purer in tone, richer in color, and an indefinable and delicate melancholy pervades it. The story is sad and unsatisfactory, but must unquestionably take high rank as a work of art. At the same time that this and his other volumes are selling by tens of thousands, M. Zola has had a severe fall at the Palais Royal Theatre, where he endeavored to make a play called "A Rosebud" succeed. The attempt was unsuccessful, for the reason that the author tried to force upon the public the same coarse realistic features found in the "Assommoir." People are willing now and then to read such works, but they refuse to countenance it on the stage. Madame Greville, whose studies of Russian life, pure as crystal and seemingly photographed from life, have been tremendously successful both in Paris and St. Petersburg, has just sent forth a new romance, "La Niania."² Madame Greville is writing too much and too rapidly, but this her latest, like her first story, contains a host of those beautiful touches of nature which have made her famous. It is a gratifying note that her books have recently been introduced to the American public. Paul Feval, the fiery novelist of bygone years, a man mentioned but rarely by the rising generation, has become tranquil and refined because of advancing years, and his last book, "Douze Femmes,"³ is worth reading as a study of a peculiar quality in French fiction, the minute analysis of imaginary characters with infinite seriousness, as if they really lived, or had at sometime existed. Of Mr. Hector Malot the American public will hardly care to know as much as do the French and some other Continental peoples, who buy his romances greedily. He is a prolific writer of much power, but his unfortunate choice of subjects, as in the case of his last story, "Cara,"⁴ render any Transatlantic popularity for him rather doubtful. There are chapters in M. Malot's last work which would entitle him to rank beside Alphonse Daudet were the other portions of the volume not so uneven. Excess of production for the *feuilletons* of the daily press is slowly mining M. Malot.

M. Sully Prudhomme is foremost in the very promising group of young poets of which republican France can boast. The singers were dumb under the corrupt and deadening influences of the Second Empire, but sang with cheerful and inspiring voices so soon as the breeze of freedom fanned their brows. The choice of subjects of these youthful bards, with the exception of Coppée, who seems sunk in profound despair, is generally heroic

¹ "Une Page d'Amour." Par Emile Zola. Deuxième édition. Paris. 1878. Charpentier.

² "La Niania." Par Henry Greville. Paris. 1878. E. Plon & Cie.

³ "Douze Femmes." Par Paul Feval. Paris. 1878. Dentu.

⁴ "Cara." Par Hector Malot. Paris. 1878. Dentu.

and noble. M. Prudhomme's poem of "Justice"¹ is devoted to a consideration of the problems which for ages have tortured the minds of thinking men: Why, in nature, do the various species war upon each other? why is there strife between differing classes in society? and why are national hatreds cherished and perpetuated? There is a passionate and touching accent in the poet's cry for justice, for love, for the universal brotherhood which is always yearned for, yet which never comes. The doctrines of love and peace which M. Hugo has inculcated have here fallen in good ground. M. Prudhomme's work will live when the sickly and feeble complaints of De Musset are forgotten. A noticeable quality in this school of rising French poets is the extreme conscientiousness of each writer. Nothing is done for effect; no tricks of melody are sought; each seems to search truth in his own soul, and to utter it boldly and without shrinking. Yet the language, in poetry difficult and scarcely flexible save when handled by a master, yields charming poetical effects to them. The poesy of their thought warms and renders easy to manage the French accents, which are among the finest instruments of prose in existence, but which seem scarcely fitted for rhythm.

Of other new publications, some of the most important are M. du Mesnil-Marigny's History of Political Economy among the Ancient Peoples of India, Egypt, Judea, and Greece, a volume which has speedily reached its third edition, and the title of which is sufficient explanation to special students;² M. Jal's memoirs of his career as literary man from the beginning of the century;³ Hachette's magnificent new edition of Jules Gourdault's "Italy," a book containing four hundred and fifty superb engravings;⁴ and Emile Augier's new comedy, the greatest literary sensation of the year at the Théâtre Français.⁵ Of this last work it may be said that it is the most brilliant of modern French comedies, and is one of those rare plays which, while constructed expressly for the stage, maintains its interest for the reader who has never seen it acted. "Les Fourchambault" is an extraordinary success in analyzing real society; and the author, in allowing the work to be printed, was evidently desirous of reaching a wider audience than the theatre could afford him.

EDWARD KING.

PARIS.

¹ "La Justice; Poeme." Par Sully Prudhomme. 1 vol. Paris. 1878. Alphonse Lemerre.

² "Histoire de l'Economie Politique des Anciens Peuples de l'Inde, de l'Egypte, de la Judée, et de la Grèce." Par M. de Mesnil-Marigny. 3^{me} edition. 3 vols. in 8vo. Plon. Paris. 1878.

³ "Souvenirs d'un Homme de Lettres 1798-1873." Par M. A. Jal. In vol. in 18. Techener. Paris. 1878.

⁴ "L'Italie." Par Jules Gourdault. Hachette. Paris. 1878. Prix broché, 50 francs.

⁵ "Les Fourchambault." Comedie. Par Emile Augier. Paris. 1878. Calmann Levy.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW

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THE CRY OF LABOR—WHAT ANSWER?

THERE is a cry for bread in a land of plenty; a charge that there is oppression in a land of equal rights. Men are without employment and look with jealous eyes upon capital as an oppressor, while capital is paralyzed by a sense of insecurity. There have been strikes and mobs in this country and in Europe—the destruction of property and life from the fancied antagonism of the rich and poor, from a feeling on the part of the laborer that injustice is done to him, because he suffers while the rich man has an abundance, though his expenses and business may both be sweeping his capital away and hurrying him on to bankruptcy.

If such commotions as our country witnessed last year and such as have since prevailed in England were necessary to secure the rights of any class of people, the evils they are intended to correct must be apparent to thoughtful men. The fact that such commotions are possible demands thought—and action too—wise action, that shall look to the removing of the causes of such commotions from society.

We must appeal to the reason, the sense of justice and of benevolence, in all classes of citizens, that the present danger and the causes that produce such dangerous antagonisms may be weakened or removed.

Armed force, upon which despots rely, is a sad resort, though at times it may be necessary. All that armed power can do is to hold men in check till reason can assert its sway. If the conditions remain the same, and there is seen to be in the conditions any

just ground of complaint, the scattered forces may combine at any moment, and they will be sure to combine under any government but a despotism.

A community that feels strong in its elements of law and order, boasting of its free schools and flourishing churches, awakes some morning to find the social elements in commotion: frenzied men applying the torch; the air filled with threats and the sounds of murder; a whole army of men, who yesterday were busy in lawful industry, to-day madly destroying the very property they had helped to accumulate.

Events in our land have shown us what elements are in our midst, with what fearful swiftness they may combine, and with what terrible energy and relentless fury their powers may be prostituted to the worst purposes—the destruction of their own good, the destruction of social order, of property and life itself.

There has been for ages a strife between the poor and the rich, or, in modern language, between “labor and capital;” and there has at all times remained a multitude without useful or honorable employment. A broad road has been filled with the willfully or helplessly idle moving on to the almshouse or prison in all their course, and in their final destination becoming a burden and a poison to the community; and more terrible than all else, they are themselves *lost*. Life is to them a failure. They represent such an aggregate of sorrow, disappointment, depraved passions or beast-like stolidity, as arouses in every man of thought and feeling a sense of duty, and forces home upon us the question, “What can be done that these lost ones may be saved, or, at least, that the sense of justice implanted in every heart shall be satisfied?”

It is claimed that we have done much to elevate the masses; but the truth is, much of the comfort among the people which we boast of is the result of the chance conditions of our new, fertile country, rather than of the superiority of any system of labor or social order that prevails among us. The moment that our people are brought into any condition of struggle for a living, we find them ill prepared for the conflict. The many comforts to which they have been accustomed make them restive under privation, and the abundance to which they have been accustomed has destroyed in them all proper notions of economy and prudence. They are not prepared for hardship and want; and our publicists have not given to us any practicable scheme by which we can be saved from the evils which increasing population and the labor system of our intense

civilization must bring, unless the people have a guidance and preparation for their work and life which they do not now generally have. The rule now commonly acted upon is that business must be cared for and men must care for themselves. The principle of action, in the end, must be *that men must be cared for*, and business must be subservient to this great work. It may be impossible for us to tell now how this can be done; but we know it must be done, in some way, for a long time, or our civilization will be a failure. No reasonable man can be bold enough to present a full and final solution of the great labor problem that now presses upon us; but an attempt must be made, data must be gathered and some theory of the case be presented, till we find something that shall commend itself to the most thoughtful, at least, as promising an improvement on any thing now adopted by those who organize labor, or demanded by those who perform the labor. For, to-day, after all our advance in civilization, and towards equal rights, the diffusion of education and the spread of the Christian religion—after all our inventions for saving labor and increasing production, we are as far from a solution of the question as to the true relation of the rich to the poor, of capital to labor, as we ever were. And that question, paramount to all others that relate to this world, “How are the masses to be made industrious, and provident, and honest, and law-abiding?”—that question is apparently more difficult to answer than ever before, because in the rapid changes of our present civilization new difficulties are always arising which can not be provided for by any principles of action that are now accepted by the business men of the world, who control capital and must continue to organize labor.

There never was a time when this subject pressed itself upon the world with such force as now—when there was so much discontent and so much ability on the part of the discontented to bring evils untold upon themselves and the community at large.

We may consult our best political economists in vain for the aid we need. There is something here which mere science will not reach—the strict *quid pro quo* doctrine as at present adopted will never cure the evils that now prevail. There is nothing in all the strictly scientific discussions of wealth and laws of trade to satisfy and control the laborer of the Pacific coast as the Chinese are taking his place, and, as it seems to him, taking the bread from his mouth. There is nothing to civilize the “MOLLIE MAGUIRES” of the coal regions; nothing that can insure us against railroad and mill strikes

—the destruction of property and the peril of human life from infuriated mobs of communists.

Political economy, pure and simple, believes in free competition; and that in the struggle of that competition every man and every interest must care for itself or perish. If men were of no more worth than plants or animals, this would be the correct doctrine. *It is the correct doctrine of trade considered by itself.* But when the complex nature of man, and the individual worth of every human being, and the present ignorance and imperfections of individual men and of society are all considered, it is plain that a simple struggle of men under the severe laws of pure Political Economy would be fearful—so fearful, that the world has seen the danger to some extent, and has provided benevolent institutions and organizations of which Political Economy knows nothing and can know nothing, unless it widens its field of investigation until it may claim the name of Social Science. When it reaches that point, and considers man more and dollars less, it will do more for us than Adam Smith and all his followers have yet done to increase wealth and make it a blessing to the people.

What is the cause of this discontent among laborers that blindly seeks through strikes and mobs to secure real or fancied rights? Why such multitudes without employment? Will the accepted principles of trade answer these questions in the best interests of humanity—in accordance with the principles of the Gospel of Christ?

We shall attempt no answer simply as a political economist, but as one who believes, as has already been intimated, that an entirely new principle must come prominently into action in all our business, in order to save our civilization and save to us the blessings of social order and security—and *this is the principle of Brotherhood*—not of COMMUNISM, but of PHILANTHROPY. That principle of benevolent action, of care for the unfortunate, which is now left to certain organizations, must find more expression in all the business of life than it has ever yet found. Not only the unfortunate, but the *helpless* and the *idle*, must be cared for before they reach that point when they become both a burden and a pest to society. The common school is almost the only provision we now make to save such classes from ruin; and then we allow the common school to become inefficient in this work, or allow those for whom it is provided to neglect its advantages altogether.

Let us consider under a few very general heads the causes of poverty. The causes of idleness are the same, or go hand in hand.

1. There is, first, the poverty of ignorance. Men through ignorance are unable to supply themselves with labor, or their labor is wasted in ways that bring no adequate return.

2. There is the poverty of misfortune and the poverty of imprudence—poverty resulting from losses over which men can have no control, and poverty that comes from living beyond means, and by reckless speculation.

3. There is also the poverty that comes from willful idleness—the poverty of those who detest work from an inborn laziness and shiftlessness.

The poverty that comes from ignorance, till its cause can be removed, must be aided. There must be felt a higher moral responsibility on the part of employers than has ever yet been manifested, except in isolated cases, where employers have cared for their men, encouraging and aiding them in securing homes and saving property. Large masses of men naturally desire to be employed by others, to have their work provided for them. The men who can make this provision should do it under such conditions as shall give permanent improvement to those whom they employ. And co-operation on the part of the employed in securing this improvement should be the condition of having employment. The laborer should be *required* to do well not only for his employer, but for himself. He must be left free to his own course, but the results of thrift he must reach for the good of society.

The poverty of misfortune seldom needs more than temporary aid; and for the poverty of imprudence the only safeguard seems to be a change in our mode of life, which shall make extravagance disreputable, and rash speculation both disreputable and difficult.

The poverty that comes from idleness is certain to come, because labor alone can produce the means of living. The idleness that comes simply from inability to employ one's self must be cared for by supplying labor. This supply is the work of organizers. Such idle persons must be looked after and directed and aided in time, while they can do something for their support; and not be left to the shame of dependence when they would gladly care for themselves, if they had some one to think and plan for them. The inability of many well-meaning men to provide remunerative labor for themselves is not sufficiently appreciated.

Those who are willfully idle should be dealt with by the strong arm of the law. Every able-bodied person should be made to provide honestly for his living, or at least to aid to the full extent of his ability in providing for it.

That this will be burdensome, and will require self-denial from the thrifty, we admit ; but something like it must be done, or the burdens will be heavier than the work, and the suffering to society will be harder to be borne than the self-denial required to remedy the evil.

Let us look for a moment at the course in which things are now drifting, and see if there be any hope of reaching a remedy for the present evils in the natural order of things under the principles of business that now generally prevail.

Men and corporations that employ laborers have, in general, adopted the political-economy principle, that labor must take care of itself ; that they have a right to hire labor as cheaply as they can, so that while they compete with each other in cheapening production or transportation they can cut down the wages of the thousands they employ, making the only limit of reduction the price at which they can employ others. Now this may be all right according to the accepted rules of political economy, but it is all wrong according to the present condition of man. And political economy will be wise when it requires men to care for each other and help each other instead of contending always for the advantage in gaining property to the detriment of men.

Any principle of action that goes against the law of God as revealed in the constitution of society and the better instincts of our nature uncorrupted by selfishness, must utterly fail in the end.

It becomes us to look at the causes of poverty and to consider the means, not of *alleviating* it, but of *eradicating* it in every case where this is possible. And in addition to the causes already enumerated, the very progress of the world brings loss and poverty to those who can not adjust themselves to that progress. Our present civilization has put many people at a disadvantage, keeping them poor by the conditions by which they are surrounded, and making it for the advantage of selfish men to keep them as they are.

In the first place, great cities present strong attractions to the young and thoughtless, and to the restless. They congregate there in hope of finding something to do, or of finding a living and pleasant excitement, where wealth seems to be so abundant and where some men have risen from poverty to wealth. Crowds are thus gathered where they are not needed. They sink lower and lower, until they are not only unwilling, but unable, to break away from their miserable surroundings. With poverty comes temptation to

crime. For in such places criminals hide themselves and become instructors, while the suffering of want offers the inducement to crime. And, finally, children are born there who never know the possibility of a different form of life. So that, to-day, we have in our cities vast multitudes that live in abject want, in the midst of suffering and crime, with no more physical or moral power to better their condition than the prisoner within the grated cell has of walking in the streets a free and innocent man by the mere exercise of his will. The possibility of improvement is gone, unless some strong hand and kind heart reaches them from without and delivers them from their wretchedness.

A second cause of trouble which must be taken into the account, though not perhaps as a thing to be eradicated, is the minute division of labor which now obtains in almost all lines of production. Men are fitted for one thing, and that thing a mere fragment of some productive employment. So far as work is concerned, they are not only machines, but even parts of machines. A new invention or some unexpected change in their work throws large numbers out of employment. They have been improvident, and they are utterly unable to seek new kinds of employment. If they attempt it, their children must cry for bread before it is found. In the midst of want, and without power to direct themselves, no wonder they are maddened. They see the prospect of want and suffering before them, and they welcome any chance of escape from these, or perchance of revenge upon a world that seems to them so unjust and cruel.

Another condition of our civilization—a necessary condition probably—which presents grave problems for consideration, is the increase of great corporations for manufacturing and carrying. They are increased in number and efficiency till they must fight each other to live. Competition runs high, rates run low, and the chances are that capital and labor both suffer. But capital bears the pressure best, for it generally represents wisdom somewhere. And some of the capitalists will live well in spite of losses, while the laborers who have not saved find themselves deprived not only of the luxuries, but of the necessities, of life. They are unable or unwilling to turn to other pursuits, and feel it to be right to compel their employers to give them work and pay that shall supply their wants. And so frenzied mobs strike for more—destroy property and life and make all poorer.

For all these difficulties we have as yet provided no remedy

that has been of general application. Our education, which is so commonly referred to as our great safeguard, has been carried just far enough to enable the masses to know when they are oppressed and how to use effectively the first means at hand to rectify either real or fancied wrongs, but it has not been carried far enough to give the capitalist or laborer wisdom. It brings the conditions of fever to the patient, but has thus far, to the masses, offered no prevention and no cure.

Now are we to go recklessly along, holding to the doctrine that all these things will, in the end, remedy themselves? that there is a law of supply and demand that all these poor people must submit to, as though they are worth nothing except as producers? The "Gradgrind" view of the case says yes, that it is all a matter of "facts and figures." But if this doctrine is accepted there must be generations of suffering and commotion and loss—loss of money and loss of men and women—before the result can be reached. And more than this, the present order seems likely to perpetuate and intensify its own evils.

Capitalists who have the advantage of power and are likely to have organizing and controlling ability must understand, first of all, that their employees, as men and women, stand in entirely different relations to them from any other agency they can use. They may abandon a mine if it becomes unprofitable, demolish buildings for advantageous changes, and kill dumb animals for profit or to put them out of the way; but their employees are men and women, and each one of them is of more worth than all the property of the proudest capitalist. They must have the proper conditions for men and women to live in, the advantages to which rational beings are entitled. The capitalists are to give the conditions for such a life or cease to carry on business; and more than this, they must take such care, as few of them have ever taken, that all employed by them properly improve the advantages they afford. For the obligation on the part of the employee to rightly improve his advantages is as great as is the obligation of the employer to give them. And for such improvement the man employed should be held to strict accountability as a condition of employment.

No man—and corporations must be held to the same accountability as men—no man has a right to carry on a business that destroys manhood, that destroys the conditions of manhood, or to permanently employ one who fails to act on the principles of manhood. First giving the conditions of a manly life, the employer

should make such a life an absolute condition of employment. If under this plan a remnant is left unemployed, the strong arm of the law must protect them, care for them, and see that they have some employment and that they work. They are *wards* of society. It comes to this at last when such persons reach the prison and almshouse, and the earlier the wardship is recognized the better.

The objection is made that *this advises too much interference with individual rights*. We have listened to this cry long enough. Whatever is essential for the preservation of society can never be against individual rights, but must be for them. A popular government is but the agent of the wisest and best men in community. It uses property for the general good. It interferes to quell mobs—to shoot down men when they break the law. Let it interfere to save them from becoming mobs, from becoming the materials of which mobs are made. Interfere with no man who is caring for himself and those whom he employs. Interfere with all who are fostering the conditions of mob life, whether they be individuals or corporations, laborers or capitalists. It would be well if the rich—individuals and corporations—felt their stewardship in this matter so that for them no law should be needed. It is to be hoped that this condition of society may be reached in the end.

But capitalists, as individuals or corporations, can rightfully control, even for their own good, those only whom they employ. In the present condition of society, a multitude remain who have no desire or ability to aid themselves. These must be cared for more fully than they ever have been. We must not, from our fine ideas about freedom, wait for them to come to the prison or almshouse before we care for them, by controlling them. Men of property are called upon to give an account of property that it may be taxed for the good of society; why should not every man be made to show that he is doing his best for himself and those properly dependent upon him? And if he is plainly on the road to ruin, preparing himself and children for suffering or the prison, let the law take hold of him now and demand of him a different life; in a word, let society, through organized forms of law, become his guardian before he is sentenced as a criminal. This principle of action is already in operation to some extent; it must become more active and of wider application to save us from the most dangerous classes and to save them. And we can not save ourselves from such classes, if they exist. We must eradicate such classes by saving those who would otherwise compose them.

That this is not the work of a day or a year we can well understand. To correct the results of negligence and unwise action in our own land, intensified by the influx of ignorant and lawless crowds from abroad, will require years of labor from us under the guidance of Christian philanthropy. Organizations that seek to array class against class can never correct the evils nor produce good except by arousing men to a sense of the dangers that surround them. Individuals, churches, and communities as mere social organizations, must give to this subject the thought, the time, and the labor which they have not yet given. Their aim must be to elevate the *individual*. The masses can be reached and elevated not by organizations that treat them as such, but by care for the individuals that compose the masses.

When individuals as such, and the church that aims at the renovation of the individual man, and society as a social organization, have done their work, the only remaining agency is society, as a whole, through its governing power. This is the final tribunal to deal with every case that philanthropy can not reach. And such cases there will always, undoubtedly, be. The prison is a sad necessity. It can restrain the wicked; and if they can not be reformed, they must be restrained.

As to the practical application of these principles, the details must be provisional at best. Experience must be gained; but it can be gained only by onward movements, never by merely theorizing. The principles of action must be accepted before any persistent efforts toward reform can be expected. As lines of action to be tried and changes that seem demanded by the times, the following general statements must suffice. They will indicate in some measure the application of the foregoing principles.

1. The principle of *benevolence* must be prominent in ordinary business in many cases where now strict justice and the stern laws of trade are deemed sufficient.

2. This implies a brotherhood of feeling and co-operation of interests between employer and employee that do not now prevail.

3. Employers must, for the benefit of all concerned, make thrift within reasonable limits a condition of permanent employment.

4. Comfortable homes must, to the greatest possible extent, be secured for families—homes of their own. And the largest number possible should be encouraged to carry on independent productive business.

5. Let no false view of rights and liberty allow men to make themselves and families burdens and pests to society.

6. Every man able to work should show that he has honest means of living. If he lacks them through ignorance, he must be directed; if through viciousness or idleness, he must be controlled; if through misfortune, the means he needs must be promptly supplied.

7. Let no city tolerate within its borders those who are not fairly housed, clothed, and fed, or that can not show honest means of living.

8. Let society see that all these conditions and rules are complied with, and such others as from experience are found needful. Let this be done in the spirit of benevolence and under laws to which every individual in the land is equally amenable; let those who have ability to accumulate wealth through the organization of labor willingly bear such burdens as are needful in carrying out such work, assured that true, lasting prosperity, the stability of society and the good of all, demand it—assured also that these burdens will yearly become lighter, while under the present order they must become heavier, if the end is not increased insecurity of property, peace, and human life itself.

ONLY THE SHADOW OF A GOURD.

Σφοδρὰ λελύπημαι ἐγὼ εἰς Θανάτου.—JONAH 4 : 9.

I CRAVED so little 'neath life's noontide glare :

Only the shadow of a gourd ! The earth is Thine !

Only the shadow of a gourd was mine.

Thou art most merciful ! Couldst Thou not spare
Such fragile shelter to my soul's despair ?

From the far city, above the revellers' wine,
A million cressets down the river shine.

Should not Thine Hand have fallen in anger there ?

I do well to be angry ! Aye, I knew

Thou art most merciful ;—men pass me by,

“ Where is my doom, fond Prophet of the Untrue ?”

No Nineveh o'erthrown ! God, let me die !

“ Yet forty days !” Guilt, flaunt thy carnival,

I will not write God's vengeance on thy wall.

EX-PREMIER GLADSTONE.

A LIVING STATESMAN.

AS a representative of the best elements of a high type of civilization, England, it is admitted, stands pre-eminent among the nationalities of modern Europe. Her history is in fact almost one continuous record of a long and determined struggle between the representatives of absolute power on the one hand, and the advocates of civil and religious liberty on the other; a struggle maintained with varying fortunes through many centuries, with the advantage generally on the side of liberty. The whole civilized world to-day is reaping rich and abundant fruit from the wisdom, the labors and sacrifices, the strength of principle and the martyrdoms for principle of a grand array of illustrious men whose names adorn her annals. No other nation can exhibit such a roll of honor. It is one of which Englishmen may very well be proud.

The rise of this contest between despotism and liberty is remote. To trace it up the current of events to its very beginning is not an easy task. Its origin must doubtless be recognized as partly ethnological. Celt, Roman, Saxon, Dane, and Norman each brought in his peculiar characteristics, and these were sufficient to furnish many conflicting elements. Principles that have their foundation in the very nature of humanity, but develop themselves variously under varying conditions, have in all ages tended to the same result. Every intelligent reader of English history well knows that the British Constitution, on which the civil and religious freedom and the political and moral greatness of England rest, has been the gradual outcome of this strife of successive centuries. For no considerable period since A.D. 1215, the date of *Magna Charta*, has arbitrary power been able to assert itself on the British throne without restraint. Even the Plantagenets and the Tudors recognized the power of Parliament as legitimate, however inconsistent this recognition may seem to have been with many of their acts. The Stuarts ventured to try the experiment whether the constitutional liberty of England could be destroyed. The attempt to do it cost Charles

the First his head, and Charles the Second his crown and throne. But this long contest between sovereigns and people, and the parties of conservatism and of progress, has undoubtedly been greatly instrumental in promoting a careful study and a better understanding of those great political and ethical truths on which all legitimate government and healthful social life must rest. It has powerfully stimulated political activity and thought. Of course such a state of things has been admirably fitted to produce great statesmen. It has, as we have intimated, produced them in long succession, and has more and more effectually tested and trained them, as the fundamental principles pertaining to the rights of man and to national and international law have come more and more into discussion. Accurately to state, clearly to explain, and wisely to apply these principles so as to secure the best possible condition of civil society and the highest practicable benefits to mankind, is a work demanding men of the highest order; men thoroughly fitted by education, discipline, and practical experience for all the exigencies that must be met. British statesmen, while they have been to a large extent men of good stock and liberal culture, have found in the high offices of a constitutional government, and the debates and contests of a free Parliament, the best possible schools of training and the best opportunities for mastering all the practical details of statesmanship.

Among living English statesmen no name to-day stands higher, according to our judgment, than that of the Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone. Not now in office, he is, nevertheless, still in power. His influence is of a kind that, as not chiefly derived from official position, has not been materially diminished by the loss of that. It is the power of character, and therefore inherent in the man. It is the power of a great statesman, and not merely that of a successful politician. The difference is a wide one, and should be distinctly recognized; but it is, we fear, too little apprehended by the popular mind. It is sure, however, to reveal itself in time. A clever or superficially brilliant man who finds himself in favorable circumstances, and is unscrupulously ready for political intrigue or the use of any arts that will enable him to attain his ends, may temporarily be successful and even make himself the idol of the hour. But such a man is not a statesman, and his influence and fame will not endure. Into the true conception of a statesman there enter the elements of exalted personal character, and the power that originates in this is among the most enduring of human things. It is because the civilized world has recognized Mr. Gladstone as,

when tried by this ideal standard, among the foremost statesmen of his time, that his career is worthy to be studied. It has lessons for those destined to public life, whose principles and future course are not yet definitely determined. It would perhaps be difficult, if not impossible, for any English writer just at the present time to estimate impartially a man whose public life has had so much to do with exciting party questions, and who has recently felt bound in conscience to place himself in determined opposition to the strong current of excited and well-nigh reckless popular feeling. But from our American stand-point, entirely without the circle of English partisanship and interests, it ought not to be difficult to form a candid judgment. We have the greater hope of being able to do this because we have personally watched with special interest the course of Mr. Gladstone from an early period of his public life.

Our limits forbid any extended biographical sketch of Mr. Gladstone ; we shall concern ourselves chiefly with his public career. It is enough to say, in brief, that he was born at Liverpool, on the 9th of December, 1809, and was the fourth son of Sir John Gladstone, Bart., a Scotch merchant, originally of Fasque, county of Kincardine.

He was educated at Eton and Oxford, where he distinguished himself as a scholar, taking at the university double-first class—that is, first rank both in classics and mathematics—in Michaelmas term, 1831. He afterward became a Fellow of All Souls, but not a permanent resident. While at Eton he had contracted a warm friendship with the Earl of Lincoln, afterward the Duke of Newcastle, and in 1832, by favor of the Duke, was elected to Parliament from the borough of Newark, at the age of twenty-two, and continued to be returned by this borough till 1847, when he was chosen to represent the University of Oxford. Though entering Parliament thus early, he soon exhibited his remarkable powers, and, as a decided Tory, attracted the marked attention of the Tory leaders. When Sir Robert Peel succeeded Lord Melbourne in 1834, he appointed him Junior Lord of the Treasury, and in 1835 Under-Secretary for the Colonies. At the close of Peel's brief ministry Mr. Gladstone retired with him, but on Sir Robert's return to power in 1841, he was again invited to office, was made a member of the Privy Council, Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and Master of the Mint. Such was the opening of that long career of public and official life in which, advancing from step to step, and developed and educated by the discipline of experience, the young statesman steadily rose to the highest political eminence, and to the position of respect and

admiration which is now accorded to him by the common consent of the civilized world.

In order to comprehend Mr. Gladstone's career, and to form a just estimate of his character and life-work, it is necessary to recall with some distinctness the course of public affairs which English statesmanship has been called on to direct, and the men whose influence has been most marked during the period covered by his life. We have already noted the fact that the contest between arbitrary power and the spirit of liberty is older than the Great Charter; and that slowly, but surely, the latter had gained ground through centuries. The result, however, of the events immediately antecedent to the French Revolution, together with the excesses attending that great civil convulsion, was a conservative reaction among the higher classes of Englishmen. The great personal influence of Mr. Burke, and the power of his pen, especially in his splendid "Reflections on the Revolution in France," did much to quicken the natural instincts of Toryism; and it is not to be wondered at that the horrors of the Reign of Terror should have awakened the gravest apprehensions lest the fanatical outcry for liberty might end in anarchy and imperil civilization itself. The younger Pitt, who became Prime Minister in December, 1783, and who had at that time, though a Tory, decided liberal leanings, felt so strongly the influence of this reaction of the public sentiment of the country, and of the causes that produced it, that he became thenceforward strongly conservative to the end of his career. Through the whole period from the death of Pitt to the final fall of Napoleon in June, 1815, her almost constant wars left England little leisure for the discussion of questions relating to internal reforms. The work of fighting the Dutch, the French, the Spaniards, and the Americans, with the vast financial strain which these wars necessarily involved, of course absorbed the attention of her statesmen for the time. But when the dreaded scourge of Europe had been finally fixed in his lonely island prison, and days of peace returned, the spirit of reform revived and many important measures were successively carried through. From the death of Lord Castlereagh, in 1822, onward, the progress of liberal principles became more rapid. The passage of the Catholic Emancipation Act in 1829, with the Tory ministry of Wellington in power, was the opening of a new era of reform, the results of which cover almost half a century. The great Reform Bill, introduced by Lord John Russell in 1831, and passed in 1832, under the ministry of

Earl Grey, laid the foundation for that marked advance in liberal statesmanship, and those important changes in relation to the civil rights of Englishmen and the modes of civil administration which will make this period a memorable one in English history.

An eminent statesman is to a very considerable extent at once a product and an exponent of his time. His natural capacities, his education, his social position, are of course personal. But as a statesman he is born of opportunity. He is largely indebted to the demands that meet him as he comes forward into public life for the full revelations even to himself of his peculiar powers. To a great extent he owes the shaping of his character and principles to tasks and disciplines imposed on him by circumstances, and not by his own choice. In his wrestlings with great difficulties, and under the pressure of momentous affairs, energy, tact, decision, wisdom, all elements of intellectual and moral power, are called forth in him to a degree that surprises himself often, not less than it surprises others. Gray makes many a village Hampden, as well as many a Milton, "mute, inglorious," for lack of fit occasion for the revelation of what was in him. It was fortunate for Mr. Gladstone that he entered public life at the opening of a new era of political action that was destined to furnish such occasions in abundance. A course of national policy had just been inaugurated, in the evolution of which measures involving the highest interests of the English people themselves, and the gravest questions of foreign diplomacy were to be discussed and settled. There was every opportunity to train himself and to prove his powers that the most ambitious young statesman could desire.

That England has been so well served by her leading public men has doubtless been in part attributable to the fact that they have so commonly entered the political arena early, and made statesmanship a life-long profession. Charles James Fox entered Parliament at nineteen, and was a Lord of the Treasury at twenty-three. Canning entered Parliament at twenty-three, and was Under-Secretary of State at twenty-six. Castlereagh entered the Irish Commons at twenty. Pitt, the younger, entered Parliament at twenty-one, and was a minister at twenty-three. Wilberforce was elected to Parliament at twenty-one. Mr. Gladstone was only treading in the steps of illustrious predecessors, therefore, in taking his seat in the House of Commons at twenty-three, and but one year after his graduation. It is not to be supposed that a young man fresh from the university, whose chief attention for years has

been given to secluded study, can at once appear in the character of a well-developed statesman. Here, as in other spheres of action, there must needs be somewhat of an apprenticeship. Even in the case of the most gifted there must be time for one to become sufficiently accustomed to the spirit and routine of parliamentary life, and familiar with the questions of the hour, to set him perfectly at ease and enable him to be at once master of himself and his position. Mr. Gladstone began modestly, and rose naturally. He was from the first a working member of the House, and was soon recognized as a power. If he needed some practice as a parliamentary orator to take from him somewhat of the savor of the schools, and to give him the diction and the bearing of a man of practical affairs, it is plain that this difficulty was speedily surmounted in good measure; for he was soon counted among the most effective speakers in that body, where only direct and business-like oratory can command attention. He had indeed many advantages at the start. He was of honorable parentage. His personal appearance was prepossessing, his manners courteous, his language affluent and scholarly, and his thought and reasoning logical and clear. To all this was added a character inspiring universal confidence and respect. Such is the emphatic testimony of Lord Macaulay, who describes him as "a young man of unblemished character and of distinguished parliamentary talents, the rising hope of the stern unbending Tories. . . . It would not be at all strange if Mr. Gladstone were one of the most unpopular men in England. But we believe that we do him no more than justice when we say that his abilities and his demeanor have obtained for him the respect and good-will of all parties." This, from a political opponent, can not be taken as mere eulogy.

It adds interest to the study of Mr. Gladstone's public life to note that at the start he was not in sympathy with the spirit of the new era of progress which, as we have said, had just then fairly opened. He appears to have been, at that time, in full accord with the aristocracy, ecclesiastically a High Churchman, and strongly conservative in his political views and aims. Of the Tory party, with which he took his stand, Sir Robert Peel was one of the ablest as well as most distinctly representative men. Mr. Gladstone, it would seem, soon recognized in Peel a leader with whom he could harmoniously work. Peel, on the other hand, was quick to perceive the congenial spirit and the political promise of Mr. Gladstone. In comparing the two men, as time subsequently re-

vealed them both, one can not help noting that there were in fact strong points of resemblance between them, as regards their social positions, their intellectual culture, and their moral and religious principles.

Sir Robert's father was a manufacturer, Mr. Gladstone's a merchant. Both thus sprang from the substantial middle class. Both were distinguished at the university; Peel having been the first who ever took the honor of double-first class, which Gladstone took after him. Both were High Churchmen. Both were men of vigorous minds, of roundabout common-sense. Above all, both were characterized by conscientious fidelity to their convictions. It was quite natural, therefore, that they should have been drawn together. It was, perhaps, equally natural that they should have moved forward, *pari passu*, in their course of thought and action in respect to the great questions that divided the Whig and Tory parties. When, after having been for six years in the opposition, Peel was again placed at the head of the administration and associated Gladstone with him, both distinctly represented the most conservative principles. During this administration Gladstone, as vice-president, and afterward president, of the Board of Trade exhibited a profound acquaintance with the commercial interests of the country; and in his exposition of the policy of the government in relation to these, and subsequently, in 1842, in the revision of the tariff, greatly advanced his reputation. But no marked change as yet appeared in his political views. In 1838 he had published his elaborate work, in two volumes, entitled, "The State in Connection with the Church," and in 1840, his "Church Principles Considered," in which he had fully committed himself to the principles of the church establishment and the Tory party. Nothing could well have seemed at that time more improbable than that this man, so educated and so committed, would ever become the great liberal leader of 1868-74. Peel, conservative as he was when he entered public life, had in 1829 been compelled, in part perhaps by the pressure of public opinion, but more we believe by his own sense of justice, to propose Catholic emancipation, by which act he for the time lost caste with the Tory party. This perhaps had helped to prepare him to follow, with some degree of independence, his personal convictions. At any rate, in 1842, he boldly adopted a liberal financial policy, involving many and great innovations, and culminating in the total abolition of the corn laws. Mr. Gladstone heartily supported Peel in these liberal

measures, thus clearly indicating an advance toward the position which he came to occupy in later years. But even then, on the question of the Maynooth grant he was unable finally to follow his distinguished leader. He was moving in the same direction with Peel; but, as it would seem, had not then advanced so far, and would not advance a step beyond his clear convictions. As he now differed in opinion from the Duke of Newcastle, to whose borough of Newark he owed his place in Parliament, he resigned his seat, and was out of the House till 1847, when he was returned for the University of Oxford. Now again he at once gave proof of his gradual change of opinions by earnestly advocating the bill for the relief of the Jews, to which, in 1841, he had been opposed.¹

From this point of his history Mr. Gladstone's progressive modification of his early opinions became very distinctly marked. The point of special interest, however, is this: that as one traces backward the successive steps by which he passed from the position he originally occupied to that of the leader of the liberal party, it is made quite clear that the change, in its determining causes, was not less moral than political. The mere politician is apt to make his changes suddenly, as some new turn of affairs may make it apparently for his interest to change. But an honest and conscientious man, who simply desires to know the right and do it, and holds himself therefore always open to conviction, changes as experience and the progress of events and of discussion afford him new light, enlarge his circle of vision, and so put him in possession of new views. Mr. Gladstone had the common experience of really conscientious men. It not unfrequently happened that by his inflexible adherence to principle he was at variance with both

¹ In his annotations on Lord Bacon's essay, "Of Honour and Reputation," Archbishop Whately writes as follows: "In our own day, three of the most important measures were brought about by ministers who, so far from being the real authors of them, were in their own judgment and inclination decidedly opposed to them—the repeal of the Roman Catholic disabilities, the abolition of slavery, and the introduction of free trade in corn. The ministries of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel are well known to have been hostile to what was called Roman Catholic emancipation, and advocates of the corn laws, and to have been driven by necessity to take the steps they did. Yet it is possible that they may go down to posterity as the authors of those two great changes."—*Bacon's Essays with Annotations*, Essay lv.

That Wellington ever materially modified his personal opinions on these questions there is perhaps no evidence. But taking all the subsequent course of Peel into account, it can not be doubted that while he never became a radical he departed very materially, in conscientious conviction, from the strong Tory views of his early life, in the direction of healthful liberalism.

parties in relation to particular measures, and so was thought by some to be wanting in statesmanlike sagacity and skill. The truth clearly was that he cared more for the right than for any considerations of mere party policy, or even of personal consistency. Just this was from the first, and has been to the present time, a marked characteristic of the man and an essential element of his greatness. When once he had felt himself obliged to break over the lines within which education and party attachments originally encircled him, and had begun to be in sympathy with the great national movement towards liberalism, every new discussion of the questions which this movement involved seemed manifestly to set him forward. Perhaps no single event in his history did him greater honor, or contributed more to intensify his liberal feeling, than his memorable visit to Naples in 1850, when he was brought in contact with the despotic cruelties of the infamous Ferdinand II. The story need not be repeated in detail. Shocked at the facts that came to his knowledge in relation to the barbarous imprisonment of thousands of respectable Neapolitans, including a large part of the Chamber of Deputies, he sought and obtained the interposition of Lord Aberdeen, then at the head of the government; and when the remonstrance of that minister proved unavailing, he published the facts in all their hatefulness in a letter addressed to Lord Aberdeen, and sent by Lord Palmerston to all the courts of Europe, which literally thrilled the heart of the civilized world, and roused a burning indignation which compelled the tyrant to open the prison doors. It can not be doubted that this noble effort of Mr. Gladstone increased his own liberal sympathies, while at the same time it placed him before all Europe as an advocate of just government, and in some sense a representative of liberal principles. It formed an important era in his history.

As we are not writing a biography of Mr. Gladstone, but only sketching in brief outline the development of his public character and principles, we shall not follow him through the detail of successive official positions and public measures. As President of the Board of Trade, Secretary of State for the Colonies, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and High Commissioner to the Ionian Islands, he was almost constantly connected with the government, through its several administrations, down to 1868, when he became First Lord of the Treasury and prime minister. He now stood at the head of the great liberal party, its acknowledged leader. He had, however,

reached this position by no political tergiversations or artifices, nor by any sudden turn of the wheel of fortune, or any new combination or compromise of opposing parties. He stood there because by the experience of years of public service and a profound study of the great questions of the time, he had been compelled by his honest convictions to abandon the position he had occupied at his entrance on public life. The transition, too, had been so gradual that it seemed, and was indeed, not a change of tactics, or of policy, but the natural growth of a great and conscientious statesman. He filled the place when summoned to it because he had become the very man for which it waited. There was no room for any consciousness of inconsistency on his own part, nor for any accusation of it on the part of others. His administration was in entire accord with what had gone before—a steady advance on the path he had deliberately entered when he and Peel together had disregarded the ties of party in obedience to the sense of duty.

Of Mr. Gladstone's administration as prime minister, it is too soon to write the history. It was an administration that dealt boldly and vigorously with great questions of reform, several of which were brought to a successful and final issue. His first great measure, the disestablishment of the Irish Church, clear as were the justice and the wisdom of it, was only carried through by determined effort. It was of course opposed persistently by those with whom conservatism was not only a personal opinion and mental habit, but also a device borne on the banner of political partisanship. It was opposed by others on the ground that it was likely to prove only the entering wedge to an attempt to sever the bond between the entire Church of England and the State. There is always difficulty in withdrawing old franchises and readjusting acknowledged rights. But Mr. Gladstone showed himself equal to the occasion, both in statesmanship and courage; and sustained by his colleagues and the united liberal party, he pushed the measure to a successful consummation in 1869. With similar energy and success the Irish Land Bill was carried the next year. To these were added numerous and important reforms of legal administration, and the abolition of the purchase of commissions in the army, the latter an act of urgent necessity, yet obstinately resisted. In touching with a strong hand such questions as these, which at so many points came in contact with old traditions and prejudices, and yet more with the private interests of influential families and individuals, it was inevitable that battles should be fought and hard blows given

and some wounds inflicted that were likely to rankle long. No wonder that Mr. Gladstone's administration was assailed at many points, and even that of his own party some were cooled and others wholly alienated. These are the common incidents of high official position; and no man is fitted to bear the weighty responsibilities of power who can not regard them with steady nerve and meet them with entire tranquillity. In all the difficulties and contests of his six years' premiership, including the carrying of the measures to which we have referred, together with the peaceable adjustment of the serious differences between Great Britain and the United States, by the Geneva Conference, Mr. Gladstone bore himself in a manner which caused him to be recognized throughout the civilized world as standing in the front rank of living statesmen. With Mr. Disraeli, now Lord Beaconsfield, at the head of the opposition, the fact that he so long maintained himself in office and successfully carried through measures of such importance, itself demonstrates the eminent ability of the minister. In 1874 various causes, to some of which we have alluded, had wrought such a change in the relations of parties that the Gladstone ministry resigned, and was succeeded by that of which Lord Beaconsfield became the chief, and which, with some changes, has conducted the administration to the present time. Relieved of his great responsibilities, Mr. Gladstone sought some measure of relief from public duties and insisted on declining the leadership of the liberal party. He still retained, however, his seat in Parliament, and entered into its discussions with his accustomed ability and zeal.

The course of events since Lord Beaconsfield came into power is fresh in the memory of all, and need not be reviewed. The great struggle between Russia and Turkey, which after more than the usual scenes of carnage and suffering involved in all great wars has had its military issue at Plevna, and its diplomatic issue at Berlin, was already, when the new premier assumed the helm of state, giving tokens of its approach. The storm, at first muttering faintly in the distance, grew louder and more threatening every month. There were many reasons why the contest that seemed determined on by the Czar must necessarily awaken the deepest interest in the minds not only of English statesmen but of the whole English people. On the one hand, Englishmen are not naturally fond of war. As a great commercial and manufacturing nation they well know that peace, if it can be honorably maintained, is for them by far the better policy. As a Christian people, they must be supposed

to be, in principle at least, to a great extent opposed to war without absolute necessity. Then, as regards Turkey, there had been a very decided change of feeling within the last twenty years. The famous Hatt-i-Humayoun of 1856 had proved an utter nullity, and the conviction that effectual reform in her administration had become entirely hopeless was rapidly gaining strength. Her European provinces, it was well known, were crushed beneath the most remorseless tyrannies and made incapable of progress. The whole empire, indeed, it could not but be seen, was suffering the miseries of complete moral and political decay. Remonstrances from time to time, on the part of the European powers, obtained only new promises from the Sublime Porte which it was impotent to keep. The part which England had taken in the Crimean war, for the purpose of upholding this effete and barbarous power, to the obstruction of modern civilization, had not only lowered her morally in the eyes of the civilized world, but had very much weakened her political influence and prestige among the leading nations. Any further attempt, therefore, to uphold Turkey by lending the power and influence of England for her defense in another war with Russia, was deemed by a strong party utterly unworthy of the British people, and in every view dangerous and wrong. That Mr. Gladstone should lead this party was a thing of course.

On the other hand, there had long existed among Englishmen a nervous jealousy of Russian growth and influence. This was a not unnatural result of the territorial relations of Russia to the British empire in the East, and of the obvious possibility that she might some day get possession of Constantinople, and become a great maritime power, commanding the Mediterranean Sea, so endangering in various ways the interests and ascendancy of England. Yet more than all this, England had become the grand creditor of Turkey; and the certainty that, if Turkish power should be prostrated, she must lose the vast sums advanced from time to time, furnished abundant motive to prevent such a catastrophe if possible. This view of the case, as touching their pockets, would inevitably determine the sympathies of a very numerous and influential portion of the English people, and so help to form a powerful anti-Russian party. Add to all the rest, that it was a matter of national pride that England should, at the first opportunity, endeavor to regain her lost prestige, and there was quite enough to account for the blind and desperate fury with which public sentiment rallied in support of warlike measures, and for a ministry apparently ready to

bring on a contest which threatened to shake all Europe. It was a matter of course that Lord Beaconsfield should place himself at the head of the so-called pro-Turkish, but really pro-English-interest party, and should bring to its support the whole force of his administration. We will glance for a moment at the relative positions of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Beaconsfield at the opening of this momentous struggle, at the bearing of each during the progress of it, and the place which each occupies to-day.

The simple question which the Turkish crisis, stripped of mere details, presented was just this: Shall free and Christian England—that by all she is as such, and by many of her noblest antecedents should be expected to stand generously and firmly for justice and good government—assert the rights of oppressed peoples groaning helplessly under Turkish cruelties; or shall she, for purely political ends, and for her own interests and aggrandizement, lend her whole power to maintain the incurable oppressor in his position? It was a question to which an inflexibly honest and conscientious man could give but one answer. It might easily have been foreseen what Mr. Gladstone's reply would be. His whole public life had shown him prompt to sacrifice every thing for duty and the right. He did not prove false to his past history, nor disappoint those who knew him. He comprehended the perils of the hour. He remembered the great Crimean blunder and its consequences. He was thoroughly tired of the imbecility, the treachery, the barbarity, the corruption and despotism of Turkish rule. He was weary of the time-serving shifts of diplomacy, by which, for selfish ends, that rule had been so long perpetuated. He could, therefore, propose to himself but one course—that of resisting to the utmost, and at whatever personal sacrifice, what he clearly saw to be the policy determined on by Lord Beaconsfield and his colleagues. The man whose sympathy and indignant protest had compelled the tyrant of Naples to open the prison-doors of subjects imprisoned for no crime, could not but be moved by the barbarities in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria; and now, as before, his eloquent words reached many hearts, and called forth expressions of intensest feeling. So nearly, at that point of time, did he carry the public sentiment with him, that the action of the government was in a measure paralyzed, and the Earl of Derby was compelled to withdraw from the ministry before the wheels of administration could move again. We recur to these facts merely as showing how great the influence of Mr. Gladstone, sustained as he was by the

Duke of Argyll, Sir Stratford de Redcliffe, and other eminent men, was found to be, and how important the service he did his country in restraining the precipitancy of administrative action and constraining the leader to proceed with some show of moderation. The views of the true policy of England, which he clearly stated and urged with the utmost earnestness, were broad and statesmanlike, and carried with him the convictions and sympathies of a large and eminently intelligent party, unfortunately not a majority, of the English people. If his wise counsels had prevailed; if the really noble spirit of the Czar, whose whole career has proved him worthy to be trusted, had been met in a liberal and friendly manner; if, instead of keeping alive the hopes of Turkey during the war and isolating Great Britain from the other powers by refusing to accord with the Andrassy Note and the Berlin Memorandum, and persistently badgering Russia after she had sacrificed and suffered so much, Lord Beaconsfield's ministry had honestly sought to arrive at a just and permanent solution of the pending questions, the record of his administration on the page of history would have been widely different from what it now must be; and we profoundly believe the ultimate results would have been more honorable to England and far better for the world.

But it became evident from the first that Lord Beaconsfield was resolved on playing a bold game. In his whole course he has been as true to his own character and antecedents as Mr. Gladstone to his. In the bitterness of party spirit, it has been of late quite the fashion among those unfriendly to this remarkable man to repeat and comment on the minutest details of his singular private history. We have no sympathy with this petty personal abuse. But his course as a public man is a fair subject of criticism. All admit that, from first to last, his has been a very extraordinary career. In spite of prejudices of race, of his constitutional peculiarities, especially his coldness and lack of sympathy with men, by his tenacity of purpose, his astonishing versatility, his untiring energy, his quickness of perception and readiness in debate, and, if the common opinion is to be accepted, his unscrupulousness as to the means of achieving his successes, he has risen from obscurity to a place among men of the highest rank, and to the official position which had been the lifelong dream of his ambition. If, then, the game of British diplomacy was to be astutely played through, the end proposed being not primarily the peace of Europe, not the relief of oppressed and suffering nations, not the establishment of sound principles of govern-

ment and the well-being of mankind, but the checkmating of a growing and dreaded rival, and the promotion of distinctively "British interests," then all who understood the men would at once have said that not Mr. Gladstone but Lord Beaconsfield was the man for the occasion. A man who has a conscience, who can not consent to purchase even splendid success by measures clearly wrong, or even doubtful, has certainly far greater difficulties to encounter than one who hesitates at nothing that will help him to attain his end. The question whether that will ultimately prove to have been true success which has been achieved by false pretenses and diplomatic cunning or intrigue, and without regard to the common good, is altogether a different question. But Lord Beaconsfield had his opportunity. He used it as might have been anticipated. With his wonted shrewdness he appealed to those motives which he well knew would, in the existing circumstances, tell most effectively on the minds of the majority of Englishmen. He expended vast sums of money. He wrought up his countrymen into a frenzy which made them ready to take the hazards of a war which, had the first blow been actually struck, would probably have deluged all Europe in blood before the end was reached. In defiance of treaty engagements he sent a fleet of English iron-clads into the Sea of Marmora, and almost into the very presence of a great Russian army flushed with victory, and set the perilous example of bringing Indian troops to aid in fighting anticipated European battles. For a considerable time the civilized world stood as if in breathless expectation of the shock of a threatened earthquake. That the imminent dangers into which the prime minister of England had so brought the peace and the public interests of Europe have been averted for the present, is due rather to the dignified bearing and conspicuous moderation of the Czar, and the commanding influence of Prince Bismarck, than to any wisdom of Lord Beaconsfield. But the Berlin Conference has met, and the premier, with his associate, the Marquis of Salisbury, has been welcomed home as if he had returned from a great victory. That he has played his game adroitly may be admitted. What the ultimate results of his policy may be, it must be left for time to show. But whatever may be the issue, it was a policy of which Mr. Gladstone could never have been the author.

Such have been the relations of these two eminent men to the desperate struggle which, it is now asserted, has been satisfactorily terminated at Berlin. Lord Beaconsfield is, while we write, at the top of the tidal wave of popular favor. He has enjoyed an almost

Roman triumph. Mr. Gladstone, on the contrary, has encountered from the dominant party bitter odium. He has even been subjected to personal insult, and has seen his home assaulted by infuriated mobs. He has been shamelessly abused by a portion of the partisan press, while many even of his former supporters have suffered themselves to be carried away by the passions of the moment and are shouting hosannas to his rival. The contrast is a strong one between the present positions of these men; and there are those who have even exultingly spoken of Mr. Gladstone as a fallen statesman. It is perhaps hardly worth the while to quote any thing so obviously venomous as an article in the *British Mail*; yet it may serve to show the rancor of political partisanship. The writer of the article makes himself ridiculous by such language as the following: "His position has been one of the highest; there can scarcely be a lower depth than that to which he has descended." Then, better still: "In falling he has dragged down with him Gortschakoff, Ignatieff, and the Grand Duke, who have been led on from one imprudent step to another, all through their blind faith in his assumed power to sway English public opinion. It is to be hoped that the roll of his victims will not be completed by the addition of the name of the Czar himself." It must at least console Mr. Gladstone that he has fallen in such illustrious company! As if Mr. Gladstone, by the firm, consistent, and manly course which he has taken in relation to the Eastern imbroglio—a course which we venture confidently to predict events in the not distant future will fully vindicate—had really lost any thing of character, of the good opinion of the world, of enduring reputation and influence! On the contrary, outside the eddies of English partisanship we are sure he was never more honored as a man and a statesman than he is to-day. It is so comparatively rare to see a statesman who can rise so far above the pressure and the interests of the moment, in a great emergency, as to lose sight of all personal considerations, and, from a clear sense of duty to his country and mankind, to stem the current of popular excitement, that a position like that of Mr. Gladstone is certain to command the respect and admiration of all who can appreciate true greatness. It is fortunate for mankind that the old familiar lines of the Roman poet do now and then receive fresh and striking illustration:

"Justum ac tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida."

Such a man is sure to receive the present homage of the wisest and the best, and the future is equally sure to place his name among the most venerated of the race. There need be no disposition to depreciate the brilliant talents of Lord Beaconsfield. He is recognized by all as an eminent, even a very extraordinary, man of a certain type. He has wrought after his manner and he has his reward. But we hold Mr. Gladstone to be a man of a far higher type, and are persuaded that history will so account him. The late M. Guizot was one of the greatest of French statesmen. Talleyrand was one of her most matchless diplomatists. We should prefer the place of Guizot in history and in the thoughts and memories of men to that of Talleyrand. Even so we should vastly prefer the pedestal which time has in keeping for Mr. Gladstone to that which is destined for Lord Beaconsfield.

If Mr. Gladstone's life and health shall be prolonged, he will still be, we can not doubt, a power in English politics. There is no man as yet who is quite prepared to fill his place. The liberal party is the hope of England's future, and, however depressed just now, may at any time be found in force again. Its acknowledged leaders are able men, and they will bide their time. To this party England is indebted for the most advantageous of the forward steps she has taken within the last half century. With so many illustrious names adorning its roll, it must rally in due time and go on to advance her true prosperity and glory. This is what Americans especially, and we believe other civilized nations also, earnestly desire. Notwithstanding the occasional faults and misjudgments of her statesmen, it must be recorded to her honor that in the general administration of her government at home, and through her diplomatic and consular agents everywhere, England has ordinarily used her influence in favor of healthful freedom, civil and religious, and of the diffusion of education and general knowledge and the Christian religion. Her record in this respect has been better than our own, and has blessed mankind. If it does not turn out that she has caught an elephant, in her assumed protectorate over Asiatic Turkey, it may be certainly anticipated that her ascendancy will give a new impulse to the great work of planting Christian institutions in those interesting regions, where it is already so well begun; begun too, let it be cheerfully acknowledged, to a great extent under her protecting shield and with her hearty sympathy. While we can not resist the conviction that there have been great errors in the handling of the Eastern question by the present ministry,

which have involved tremendous hazards, vast and needless expenses, and immeasurable human suffering without necessity, we still hope that by that wise Providence which is above all mortal counsels, the late convulsions may, after all, help forward the renovation of Turkey and advance the general interests of Christian civilization. But there are many embarrassing questions yet unsettled. The rôle marked out for Lord Beaconsfield at Berlin will probably be found a difficult one to fill. It will be no strange thing if Mr. Gladstone's recent course shall ere long place him at the head of the government again, by his more solid and judicious statesmanship, to work out the best results from the present state of things. That would be a grand day for England that should see the old, historic liberal party, united and earnest, with Mr. Gladstone at its head, addressing itself vigorously to its proper work of reforming venerable abuses and adjusting the administration of the government to the circumstances and the wants of these closing years of the nineteenth century. We are not wholly without hope that Mr. Gladstone may yet fill up the measure of his service to his country and mankind, by leading the lovers of healthful progress in successful measures for the disestablishment of the Church of England herself. But whatever public duty may yet remain for this distinguished man, his reputation, his fame, is secure. It is reported of John Bright, that he said to a lady of high quality, who in his presence had been abusing Mr. Gladstone—after asking her if she had children, and learning that she had—"Permit me, Madam, to advise you to take them on the first opportunity where they may see Mr. Gladstone; and when they are in his presence, say to them that they are standing before one of the greatest Englishmen who ever lived; and who has done his country perhaps the greatest service it was ever permitted an Englishman to do, by preserving it from a wanton and wicked war." Sustained by this strong declaration of one who has known the man so well, we trust we shall not seem to our readers to have expressed too strongly our high, but very sincere and deliberate estimate of his greatness. His country may well be proud of him. The evening of his life may well be happy. At the end posterity will be sure to do him justice; and in the words of Junius in relation to Lord Chatham—"recorded honors will gather round his monument and thicken over him!"

As we proposed it to ourselves at the outset to speak chiefly of Mr. Gladstone's career as a statesman, we can not, within our limits, attempt to sketch even briefly his literary life. We can only say in

a word that, while as a public man he has borne almost without interruption the cares and labors of official responsibility, he has performed literary work which, whether estimated by its quality or its amount, were of itself enough to establish no ordinary reputation. We have already referred to his two early treatises—1838-40—on questions relating to the church. To these may be added "Studies on Homer," 1858; "Essay on Ecce Homo," 1868; "A Chapter of Autobiography," 1868; "Juventus Mundi," 1869; his pamphlet on "The Vatican Decrees," 1874, together with many occasional speeches and papers and published addresses. The pamphlet on the "Vatican Decrees" aroused the public by its vigor, was republished in this country in an edition edited by Dr. Philip Schaff, and called forth elaborate replies from Archbishop Manning, J. H. Newman, and many others. The distinction won at the university has been followed by a course of literary labor which has richly fulfilled the early promise. We wish it were better understood among our own young men who would rise, how necessary to solid and enduring greatness is the habit, begun early and faithfully sustained through life, of diligent and broad self-culture. Mr. Gladstone is only one of many examples furnished by the very foremost of British statesmen, of the possibility of combining high scholarship and productive devotion to literature, science, and philosophy, with the arduous duties of public and official life.

EUROPEAN POLITICS.

FROM A FRENCH POINT OF VIEW.

EUROPE is just now passing through a transformation similar to that which it underwent during the corresponding period of the last century. A political and social state, different, however, in very many ways from that of the eighteenth century, is now developing itself without any violent external agitation, and it is an inquiry of no little interest to seek beneath the surface of things the phenomena of this transformation. In our study of it we will not discuss the questions which have occupied the Berlin Congress; for those are not to be followed profitably at a distance, and during the progress of debates which may turn upon incidents impossible to predict—upon the intrigues of the harem or the convulsions of Moslem fanaticism. We know enough of revolutions in Constantinople to know that they might overthrow, with ease, the structure that a learned diplomacy has built up with difficulty. And yet, as we write, we think that the result of the Berlin Congress is to be peace; for, in the first place, Europe anticipates it; and Europe will not easily be persuaded to accept the contrary. Again, Germany, though just now she is clearly the first in force, must have peace in order to deal with a crisis of her own through which she is passing.

But let us not seek to follow the negotiations which are keeping the world in suspense. Their unhopèd-for initiation proves that the doctrine "might makes right" is less dominant in Europe than since 1870 we had supposed; it proves that treaties have a valid existence. This change is mainly due to the great ability with which the English cabinet has played its part in recent politics; without this change, politics were a mere question of brute force. Three great questions present themselves in the Europe of our day, namely, a political, a social, and an ecclesiastical question. Let us inquire in what manner the different nations seek to resolve them.

I.—THE POLITICAL QUESTION.

We must not reduce the political question to a mere inquiry about the forms of government, as if it were simply to be decided, for instance, between a republic or a monarchy. There are countries in which (as in France) the form is merged in the principle of the government; where liberalism is realized only in the republic. This is not the case in England, in Belgium, in Germany; in Europe generally the essential question is that of government by the people instead of by an individual or by a ruling class. Excepting Russia, we know of no European country which still remains under the autocratic *régime*, and this, even in Russia, is already strangely modified by the growth of municipal liberty. Every thing indicates that Russia will be obliged to submit to what we may call the law of development in contemporary history. Everywhere, for now thirty years, the democratic system has more and more supplanted that of absolutism; and as inevitably under its limited forms as when it showed itself intractable. It is always as a consequence of some great political danger or disaster that absolutism has been overthrown. Nor is any thing easier than this to understand. For absolutism, concentrating all the power in its own hands, must justly take the responsibility, it must bear the blame of a country's calamities. Thus Austria, on the day after her great defeat in 1860, for the first time set out upon the path of constitutional reform, and set out in such good faith that it may be truly said that she did not lose, but gained the battle of Sadowa; for that battle gave her the victory over the prejudices which fed the gravest abuses. Italy, on the other hand, did not wait for the enlightenment of defeat. She made political liberty itself the instrument of victory. In the achievements of Victor Emmanuel and of Cavour we can scarcely admire too much their steady confidence in the power of free institutions for the deliverance of Italy, not only from the foreign yoke, but also from whatever might recall the ancient order at home. The bitter saying of Prince Metternich, "Italy is merely a geographical expression," is no longer true. Italy became a living nation from the day when she became independent. She had the good fortune to unite the cause of liberty with that of her own freedom, and thus she could break with the ancient order of things without undergoing any domestic convulsion, because she brought her whole force to bear against the foreign enemy. Thanks to this

blending in her character of patriotic ardor and of political adroitness, she has been able to bring about the most important reforms without any civil war. Under the rule of the Left, the party in power, she will complete them by a great electoral reform. Spain, in this matter, is still experimenting; though she has made her constitution according to the best models, she has not yet solid ground under her feet, and until lately her lot has been an ill one, through the conduct of rulers who have defamed and dishonored their power. Her rejoinder to the plottings of the court has been too often the revolt of the soldiery; she has learned liberty before learning the methods of liberty. Let us hope that her proud and chivalrous people will learn that political progress is to be won by steady perseverance, and not by military *pronunciamientos*. The peaceful years which Spain has enjoyed of late have been of great service to her in this respect; of immediate importance is the fact that the system of public instruction is happily so developed that it is no longer a mere machine in the hands of the State. We will only glance at Belgium, where the liberal party has just won an important victory over the party of retrogression. In England the development in democratic feeling is important; it amounts, indeed, to a slowly accomplished revolution, and yet the ancient constitution has not been changed. Royalty has never been more honored or more honorable. The House of Lords retains all of its aristocratic grandeur, and yet the seat of power has been changed. When lately one of the great pioneers of this political movement died—Lord John Russell—a striking comparison was drawn between the England of the time when he entered upon public life and of the time when he left it. Sixty years ago the House of Commons was still really the lower house. Through a most vicious electoral system its membership was recruited by the creatures of the aristocracy; and to the aristocracy belonged, by undisputed right, the sovereign power. Thanks to the Test Oath, the State religion kept all of its privileges intact; and the Test Oath guarded not only the entrance to Parliament, but even the universities, from every Dissenter and every Catholic. The Corn Laws converted the agricultural wealth of the country into a monopoly for the enrichment of the aristocracy. But to-day all of those barriers are broken down. Catholics and Dissenters may be seen arm in arm with High Churchmen; a broad electoral reform has opened the doors of Parliament to the middle classes, and even the laboring man may succeed in entering them. The House of Commons has now,

indeed, complete political power; as people say, it can do any thing short of changing men into women. The Irish Church has undergone disestablishment; the Scotch Church will undergo the same; nor will the strong Congregational and Presbyterian bodies give themselves rest until they shall have laid down the same programme for execution by the English Liberals, a party which can not henceforward dispense with their support. The undeniable triumph of this liberalism, which is essentially democratic in spite of its respect for ancient forms and institutions, is by nothing more clearly proved than by its domination over the conservatives themselves when they come into power. This we have seen in the last electoral reform, as planned by Gladstone and carried into execution by Disraeli. And it is certain that these changes will continue to operate; it is certain that by the end of this century the most surprising results will come of them.

It was not to calamity or defeat that the German empire owed the very democratic constitution that was given to her after her unification at the close of the war of 1870. But let us not mistake about this constitution. The extension of the suffrage is not of great importance under a system which can annul, through a higher court, from which there is no appeal (*cour de cassation*), any unacceptable measure proposed by the Reichstag. The Federal Council is the docile servant of the chancellor. The non-existence of serious responsibility on the part of the ministers, too, lessens not a little the importance of this Parliament. Its votes are actually effective only when they express the will of Prince Bismarck; and it is sure to be dissolved as soon as any serious disagreement occurs between itself and him. And this will continue to be the case as long as this illustrious statesman shall live; he is Germany's idol, because he personifies her triumph and her glory. But after Bismarck all is likely to be changed. Popular sovereignty in Germany is now in abeyance only because Germany permits it: the nation will make herself obeyed as soon as she has no longer to deal with a Bismarck.

Turning now to France, we shall find the success of Democracy the more remarkable in proportion as it has been the more opposed. The Empire has been almost as injurious since its downfall as during its time of triumph. During its prosperity it had left nothing undone to corrupt the public mind. A colossal electoral fraud was the source of its power. Beginning, ignorantly, by suppressing the freedom of the press and of public gatherings, it went on by selling the favors of the State in the departments. A sad political educa-

tion it was for those who reached their majority under the rule of Napoleon III.! There was danger that they should fall into two classes upon which no liberal government could ever be founded, namely, the takers of bribes and the turbulent spirits. This danger might have been diminished if, after the fall of the Empire, the more enlightened class which had attacked it in the name of parliamentary liberalism could have agreed to accept accomplished facts. By imposing silence upon those opposing monarchical claims whose rivalries positively prevented the re-establishment of a throne, they might have set a generous competition to work for the foundation of a Republic. There was nothing of the sort. The Royalists, whether of the Legitimist or the Orleanist party, made haste to break with the Republicans whose aid, against the common enemy, the Empire, they had accepted. They ended by gathering into their league against new institutions the wrecks of Bonapartism, hoping to prevent the Republic at least from succeeding, if even though they should fail, on account of their internal divisions, to reconstruct the monarchy. All this was pitiable scheming on the part of the old royalist parties: they were as devoid of patriotism as of wisdom. What is particularly inexplicable is this alliance of theirs with the partisans of the Second Empire, after they had shared in the councils of the National Assembly of 1871, and in the vote which made them responsible for the dismemberment of France. This coalition, which deprived the new *régime* of the intelligence and of the aid of experienced and distinguished men, led to three great onslaughts upon the Republic. The first was that of the 23d March, 1873; it ended in the overthrow of M. Thiers, whom they never pardoned for saying that the Republic was the only government possible under the situation. The assault was renewed in November of the same year, after the Count de Chambord's refusal to make the concessions that were necessary to his own succession. Thus the monarchical parties joined their forces to bring about, in the Septennate, a reactionary dictatorship, of which Marshal MacMahon was to be but the nominal holder, while they would have been the real rulers. Their third onslaught brings us to the 16th of May, 1877, when, after seeing, thanks to their incurable disagreements, a Republican constitution decreed by the National Assembly, they joined their forces once more in an effort to destroy the Septennate. For this purpose they employed a precipitate device, which might have led to a *coup d'état*, if the President of the Republic, after deciding that it would serve no good purpose

to dissolve a Parliament that enjoyed the confidence of the country, had not recoiled from the treasonable attempt which his Ultramontane advisers urged upon him. The behavior of the Republican party during these long and stubbornly renewed conflicts was praiseworthy. The party conformed to discipline; it kept its unity unbroken; it held strictly to the ground of legality, and it owed its triumph in great measure to the labors of two great men who toiled, and with success, to reconcile the Republicans of the old order with those of the new. The latter, the party of the future, were former monarchists, who were convinced, through patriotism, that after our misfortunes no other government than the Republic was possible for us. But they wished a moderate, a conservative, a wisely-progressive Republic. The Republicans of the old order, on the other hand, the party of yesterday, were composed of younger, more ardent, and more pugnacious spirits; they were men who would bring about all reforms without the least delay. Had these two groups not been united the Royalist coalition would have overcome them before they could have enjoyed their victories. And in that case, probably, the fortunes of the Bonapartists would have been finally made; they would have found their opportunity in the fatigues of a country wavering under the enervation of a provisional government. But when once the whole Republican party was united, it was sure to carry every thing before it; the necessity of that union checked the impatience of the ardent, and stimulated the moderation of the timid. The party avoided making blunders; it pressed on in concert toward its object. But the Republicans of yesterday would not have been so prudent without M. Gambetta; and the Republicans of to-morrow would not have been so strong without M. Thiers. It is not easy to overestimate the services of these men. What finer sight could there be than that of this old Royalist, having spent himself in the effort to prevent the war, and then in seeking to form alliances, after her first defeats, for his country, devoting his last strength to repair those disasters for which he was not responsible; inspiring throughout Europe a confidence in his character and in his motives which made it possible for him to make peace; and winning from his country an even profounder trust—a confidence which expressed itself in that marvelous loan from which he paid, and with ease, a ransom of four thousand millions of francs. He knew, too, how to set aside his own ideas in favor of what he considered the one actually realizable government. He defended his political course with the most marvelous eloquence;

the inspiration of his patriotism led him to the very height of political honesty and purity. And when he fell from the supreme power, he remained the head of his party, and especially of that part of it which once, like myself, had been monarchist, but had come over, and gladly, to the support of the new institutions—the Left Center. Here shone some of the most distinguished names of our parliamentary history, such as Remusat and Casimir Perier. All the feelings of gratitude and of respect which were inspired by the character of Thiers were shown sublimely at the time of his obsequies, though the reaction of the 16th of May was then in full strength, and the reactionaries did all that they could to stir up, even around his hearse, a popular excitement which they would have turned to account in their plotted *coup d'état*. Silent, with uncovered heads, nearly a million people might then have been seen assembled, restraining their indignation rather than their sorrow; they were proving that French Democracy could control itself, and could, in these magnificent obsequies to their greatest citizen, bear witness to its firm determination that the Republic must be preserved.

During these memorable events the *rôle* of M. Gambetta was scarcely less important. The impetuous orator, who had become an honor to the French tribune, did not content himself with denouncing, in speeches which recalled the oratory of Mirabeau, the attempt of the 16th May. He showed himself stronger in repressing than in justifying the anger of the public; he calmed, he restrained his party. Thus it happened that the elections of the 14th October, 1877, assured his power; and this has increased since then by the access of a ministry destined to do honor to France—one which will soon preside at the senatorial elections, which will assure in favor of the Republic a majority in the higher House. And when the Republic shall have brought its forces into harmonious play, it will be in a position to carry out great internal reforms, while pursuing constantly a peaceful policy toward the rest of the world. Of the whole question of political progress in Europe we may say: It has been settled, in every country, to the increasing advantage of popular liberty.

II.—THE SOCIAL QUESTION.

After the political question we must not overlook the social question. For when once the equality of rights has been expressed in free constitutions there is a universal desire to realize that equal-

ity in practice, to see it become a fact. Democratic government must necessarily bring about a progressive increase of education and of well-being among the working classes. It is bound to tend toward that result through the just redistribution of the taxes in the form of instruction brought within the reach of all ; by reasonable poor-relief ; by the formation of national banks, and by giving a sure protection to coöperative societies of working-men. In modern states a large field is still open for the practical and rational settlement of the social question. In this they can make great progress if they can win the generous aid of the wealthier, and the work and wisdom of the laboring classes. For no legislation can hinder the selfishness of the former nor the inertness of the latter from aggravating the present evils of society. The Christian Church, in all of its divisions, has a great part to play in this work ; it has to inspire healthy resolution, to reprove evil, to help the weak, and to aid the suffering. We are not of those who think that "every thing is for the best in the best of worlds." But we must recognize the fact that the question of social reform has been put in the most threatening manner by the revolutionary socialists of our day. They have this common purpose in all their various schools of doctrine : they wish to reconstitute society upon a new foundation ; they wish to abolish the right of private property, and, by making a centralized power the purveyor and the distributor of the public wealth, they wish to do away with individual liberty. This centralization of power constitutes the essence of the revolutionary socialism.

Without going at length into the merits of this theory, let us examine its condition, and the degree of its acceptance, in the chief countries of Europe. And firstly, it does not seem to have taken strong hold among the people of the South ; in Italy it is no stronger than in Spain, in spite of the communistic insurrection at Carthagera. These frugal races live temperately, and seldom feel the pangs of unsatisfied material wants. In England, great associations of working-men, organized without any hindrance on the part of government, supply many adherents to socialism. England, too, we must not forget, is a great place of refuge for proscribed persons ; the fragments of all political shipwrecks strew her shores ; still socialism there has not attained, as yet, the coherence of a powerful party. The Anglo-Saxon genius is essentially independent, individual ; it would not easily take to a conventual plan for society by which all should be fed, mentally and physically, from a

common mess-pot. Without owning the fruit of his own labor a man does not own himself; he is no longer the master of his activity or of his person. The great diffusion of liberty which has turned all England into an immense parliament, in which every thing is decided by discussion, dissipates many a chimera. The great associations of working-men know that they can cut down their own wages without being hindered by any law, so long as they do not interfere with workmen outside of their combinations. In spite of England's aristocratic constitution there is no deep gulf between the various classes of society; you may often see a peer of England presiding over a meeting of miners. English poverty is, doubtless, a frightful plague; it displays itself uncovered before the splendors of the rich, and we would not say that the social question may not become far graver in the future than it is to-day. But at present it is not provoking a dangerous crisis in Great Britain. Much goodwill is shown in aiding the coöperative societies of working-men—those in which the profits are shared among the members—while, as yet, these experiments have not attained the proportions of a social reform. The gravest recent symptom in England is the agitation among agricultural laborers; they have formed, very lately, associations for the sake of obtaining higher wages, and these may be the occasion of serious conflicts.

Among the laborers of France for several years past a remarkable change has been going on in regard to the question of social reform. During the latter years of the monarchy under Louis Philippe we had seen the development of all kinds of social chimeras, from the crude communism of Cabet to the ingenious system of Fourier, who constructed his ideal society upon the plan of elaborately managing and satisfying all human desires. Morality, according to him, was the loosening and dissolving element of society. The revolution of 1848, in overthrowing the monarchy, broke down the dike behind which these confused and ardent social aspirations had accumulated like mounting waves. The outbreak was like that of a deluge. Louis Blanc held the assizes of socialism in the palace of the Luxembourg in that congress of working-men whom he seated on the peers' benches, there to sketch out a great plan for the reorganization of labor—a plan which made the State the universal purveyor. The socialist movement concentrated itself in the great cities, and especially in Paris. It was difficult for it to make headway in the country, where the land is divided, as nowhere else in Europe, into millions of small properties, and where

the country people are attached, with an almost worshiping devotion, each to his own beloved parcel of ground. These people would receive on the prongs of their hay-forks any agitator who should talk to them about communism. The Lower House of 1848 was at once thoroughly republican, and thoroughly opposed to socialism; and it gave battle to socialism in the formidable street conflict of June, 1848. Socialism was then defeated by force of arms, but it continued to exercise a powerful influence upon the working classes. The Second Empire came, but it was unable to win a moral victory over socialism, and it played toward it a double part. Pitiless in striking down all popular risings, it was none the less the constant flatterer of the working classes, giving itself out as their benefactor and as the only power able to realize their aspirations. Napoleon III. was at once an autocrat and a dreamer, a visionary in whom the character of the Italian *carbonari* was constantly showing itself. It is certain that he favored the formation of the famous International Society, which was intended to set up a vast confederation of working-men and to carry out the social revolution. But that did not prevent him from pursuing and proscribing it toward the end of his reign. One of the worst doings of his government was to prevent public meetings for the discussion of social questions only, and yet to allow the fullest latitude for the insanity of communistic atheists in notorious gatherings. There is some proof that the most shameless orators were paid by the police. The Empire hoped to draw great profit from these Saturnalia. Just before the general elections of 1869 its agents distributed short-hand reports of the most inane of these same harangues, in order to appear before the voters as the Saver of society.

We can see that under such a *régime* as this socialism could but grow and strengthen. Freedom is the only mortal foe of revolutionary socialism. We know that the Internationals, immediately after the siege of Paris, finding their advantage in the disorder of the city and in the confusion of the defeat, set up the odious reign of the Commune. A base and bloody madness it was, that worked its will, after an imbecile and maleficent rule of two months' duration, in the murder of hostages and the destruction of the historic buildings and libraries of Paris. But we must not confound the body of the working people with the leaders of this scoundrelly movement. The people were deceived into following them, or dragged into their suite, against their choice, by hunger. For, having no work, it was impossible for them to do without the pay—

thirty cents a day—which was given to members of the “National Guard.” This makes it clear that the physical defeat of the Commune coincided with the definite moral victory over socialism among our working classes. The fact is clear and indisputable. First, they have blotted out violence from their programme. They declare that they have resigned bullets for ballots. Our opinions have changed. The Internationals have become insignificant. The old social chimeras which made the State the redeemer of society have lost their prestige. At the great congresses of workingmen which have been held during the past two years at Paris and at Lyons, the leading speakers have clearly declared that they do not wish for any State intervention in the question of social reform; that they put their trust in coöperative societies and in the formation of syndicates which shall have their interests in charge. We do not question that more than one false notion is mixed with these claims. But it is equally clear that in France the socialistic schools which have made such a noise during the past twenty or thirty years have disappeared, and that our laboring classes mean to pursue the path of social reform without committing any violence, and in reliance upon the great principle of coöperative association.

If socialism has made some stir in Switzerland, it is by reason of the free hospitality which that country has extended to exiles and to the proscribed. It is there simply an exotic plant, and we do not believe that it will send down its roots very deeply in her soil. It is in Germany, during the last few years, that socialism has taken on the most dangerous development. The recent criminal attempts against the life of the Emperor William can not be imputed to the socialist party as such. But we must see in them the smoke of a fire which has found but too much to keep it alive. A madman's shot may destroy an emperor, but it will not destroy the empire; a graver outlook for the future of Germany is found in the high proportion of socialist votes which were cast in the recent elections to the Reichstag, a body constituted, as we have seen, by popular suffrage. Bismarck, for now several years, has been quite taken up with the conflict with Catholicism, and has ascribed no importance to the socialist movement; he was even inclined to prefer the candidates of that party to those of the Ultramontanes. And German socialism has spread the more widely as it has taken on more various forms. It has made its place even at the universities, where there exists what we may call a pulpit socialism—a grave and com-

paratively moderate doctrine ; and yet it is one which clears the way toward the other extreme, toward the doctrine of Karl Marx. The revolutionary socialism of taverns and of studios, and their extreme doctrine, has grown into alarming proportions during the last few years ; it threatens now to spread even to the army, and it has become a subject of the gravest apprehension. Besides this, Christian socialism has been expounded by a court preacher, and advocated by men worthy of all respect. To judge by what has been published, this form of the doctrine has made more than one dangerous concession to the utopian theories which it intends to combat ; and especially in respect of the doctrines of inheritance and of individual property. Nothing shows better than this the power of those socialist tendencies. They make themselves felt at once upon the heights of intellect, in the college and in the church ; and on the other hand, in the depths of criminal acts, which are the symptoms of a profound excitement. It is clearly against this lower socialism, that which spreads among the working classes, and invades even the *bourgeoisie*, that the laws of exception will be directed which the government will ask from the new Reichstag, after having dissolved the old one. But we believe that it is deceived in hoping to check by any such means the rising tide. All it will gain by repressive measures will be to transform the social movement into an organization of secret societies, and to make it the more dangerous. A vigorous repression of disorder, with maintenance of the public liberties, would be the best political course to supplement the efforts of good citizens, and to avert the very serious crisis under which Germany, after the most surprising triumphs, is suffering.

III.—THE ECCLESIASTICAL QUESTION.

A great question remains, one that is related both to religion and to politics, and one which is destined profoundly to trouble Europe. It is the ecclesiastical question—the question of the relations between the Church and the State. We may here set aside entirely whatever concerns the general progress of thought upon this subject ; we need not consider the problems of philosophy and of religion which are proposed to our contemporaries, but only the political side of the inquiry. The relations of Church and State, wherever Catholicism has attained a certain degree of power, and especially since the brilliant triumph of Ultramontanism at the latest council, have become a difficult question. What does Ultra-

montanism mean? Nothing else than the completest possible subordination of the civil to the spiritual power. And the spiritual power, since the proclamation of papal infallibility, knows no definite limits; it claims to regulate custom as it regulates dogmas; and it has formulated in its syllabus a complete political catechism. An inevitable conflict broke out upon the closing of the council. In France, the Church herself took the initiative; in Switzerland and Germany the State was the aggressor. The attitude of Catholicism has thus been very different in Protestant and in predominantly Catholic countries. In the former, reduced to self-defense, Catholicism appealed to freedom of thought, arming itself with that glorious shield which was not truly its own. In the latter, it has restrained that freedom. In Switzerland, in Germany, the civil power has actually made war upon Ultramontanism. The Helvetic republic has shown itself as pitiless toward it as the German empire. At Berne and at Geneva laws have been passed which are actual weapons of war. The religious orders have been driven out; the churches of the ancient religion have been turned over, without compensation, to the "Old Catholics;" the priests have no longer the right to wear their vestments; for them individual liberty has ceased, and where they have been denounced as a cause of agitation, they have been expelled without any other legal form. This could not fail to happen so long as they lived among their old flocks, who, for the most part, remained faithful to them. The deliberative assemblies of Geneva and of Berne renewed the mistake of the French Revolution, of which the gravest error was the famous Civil Constitution of the Clergy, the artificial creation of a parliament turning itself into an ecclesiastical council, and thus provoking the sharpest resistances of the conscience. At Berne, as at Geneva, the deputies who were appointed to frame civil laws actually voted for a religious reform, and for one which had no proper ground or root. They tried to force Catholicism to separate itself from Rome; to abandon the old system of episcopal government, by the votes, namely, of the archbishops and bishops, and to substitute in its place, as a source of religious authority, the suffrages of the entire body of their Church. And this attempt has resulted in what? In setting up a church without coherence, and with no other *raison d'être* than government protection and the money paid by government to a discredited clergy. The persecutors of Ultramontanism, far from stifling it, have thus, on the contrary, given it a new moral life. In Germany the same thing has taken place. The expulsion of the

religious orders, the imprisonment of priests and bishops, the penalty of banishment, all the legislation (of May, 1873) which bears so severely upon the Catholic clergy have brought no triumph to the omnipotent chancellor of the German empire. By the admissions of zealous Protestants even—but enlightened Protestants—Catholicism is stronger in Germany to-day than it was before the contest of 1873. In persecuting it the Germans have raised it up. In proof of this we have only to see how much weaker it is where the State has done no more than to mildly regulate it.

Italy has shown much more insight than Switzerland or Germany in treating this ecclesiastical question. She was satisfied with planting the national flag in Rome and before the Vatican, with tearing up the dangerous center where civil war was kindled, with relegating the church property to the general laws of the State, and with abolishing the law of mortmain. By the guaranty law she has left a large liberty to the Pope and to the clergy, and the simulated captivity of the fiery old man who spent his time in securely anathematizing the government whose prisoner he pretended to be, was one of the most mythical fictions of the Church which has woven so many in our time. Italy, too, has abolished several restrictive measures, which were necessary so long as the Pope had the temporal power. Her political course toward the Church has been marked by the most delicate wisdom.

In France the attack was made by the Church, and not by the State. Ultramontanism, profiting by the majority of an assembly elected during the last convulsions of the war, made haste to use the power thus brought to it, and obtained, in law, a privileged position, and in fact a great latitude for its *propaganda*. Its chief triumph was in the education laws, permitting it to appoint bishops to the council which controls the public instruction. But the Ultramontanes, rash as they usually are when the wind blows fair, raised up opposition by their eagerness to oppose the new institutions of France, and especially by the hazardous crusade which they undertook for the restoration of the papacy to the temporal power. The first result of such a success might have been to embroil France with Italy, and at a time when peace was France's first need. It is not surprising that since the triumph of the Republic the contest began. Until the present time it has been pursued with moderation by the State; but it may well become embittered and dangerous upon occasion. The French government finds in the Concordat of 1802 between Napoleon I. and the Holy See the

entire armament necessary for its own defense. But some of these weapons are dulled, as for instance the interdiction, in this time of swift and universal publicity, upon publishing orders and briefs without authority. Some of these weapons will be dangerous, because they will be turned against Catholic doctrine itself. Thus the Concordat of 1802, in requiring from the Church of France instruction in Gallican principles, did no more than confirm traditions of the Church. But to seek to-day to make the Church teach that the general councils are higher than the Pope, would be to require of her the abjuration of what has been her official creed since the Council of 1870. Much prudence needs to be employed in this conflict; it is necessary both to be firm in defending the rights of the State against the incursions of the Ultramontane party, and to respect the rights of the religious conscience. The civil power is not charged with inculcating dogmatic truth. It has only to keep safe guard over the rights of every citizen, while insisting that neither the temporal nor the spiritual power shall transgress its proper domains. There is no more difficult question to manage than this. As for ourselves, we think that it will not be settled until Europe shall have followed the example of the United States in the complete separation of Church and State. The day is still far distant when this reform shall be realized. The Democracy will try to oppose it by a strict legislation against the aggressions of Ultramontanism; but we are persuaded that that strategy will fail, for it will stir up more disturbances than it will allay; it will strengthen the enemy instead of overthrowing him. We strongly hope that the reform may be wisely brought about, and by those gradual transitions which are necessary to avoid doing injustice to individuals. It would be unjust to make a single generation bear the weight of so great a change. Large indemnities should be granted; and the prudent equity of the Irish disestablishment should be imitated upon the continent. This movement will not cease. We believe that in the course of a few years the entire Liberal party will have inscribed upon its banners the great principle of separation between Church and State.

We see that Europe, then, with its three great problems—the political, the social, and the ecclesiastical—has a great task to accomplish before the end of the century. Never has modern civilization appeared more brilliant than at the splendid Exposition at Paris. May that civilization bear in mind that its greatness is never so assured as when it rules itself! Otherwise neither the political,

nor the social, nor the church question can receive a true solution. We hope for the best results; and we have the firm conviction that the cross of Christ will be more and more recognized as the symbol of universal well-being for nations as well as for individuals.

POSTSCRIPT.—THE CONGRESS.—Since the foregoing pages were written the Berlin Congress has reached the conclusion of its important deliberations. I will do no more than formulate briefly the judgment of the French liberals respecting them—a party which is not swayed, like the Bonapartists or the Legitimists, by the party passions which deprive the mind of its critical freedom. In general, then, the liberal party in France is satisfied with the results of the Congress; especially because it assures peace in Europe, and because peace is the first need of a people which is still rallying from terrible disasters. We might, indeed, wish that this peace were founded upon a securer basis; yet under the circumstances it was scarcely possible to have accomplished more. The Congress could not deal with Russia as if she had been defeated; it was necessary to make to her concessions which were incompatible with the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Nor, on the other hand, could the Ottoman Empire be treated as if it were capable of a serious regeneration. “The sick man” is always sick; in his religion, and in the vices sanctioned by it, he remains an invalid. The treaty of San Stefano has none the less undergone profound modifications. Bulgaria will no longer exist as a prolongation of Russia to the Ægean Sea. The Balkans will remain the defense of Turkey; and, though she is relieved of some of her possessions in Asia Minor, she will find in the English protectorate, even though she pays the island of Cyprus for it, a barrier stronger than the Balkans against the onslaughts of her hereditary enemy; while that beautiful country will probably draw a new life from English capital, enterprise, and intelligence. If Austria, instead of contenting herself with occupying Bosnia and Herzegovina, would do for Turkey in Europe what England has done for Asiatic Turkey, and would make a similar treaty with the Sultan, we might hope that the conquering movement of Russia would be checked for a long time. However this may be, the Congress of Berlin leaves with liberal Europe two causes for lively regret. The first is the insufficiency of the measures adopted in regard to Greece, whose justifiable discontent is a germ of serious troubles. The second springs

from the reprisal by Russia of Bessarabia from Roumania, after having profited by her military power before Plevna.

There was an active stir of opinion in France on receiving the news of the treaty; and particularly on account of England's alliance with Turkey, and the cession of Cyprus. The thing to be regretted in this transaction is the mystery with which it was surrounded, enabling Lord Beaconsfield to play as with loaded dice upon the card-table of the Berlin Congress. On reflection, this dissatisfaction was lessened; it has been found that this private agreement gave a fuller certainty of peace than the common treaty; and the alliance between England and France will not be shaken by this incident, which has raised the most lively discussion in the English Parliament. It is clear that some territorial compensation, upon the African coasts, was offered to France; but we are happy that she declined to give any new sanction to the principle of annexation by conquest. For the rest, the Republic is satisfied with the dignified part that its representatives took in the Congress. They had the honor to establish, in countries where it was violated, the great principle of the freedom of conscience and religious equality.

AN EPICEDIUM,

For Queen Mercedes, who died June 27, 1878.

MERCEDES—so divinely fair !
 (O life close-wreathed with Love and Duty,)
 A thousand voices fill the air
 With fond traditions of thy beauty.

To-day, this far-off Western land
 Thinks of its rounded, rich completeness ;
 And all the nations, bowing, stand,
 In token of its marvelous sweetness.

Dear child, apt scholar, graceful bride,
 Queen of a great, historic nation—
 The king so stricken at her side
 Misses his throne's transfiguration.

If Spain boasts names of older date,
 And braveries fill her checkered story
 No soul has passed across her state
 With purer, more transcendent glory.

We know thy blinding, bitter pain,
 O king, for one so loved and tender ;
 God's grace for thee we ask—and Spain ?
 May Heaven to latest time defend her !

JOEL BENTON.

RUSSIA.

II.

THE last vestiges of representative privileges, even in the feudal form, were destroyed in Russia under the dominion of the Golden Horde. Before the Great Khan there was an equality of thralldom. The common Russian peasant bowed humbly to the oppression of the Tatar bailiff and plough-tax gatherer. The boyar, or noble, in order to save his wealth from the cupidity of the Mongol rulers, intermarried with families of the nomadic horde, and aped the Asiatic in custom and manner. The Russian princes crouched in the dust before their Tatar masters. When the khan, or even the khan's representative, made his appearance the descendants of Rurik offered him, on their knees, the cup with mare's milk; and when a drop fell upon the Tatar horse's mane they showed their reverence by licking the moisture off with their princely tongues! When the image of the Great Mogul was borne abroad, the Muscovite princes knelt down and worshipped it. At the command of some chieftain of the nomadic horde, they wandered from Russia even to the sources of the Amoor, deep into Asia, to exhibit themselves as the humble servants of the khan.

No wonder that, when the Mongol Kiptchak broke down, the population of Russia, peasants, citizens, nobles, and all, were in such a state of slavish degradation that they easily yielded to another rule of similar import—to czardom. In truth, czardom is but the heir and continuation of the Tatar khanate. It may be a moot point whether the very word "czar," instead of being derivable from "Cæsar," is to be traced to the Tatar language. M. Casimir Delamarre unhesitatingly calls it, as some others have done, "a Tataric, Turanian, consequently Asiatic title, signifying 'Lord of the Steppes.'" But whatever may be the origin of the title of czar, the idea of playing the *Cæsar imperator* laid hold of the Russian monarchs early enough. Czardom, in its essence as well as in its immediate origin, is a semi-Mongol tyranny, which soon became imbued

once more with that imperialist Byzantine ambition that characterized already the earliest Warangian rulers of Russia.

In all historical works it is stated that the title of emperor was founded by Peter the Great. Even Delamarre, who usually investigates these matters with a searching eye, plainly asserts that "the title of 'Emperor of Russia' was for the first time adopted by Peter I. in 1721." This is an error. Herberstein says that in writing to the emperor or the pope the czars called themselves "kings and lords of all Russia;" but if letters from the Ruthene language had to be translated into Latin, the Russian interpreters rendered the word "czar" by "*imperator*." "In this way," Herberstein remarks, "the czar makes himself both a king and an emperor." However, Herberstein takes care to add that the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation did not acknowledge either the royal or the imperial name of the czars, and had nothing to do with the creation of these titles, as was sometimes erroneously assumed. To acknowledge such a title would have been an injury to the King of Poland, with whom his own (Herberstein's) august master, Maximilian, had lived in sincere friendship.

Herberstein's book was published at Vienna in 1549—that is, 172 years before Peter I. resumed the imperial title. In the second half of the sixteenth century there are plenty of instances of that title having been borne by the czars, and acknowledged at least by English sovereigns—for example, by Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. Richard Hakluyt, Richard Chancellor, John Hasse, Anthony Jenkinson, give testimony to that effect. A letter sent by Ivan Wassiljewitch to Edward VI. by the hands of Richard Chancellor begins thus: "We, Great Duke Ivan Vasilivich, by the grace of God great lord and EMPEROR OF ALL RUSSIA, great Duke of Volodomer, Mosco, and Novograd, King of Kasan, King of Astracan, lord of Plesko, and great Duke of Smolensko, etc., etc." Anthony Jenkinson, speaking of the title of "Otesara," which the Russian monarchs bore, says: "This word, Otesara, his maiesties interpreters have of late dayes interpreted to be Emperour, so that now he is called EMPEROUR and great Duke of all Russia. . . . Before his father they were neither called emperours nor kings, but onely Ruese Velike; that is to say, great Duke." ("Ruese" I assume to be an evident misprint for "Knese;" that is, dukes or princes.)

The recognition of the Russian imperial title by England appears yet more distinctly from "Letters of King Philip and Queen

Marie to Ivan Vasilivich, the Emperour of Russia" (1555). The same title occurs in "The First Privileges graunted by the Emperour of Russia to the English merchants, in the yere 1555." Also in "Articles conceived and determined for the Commission of the Merchants of this Company resiant (resident) in Russia." I will not quote further the ample and undeniable proofs I have collected in a special essay on this subject. Be it only mentioned still that the great favor and friendliness shown by English sovereigns to the czars was not relished in Poland. In a letter of Sigismund, the King of Poland, to Queen Elizabeth, under date of March 3d, 1568, complaint is made especially with regard to trade relations. The letter characterizes "the Muscovite" as "not only the temporary enemy of our kingdom, but the hereditary one of all free nations."

On his part, Margeret speaks of the earlier Russian rulers as of grand-dukes; of the later monarchs as "czars of Russia, and grand dukes of Muscovy." He asserts that Ivan II., Wassiljewitch, "first received the title of Emperor from Maximilian, the Emperor of the Romans" (that is, the German Emperor—in usual, though diplomatically somewhat incorrect, parlance), "after the conquest of Kasan, Astrakhan, and Siberia." In this latter particular statement he may be wrong. He only repeated, no doubt, what he had heard in Russia, without being able to test its truth. It was a device of the Russian monarchs to make people believe that their imperial title was founded by a country which was then pre-eminently *the* empire.

There is a deal of simple prattle in Margeret about the diplomatic wrangles which the Russian ambassadors had with those of Sweden on the subject of the recognition of the imperial title as claimed by the czar. As a rule, Margeret remarks in his somewhat loose grammatical style, "the Emperor of the Romans gives him the title of Emperor; and the late Queen Elizabeth did the same, as does also the King of Great Britain, the King of Denmark, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the King of Persia; and all those of Asia give him the title he chooses to assume. As to the Turk, seeing that there was between them, at my time, neither correspondence nor any intercourse by envoys, I do not know what title he gives them."

The invariable expressions of Margeret are: "the imperial throne;" "the empire;" "the emperor;" "the empress." And lest it should be thought that he used these terms from subserviency to a court, it may be as well to bring to recollection that he

speaks in the strongest terms against the barbaric condition of Russia, the tyranny of its rulers, and the backwardness of its people. Poland he places in favorable contrast. He calls it "a free country," of "noble and complaisant manners," and where people at least "know what manners are" (*que c'est que du monde*).

Under the House of Romanoff, which rose through an election held by notables after the end of the long civil wars (1612), the imperial name fell into disuse in Russia. The first rulers of the Romanoff dynasty were not fired with any high ambition; moreover, the aristocracy and the priesthood held them somewhat under a constitutional check. Peter I., one of the most ambitious autocrats, assumed, or rather resumed, the title of Emperor in 1721. Under him absolute rule became again triumphant in its extremest form. Barring a short, unsuccessful attempt of the nobles to introduce constitutional principles under the Czarina Anna (1730), autocracy has since reigned unchecked—even more so than it did at the time of Margeret.

There are some curious chapters in the French captain's book on the Greco-Catholic Church and on religious toleration in Russia. He says, "The patriarch, the bishops, and the abbots are created at the will of the emperor," and that all ecclesiastical affairs of any importance must be referred to the emperor. We do not get a favorable picture of the manners of the priesthood from Margeret's description. According to him, the Russian clergy "give themselves up to the vice of drunkenness as much as or even more than the other people of the country." The Russian nation at large he describes as the most drunken set that he knows of. This, unfortunately, accords with what modern travelers relate, namely, that the "pope," or priest, of a Russian parish is often locked up by the peasants on Saturday in a barn, so that he might at least soberly hold the service on Sunday. On Monday he is set free, when he may indulge his Bacchanalian propensities during the week.

The ignorance of the masses who lay under the crook of this clergy filled Margeret with painful amazement. The system of the Mute Church is an old one in Russia. "They never preach a sermon," the French captain writes; "only at certain feast-days they read some chapter from the Bible or the New Testament; but the ignorance is such among the people that scarcely one third of them know what the Lord's Prayer or the Apostles' Creed is. In short, one may say that ignorance is the mother of their devotion.

They abhor studies, especially that of the Latin tongue. They have no school or university among them. The priests alone teach the youth to read and write; but of pupils there are few. Only some ten or twelve years ago, they learned the art of printing; but even now the written books are more sought for among them than the printed ones." I may remark here that there are earlier traces of the art of printing having been introduced by Germans into Russia, as it was by Germans into Italy and France. But in Russia the art of printing took so little root, that Margeret is almost justified in saying it had only been introduced some ten years before his sojourn in Muscovy.

The married Russian clergy, in Margeret's days, did as they listed with regard to their wives' freedom. "Under whatever pretext a husband repudiates his wife, he simply sends her, against her will, into a cloister, of which there are a great number. Some of those husbands re-marry as often as three times." Religious freedom was understood in a peculiar sense. "The emperor allows freedom of conscience to every one to exercise his own devotion and religion publicly—except to the Roman Catholics; nor is any Jew tolerated among them since the time of Ivan Wassiljewitch." We then further learn that Protestants also suffered the most horrible persecution. But "there are Tatars, Turks, and Persians, besides the Mordwines and other Mahommedan nations, under the rule of the Russians; these observe each their own religion—not to mention the Siberians, Lapps, and others, who are neither Christians nor Mahometans, but worship certain animals, according to their own fancy, without being molested in their religion."

There is a statement in Margeret that all Jews in Russia, after having been led, bound hand and foot, to a bridge, were forced to abjure their creed and to declare that they wanted to be baptized, and to believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. No sooner had they said this than they were at the same moment thrown into the water and drowned! Again, Protestant Livonians, living in Muscovy for about forty years as prisoners of war, and having gradually become well-to-do people, had, "on account of their pride and vanity," their churches demolished, their houses sacked. All these German Protestants were, "without regard to age or sex, stripped naked, though it was winter, like children that come from the mother's womb, and thus thrust upon the highway."

Do not these events look marvelously like prototypes of what the English Consul-general Mansfield latterly reported from Rus-

sia, and of the equally recent occurrences in those orthodox Greco-Catholic countries, Servia and Roumania?

It has ever been a State maxim of Russian monarchs to make an orthodox propaganda by dragonnades, by fire and sword, among Christian dissenters, whilst refraining from too harsh an interference with either the Mohammedan or even the pagan creed of their subjects. The explanation is an obvious one. Heterodox Christian creeds are regarded as an element of danger, which, if allowed to grow, might sap the very basis of Russian Græco-Catholicism, and thus of the rule of the pope-czar himself. The same is not feared in regard to a religion so different from Christianity as Islam. While therefore exerting themselves to root out, within their territory, those "heresies" which they looked upon as offsprings of the so-called infidel, anti-monarchical, anti-Russian spirit of the West, the czars carefully preserved even pagan creeds, fetish cults, and other idolatries, as a sort of scarecrow wherewith to threaten disobedient Europe. "We shall let loose the Asiatic hordes," was the favorite menace of the Emperor Nicholas in 1848.

The firm hold which the czars at Margeret's time kept over the church was virtually a return to the earliest practices of the Russo-Warangian grand-princes. Since the reign of Yaroslaw, in the eleventh century—and even earlier, since Wladimir—the Russian monarchs had begun to make the church the footstool of their political designs. It was no spiritual conviction that suddenly brought about the conversion of Wladimir. A cunningly conceived state reason made that barbarian prince adopt the orthodox creed. The chronicles relate that, intending to embrace that belief which would be best adapted for ruling an empire, he caused expounders of the various religions to be brought to his court. There came a Roman Catholic monk from Germany, a Græco-Catholic philosopher from Constantinople, a Talmudist Jew from Khazaria, and a Mohammedan priest from some other country. Wladimir listened attentively to all of them. Finally he determined in favor of the Byzantine doctrine, evidently pleased with the prospect of becoming, through the adoption of this creed, both an absolute ruler by divine law and a personification of God himself.¹

Another consideration was, however, uppermost in Wladimir's mind. When about to receive baptism, he put forth the peculiar

¹ *Disputare de principali judicio non oportere: sacrilegii enim instar esse dubitare an is dignus sit quem elegerit imperator.*—See Cod. Theodos., lib. v. tit. 13, Lex 9, and others.

dogma that, in order to be a worthy member of the Greek Church, he ought first to be recognized by the orthodox clergy of Constantinople as their protector. The Byzantine emperor naturally hesitated to comply with this demand. Thereupon Wladimir invaded the Crimea, which at that time acknowledged the suzerainty of the Byzantine empire, captured the city of Cherson—then standing near the site of the present Sebastopol—and from thence threatened to cross over to the Balkan peninsula and to besiege Constantinople. He only agreed to desist on condition that the Byzantine ruler should send him a bride to Cherson from the princesses of his own house, together with a number of priests, who were to baptize the Russian grand-prince on the soil he had conquered in the Crimea. This was the birthday of Russian orthodox pretensions (988).

During the Mongol dominion such high ambition, of course, utterly vanished. The later policy of Ivan III., Ivan IV., and Boris Godunow, to dissolve the bond of spiritual subjection by which Russia during an epoch of weakness had become attached to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, must, however, be regarded as a step back in the direction of the early Russo-Warangian aspirations. Peter I. fully worked out this system. He not only disclaimed the supremacy of the Patriarch of Constantinople over that of Moscow, but founded the claim of a supremacy of the emperor-pope of St. Petersburg over the Christian subjects of the Sultan. Thus the policy of Russian despots has always remained the same—whether they themselves were heathen or baptized whilst Constantinople was under Christian rule; or whether the crescent had been substituted for the cross.

Despotism and highflying ambition above; barbarism and grovelling vice below—such is the sum and substance of Margeret's description of Russia. Of the Muscovites as a people he asserts that they have "no industriousness whatever, and are very lazy; for they do not devote themselves to work, but are given to drunkenness more than to any thing else." He calls them "rude and clumsy, without any civility;" it is "a false nation, without faith or law or conscience; . . . and stained with an endless number of other vices and bestialities." A particular vice he charges them with is too disgusting to be mentioned here in full print. We would fain believe his picture to be over-colored. Yet we must remember that he was a close personal observer for years, and that, even at the time he wrote his book, he had not given up the idea of serving once more in that distant northern country. At any

rate, making the largest allowance for excessive generalization or exaggerated statement, we do not get the impression of a "youthful race in its prime." Margeret's book is certainly not a companion picture of Tacitus' *Germania*. I would not dwell on the dark tale these early records unfold were it not for the sickening prophecy which, after a lapse of some twenty-four years, is once more being dinned into our ears, of an impending rejuvenation of the "effete Germano-Romanic world" by the strong-limbed young giant of the North.

The Russian aristocracy at Moscow are depicted by Margeret in rather Falstaffian colors. They never took any exercise. "This makes them fat and paunchy; they even hold in high honors those who are the most pot-bellied (*les plus ventrus*), calling them 'Dorotney Schalouec' (dorotney tchelovek), which means a brave man." The slavishness of the lower ranks appears from a passage where it is said that "if an inferior wishes to obtain something from his superior, he prostrates himself full-length, with his face to the ground, as they do in their prayers before some images." Knee-bending was not in fashion then. It was considered a Mahomedan custom, because Turks generally squatted down with bent knees when sitting. The Russian women, however, says Margeret, had the same habit of squatting down with bent knees. Perhaps the long Tatar influence had introduced this Oriental custom among the Russians, whose female population only retained it at Margeret's time.

In the midst of the besotted, uncultured state of the Russian nation at large, the court, in the latter part of the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth century, exhibited a great deal of barbaric splendor in the way of costly dress, of a numerous household and suite of attendants. At table, the czar was served "most sumptuously." Still there were "neither plates nor napkins." When there was a state dinner, the dishes were brought in by some two to three hundred court gentlemen, clad in gold brocade or Persian silver-cloth, profusely adorned with pearls, wearing heavy golden chains round the neck, and having their heads covered with a double story, so to say, of bonnets, one of black fox-skin towering above the other. The court atmosphere was an oppressive one. "There is such silence, that one should say the hall is quite empty." The viands were presented on porringers of gold. Drinking was done in colossal style. Before the meat came in, gin was put on the table in silver flagons, with small vessels or tazzas.

Then the guests were served with goblets of some Spanish wine. Then with large vessels of red mead. Then with basins full of white mead. Then with cups of stronger mead, or of claret. Then with a weaker kind of mead. Then with strong Spanish, Canary, and other wines, vast cups of German workmanship being used; and so on in endless succession. In fact, the habit of Peter I., of making guests at the imperial table dead drunk, seems to have been the fashion already then.

The utter barbarism of the country results from the statement that "in all Russia there are no medical men, except those that are in the emperor's service; nor is there any apothecary's shop." The common people "don't know what medicines are." If any one of them falls sick, the usual remedy is to "take a good draught of gin, to put a charge of gunpowder or a peeled head of garlic into it, to stir it well, and, after having swallowed it, to go at once into a bathing-room so steaming hot that one can scarcely stand it; there to remain until they have sweated for an hour or two. The same treatment is used for all kinds of illnesses." No doubt, any one who had passed through this ordeal had considerable vitality in him, and was safe for some time to come.

Together with this backwardness of the Russian people as regards civilization, they are described as wanting in bravery, and little careful of their personal honor. It was the custom, says Margeret, even among the higher classes, to contradict each other, not with a "Well, that is your opinion," or, "I beg your pardon," but with a "Thou liest!" Even the servant gave the lie direct to the master. The Emperor Ivan Wassiljewitch, a tyrant, scarcely took it as an offence to be thus contradicted. Of late, however, according to the French writer, the presence of many foreigners had somewhat bettered the social tone. Yet, though Russians still use gross language of insult to each other, their only means of redress was the administration of the knout, or the stick, by judicial authority, to the back of the original offender. The execution was carried out in this way: The man sentenced to punishment was stripped down to the waist, laid on the ground, held by two men by the head and feet, and then beaten with sticks of the thickness of a thumb, until the judge cried "Hold, enough!" If a man, in angry conversation, received a blow and returned it, both the assaulter and the assaulted were castigated in the manner described, or condemned to pay a fine to the emperor.

Beating a culprit with sticks was the prevailing mode of admin-

istering justice. Even debtors were thus judicially persuaded into fulfilling their obligations. The personal castigation of debtors was quite an institution. On week-days they had to attend at a certain public place as soon as the sun rose, when police-officers ordained for the cudgeling service beat them, with a stick or rod, on the calf of the leg until ten or eleven o'clock. "This continues until the debt is fully discharged. Those who serve the emperor on horseback are exempt from the punishment, *one of their men being substituted for them.*" Such traits speak volumes for a nation's degradation.

Weapons were not carried by the Russians of that time, except in war or when traveling. No duels were fought between disputants that had mortally offended each other. If a duel—which sometimes occurred between foreigners—ended fatally, the punishment was as for murder. Though, in principle, duels certainly ought to be forbidden in all civilized countries, we can not but conclude from the early abandonment or the non-existence of the custom among so barbarous a race as the Russians then were, that they were behind other nations in martial spirit of honor. Of brutal cruelty there was certainly no lack among them, as we see, for instance, from Margeret's graphic description of the ghastly details of the murder of Czar Demetrius. Margeret relates that, in consequence of the conspiracy led by Wassili Shuiski, he was assassinated at six o'clock in the morning. Together with him, seventeen hundred and five Poles, who lived at Moscow in dwellings far apart from each other, were cruelly butchered, being taken unawares. Peter Federowitch Basmanoff, one of the czar's partisans, was killed by Michael Tatichoff, whose freedom he had procured shortly before. "The dead Demetrius was then dragged, naked, before the monastery of the empress, his widowed mother, to a public place where Shuiski was formerly to have had his head cut off. There the said Demetrius was put on a table of about a yard in length with his head hanging down on one side and his legs on the other, and the body of Peter Basmanoff was thrown under that table—the corpses thus remaining as a spectacle for everybody until the third day, when the chief of the plot, Wassili Ivanovitch Shuiski, of whom we have spoken, was elected emperor." The body of Demetrius was then buried near a highway. As in the night after he had been assassinated a terrible frost, unusual at that time of the year, began, which lasted for eight days, and spoiled all corn, trees, and even the

grass, the body of Demetrius, from some superstitious reason, was dug out again, burnt, and reduced to ashes.

"During this time," says Margeret in an almost Tacitian style, "there were nothing but murmurs; some weeping, others wailing, others again rejoicing. In short, it was a perfect metamorphosis. The council, the people, and the country divided among themselves, one against the other, commencing new treacheries. The provinces revolted, without for a long time knowing what would come of it. The Polish ambassador narrowly watched. All those who had in any way been favored by the departed sent into exile. Lastly, the empress, the widow of the defunct Emperor Demetrius Johannes, was led to the house of her father, the Palatine, closely watched, with all her ladies of honor and other Polish women." Then the body of him who was considered the true Demetrius, and who had been murdered at Uglitch some seventeen years before, was exhumed at the order of the usurper Czar Shuiski; and all kinds of miracles were performed with that canonized dead body in presence of the patriarch and the clergy. The confusion, the sanguinary riotousness of factions, and the superstition of the people are very graphically rendered in such passages, where Margeret all at once changes his ordinarily involved manner of writing for a pithy style.

Those who have waded through the reports of the trial of the so-called "Claimant" in England—that is, of the impostor Castro—"Tichborne"—can not help finding, amidst the tragic descriptions of Margeret about the first pseudo-Demetrius, some laughable coincidences with certain well-worn statements concerning the rover of Wagga-Wagga, who is at present a convict in Dartmoor prison. Margeret believed that Demetrius to be the true heir. As a proof that he was not a Pole, and had not been brought up by the Jesuits, Margeret mentions that Demetrius "did not know Latin," but that he himself had heard him speak true Russ immediately on his arrival in Russia, only that "he mixed now and then some Polish phrase with it, by way of ornamentation." The letters which Demetrius dictated were "in good Russian, and if he sometimes mispronounced a word, that is not sufficient testimony for denying his identity, considering his long absence from the country, and his being away from such very youthful age." One almost seems to hear counsel for the defence in the Tichborne case.

The warlike qualities of the Russians appeared to the French captain to be of a very indifferent kind. In one of the battles in

which the Polish troops of the Pretender found themselves greatly outnumbered, the Russian commander-in-chief was nevertheless in the greatest danger of being made prisoner. Three Polish companies charged upon the Russians with reckless fury. Dragged down from his horse, the Russian general was struck on the head three or four times, and would have been captured by Demetrius had not a dozen of (foreign) arquebusiers come to his rescue. "No doubt four (Polish) companies would have defeated the whole army of the emperor. One might have thought the Russians had no hands wherewith to strike, although there were between forty and fifty thousand men." This is the testimony of one who had fought on the Muscovite side.

Historically speaking, the Slavonian dweller upon the great Scythian plain has never been a warrior by inclination or character. He successively yielded, south and north, to Khazar, Warangian, and Mogul rule; either offering no, or at most the slightest possible, resistance, or even inviting foreign aid, which soon grew into foreign dominion. Adventurous expeditions of conquest have never been to the liking of the Russian Slav. It is a cruel joke to make him out a roving berserker. He thirsts not for glory; all his thoughts are entwined with the poor hut he is born in. His songs, full of melancholy sound, have nothing of the heroic in them, but are a strange mixture of childlike simplicity and of a sentimentalism moving in the narrowest circle of a secluded rural life. Unlike the Pole or the Montenegrin, the Russian Slav always had rather any other faults than those of excessive combativeness. The sages of his heathen forefathers know of no Walhalla, of no Walkyrian Virgins of Battle, of no hereafter in which the blessed heroes while away the time with sanguinary fights. Nor has he any national epics in which each rhyme gives forth a clangor as of thrust and counter-thrust. Had he the choice, the Russian peasant would prefer to live and die in his homely sheepskin, cultivating the cabbage, felling the fir-tree, forgetting all little cares in dance and *wodki*.

It is the Finnic and the Tatar element in Russia which has always mainly furnished the martial quality. When the Russian Slavs first appear in history, it is related of them that, though "cruel in warfare and obedient to military command," they were averse to the service of arms—at heart an unmartial race. Foreign skill, leaders from another race than the Muscovite, had generally to be put in the foremost rank in order to achieve some success. The

fostering of dissensions among the enemy by diplomatic skill or by the lavish use of bribery often did more for Russia than the reliance upon her own prowess. At the same time, the stolid subserviency of the Muscovite race has for centuries formed the dark and dreary background of ever-repeated attempts at encroachment and conquest, both in Europe and Asia.

An old empire—not a “youthful nation, free from the vices of the West,” as Muscovite writers would fain make us believe—Russia exhibited long ago some of the worst signs of corruption. The prevalence of bribery was her great cancer, even when Margeret wrote. In his time, the bureaucratic institution of the *Tchinn* had not yet converted the whole nation into one vast governmental machine; still corruption had already so thoroughly eaten into the very vitals of Russia, that neither judges nor administrators, nor any one else in office, were proof against the meanest temptations of lucre. “Money, pearls, furs, even salt fish,” were offered and accepted as bribes. Public castigation with a whip, even transportation to Siberia, were not able to stop the shameful practice altogether. The officials, quite puzzled by the severe punishments as to how to mask their corrupt cupidity, at last invented a curious trick. They placed in their houses a great number of religious pictures, some of which, Margeret says, were called *Boch* (Bog-God); others “*obros*,” or holy representations. Those who desired to win the ear of the judge, or of any other official, suspended their presents as a sort of religious homage! An ukase was thereupon published, that only seven or eight roubles’ worth could be suspended to the pictures. This compromise between corruption and judicial virtue is characteristic enough for the apparently ineradicable nature of the vice in Russia. Peter I., in despair, said that “if they could, his Russians would pocket even his ships of the line.” Margeret further relates that during eight days at Easter time the judges were allowed to take little presents, together with the Easter eggs, when kisses were exchanged with those who approached them. This universal custom of indiscriminate kissing at Easter was then the habit, as it is now. Altogether, the similarity between the Russia of that time and to-day in regard to many social and religious habits and national characteristics is so striking as to produce occasionally rather an exhilarating effect upon the reader.

It will scarcely be wondered at, after these details, that the system of an all-pervading, all-encompassing police, public and secret, should have existed among the Russians—those alleged “young

and vigorous barbarians"—at a far earlier time, and to a much greater extent, than among the nations of Europe at large. Even the terrible espionage by which a suspicious oligarchy at Venice once maintained its iron rule was mild in comparison. As early, at least, as the fourteenth century, Russia was enveloped in a complete network of frontier-guards, police officials, and regular spies and *agents provocateurs*. The very breath of the people seemed to be under the control of the sovereign. The Tatar khans, those hard taskmasters, may have first introduced the loathsome institution. The Muscovite princes afterwards eagerly accepted it. The whole governmental machinery of Russia, for good and for evil, can be traced back to the rule of the Mongols—a rule far more systematic and regular than many may imagine who know nothing of the "Golden Horde" but its name.

Under Czar Boris Godunow police influence was universal. The greater part of the servants in the houses of noblemen were in the secret pay of government.

Fouché and Vidocq, after all, were not original. Their prototypes may be found in ancient Holy Russia. So profligate was the Muscovite secret police system, that, to quote but one instance, Czar Boris, in order to divert public attention from some murderous political affair of his, caused his agents to set fire, stealthily, at night, to the shops and houses of certain rich merchants and others, in order to distract and occupy them (*pour leur tailler de la besogne*). When the czar's dirty political business was done, and the rumors that had risen about it were forgotten, Boris, feigning great sorrow at the arson which his own agents had committed, paid the sufferers from the state exchequer, and thereby caused himself to be looked upon as the benefactor of the people! That same emperor curried favor with the poor by the frequent distribution of alms, and with the priesthood by rich grants, thus getting support for his arbitrary rule in various ways. These are the old tricks of usurpers and crafty tyrants everywhere.

"There are very few good families," writes Margeret, "who have not felt what it is to suffer from a tyrant's suspicion, although he (Czar Boris) was regarded as a very mild ruler; for under his reign, before the arrival of Demetrius, not ten persons were publicly executed—except some thieves, who were hung." "But secretly," he adds, "a great number of persons were put to the rack, sent into exile, or poisoned on the way; and an endless number of men drowned, without his having thereby received any relief." The

close supervision over all persons in the vast Russian Empire may be gathered from the following passage of Margeret: "All the roads which lead out of the country are so closed, that it is impossible to leave it without the special permission of the emperor." So it is in Russia even now. When there was any fear of a war with Poland, all strangers were sent to the frontier of Tartary lest they might enter into an understanding with the enemy; for "this nation is the most suspicious and most mistrustful people in the world." And in another passage: "Russia is not a country of free access, where you can enter in order to study the language, to inform yourself of this or that matter, and then leave again; for, besides being closed, as I have already related, every thing is kept there so secretly that it is difficult to learn the truth about any thing if one does not see it with one's own eyes." Even eyesight, however, is sometimes deceptive in Russia, as we know from the famous pasteboard villages, and sham canals with masted vessels, with which Potemkin in the Crimea regaled the Empress Catherine from a distance.

Barbarism, corruption, slavishness, and tyranny, as wicked and artful as brutal—such is the picture of the life of the Russian nation which we gather from Margeret's pages. We see a deeply-rooted despotism that has grown hoary-headed in evil practices. We see nothing of the features of a youthful people destined to regenerate an old world. As a check to new-fangled Pan-Slavist theories, Margeret's work may be read to advantage. In the forged "Last Will of Peter the Great" we observe, for the first time, the notion of a young race of Northmen cropping up, who are to become a danger to an old and decrepit civilization, as the Teutonic race did to the Latin world. That forged document, originally fabricated, no doubt, as a means of creating a salutary alarm against a traditional policy of Russian encroachment, has since then served as a cue to those Pan-Slavists who wish to dupe us into a belief in the youthfulness of the Muscovite race and its consequent claim to a "Great Destiny." A danger to Europe, Russia, with her present constitution, overgrown dimensions, and aggressive tendencies, certainly is. That danger does not, however, arise from the alleged "vigorous blood of a primitive race," but from the restless policy of a czarate of semi-Mongol origin, which keeps a host of nationalities as in the depths of a dungeon, and which would fain enlarge the tyranny it has exercised since olden times over its own enslaved subjects into an oppressive and ambitious world-dominion.

PILGRIM CARAVANS IN THE EAST.

THE HAJ.

ONE of the most exciting scenes I ever witnessed in Syria was the return of some pilgrims from Mecca. They had left the great caravan route at some point on the Hauran plains, and were making their way to a certain village on the west of the Jordan. The whole population of the villages near by had turned out to meet them, and no prince or king could ask for a more brilliant ovation. Sheikhs and wise men, peasants and even beggars, with women and children, had arrayed themselves in their gayest attire, and with music and dancing, drums and muskets, or mounted on showy steeds, thronged the roads to welcome those who, in their estimation, had achieved the one great event of life. The people were frantic in their demonstrations, and while I partook of the general excitement, I felt that as an "infidel" or a "dog" my safest position was beyond the reach of the prancing horses and the spears of their riders. Yet possibly there was no real danger, for I passed once entirely through the boisterous crowd and was not molested, and, in fact, I could not say that I was even noticed. The pilgrims on their part were well browned, and some of them almost blackened by the sun and dust of the desert, but they were delighted with the attention which they received, and it is just possible that their soiled clothing and personal filth heightened the sentiment of holy pride which they felt at being thus highly honored for having made the great pilgrimage and seen Medina and Mecca. But amid all the rejoicing I could not fail to notice the worn and jaded appearance of the beasts of burden which these people rode, a silent testimony to the fact that a journey across the desert is always attended with hardships, and sometimes with death.

I do not wonder that a pious Moslem should desire to visit Mecca, and make every effort to do so, for he is ever after held in great respect by his fellow-citizens. But a single visit proves in practice to be better than many; for those who undertake a second

begin to feel on their return that they are holier than their neighbors, while the man who has made his third visit is elevated to such a state of holiness that he considers himself to be above all law and becomes a nuisance.

The real splendor of a caravan of pilgrims appears, however, at the time of starting, when men and beasts of burden are fresh, and while their showy costumes of silk and gold are not yet begrimed with dirt. But the magnitude and display of the caravans that leave Damascus for Mecca have been diminished very much since the opening of the Suez Canal, which was so great an innovation upon the unchangeable habits and customs of the Orientals as for a time to make it doubtful whether the "holy men" would not continue to use the "ships of the desert" in preference to the "ships of the infidels" upon the sea. If the success of the canal astonished the western world, it was certainly a surprise to the Moslems of Syria and Arabia. All Moslem influences in Western Asia are stationary or retrogressive, while the canal, as the result of civilization, was an event of progress. If these facts were brought into permanent connection, one must yield; and the world rejoices that civilization triumphed. Even Moslem fanaticism gives way to self-interest, and the modern followers of the prophet have so far broken away from the fetters of custom as to prefer to go to Mecca by sea when this is in their power. The sea voyage from Syrian and Egyptian ports to Jeddah shortens the time of the journey, and has comparative ease, comfort, and safety to recommend it, while the caravan is slow, expensive, and sometimes uncertain.

But in spite of the fact that the caravans have steadily decreased in size since the opening of the canal, they are not entirely shorn of their splendor and numerical strength, and whoever has seen them setting out from Damascus has witnessed what, from an Oriental stand-point, is a beautiful and splendid sight.

The caravans have really two starting-points; one is Damascus and the other is three days distant to the south, at Mazarib. At this point there is a castle and a large khan for the accommodation of the pilgrims; and, what is of greater moment, a large pond or small lake of sweet fresh water, formed entirely by springs at the bottom. Here, on the broad fields of ancient Bashan, the caravans halt to rest and reorganize. Either in the excitement at Damascus some were left behind, or others from other sections of the country are coming to join them here, or the outfit of provisions and clothing is incomplete, or the number of beasts of burden is not sufficient,

or the proper guard has not come up, so that a thorough overhauling and rearranging becomes necessary. Besides, the holiday part of the pilgrimage ends here; those who go on from this point must address themselves to the real hardships of the desert, and at least a few need such an opportunity as is here afforded of considering whether in undertaking this journey they have been prompted by fickle enthusiasm or a determined purpose.

The need of special care as to the outfit will be appreciated when it is remembered that every Haj, or pilgrim, must provide for himself through the whole journey, and that the time from Mazarib to Medina is twenty days, with a stretch of two hundred and fifty miles in addition before Mecca is reached.

Damascus is the place where many of the gorgeous costumes still worn in Central Asia are manufactured, and at the season of the departure of the Haj large numbers of the Shiite branch of the Moslems from the East visit the city and purchase quantities of such articles, which are then taken to Mecca or Medina and laid on the tomb of the prophet, acquiring thereby, it is supposed, an unusual sanctity, on which account they are highly prized as presents to their protectors or friends.

The Haj leave Damascus within a week or ten days after Beiram—*i.e.*, the "Lesser Beiram," which follows immediately the fast of Ramadan. But this may occur in any month during the year, since the Arabic is the lunar year; and hence they are sometimes subjected to very serious inconveniences, which, however, can not be helped. They plan their journey so as to enter Mecca the day before the Kourban, or Great Beiram.

It is next to impossible to ascertain the exact number of pilgrims, or the number of camp-followers—camel-drivers, soldiers, servants, and others—or the number of beasts of burden which make up the yearly caravans to Mecca. This is owing mainly to the fact that an Oriental takes notice of nothing except what immediately concerns his own interests, and can give but little information about what goes on around him. The details here given are based upon an examination of the government books at Damascus, and upon conversations either with the official representatives of foreign countries, or with persons of intelligence among the Moslems, who have themselves made the pilgrimage.

Before the Suez Canal was opened, the number of pilgrims that went by land from Damascus was estimated at from ten to twelve thousand annually; while the number is reduced at present

to about four thousand. This does not include the camp-followers to whom allusion has already been made. "Of the whole caravan," says Burckhardt, writing in 1812, "not above one tenth were real pilgrims; the rest consisted of soldiers, the servants of the soldiers, people attached to the pasha's suit, merchants, peddlers, camel-drivers, coffee and pipe waiters, a swarm of Bedouins, together with several tents of public women from Damascus, who were so far encouraged that, whenever they were unable to obtain from their lovers the daily food for their horses and mules, they obtained a supply from the pasha's stores" (Travels, p. 243). This careful observer speaks also of the extortion practiced by the conductors of the caravans, which was carried to such a degree that the pilgrims were often ruined by it. In addition, there was a great amount of thieving and robbery, "and it is more the want of sleep from fear of being plundered, than the fatigue of the journey, which causes the death of so many pilgrims." Further, "the pasha's troops, which bring up the rear of the caravan, have often been known to kill straggling pilgrims during the night, in order to strip them of their property." Besides, the hire of camels at that time was so great, and the expenses on the road and at Mecca were so much, that a pilgrimage could not be made in the most humble way for less than one hundred and twenty-five pounds sterling.

Since Burckhardt's time some of the abuses here referred to have been corrected in part: at least the general expenses have been reduced, less extortion is practiced by the conductors, and for the last fifteen or twenty years the Arab tribes along the road have been compromised with, that is *bought off*, so that the caravans are no longer attacked and plundered in such a wholesale way as formerly. While the expenses for the round trip can not be small as a rule, considering that the caravan is a month on the way, and stays a month in Mecca, and gets back to Damascus in three and a half to four months from the time of starting, yet it is possible for a poor man to make the trip in these days for twenty-five pounds, or something over one hundred dollars.

The number of animals employed depends entirely upon the wealth and position of the parties who are making the pilgrimage. Some persons have only a mule or a horse, which they ride all the way, and carry their own provision in their bags. Such can take with them of course only the most limited supply of clothing. The most, however, employ camels, which are the only proper beasts for desert traveling. The camels are supplied to the pilgrims by the various Arab tribes occupying the great plains south of Damascus,

including even the Beni Sakhr, who lie just east of the ancient Heshbon. Burckhardt speaks of one sheikh living at Shemskein (Sheikh Miskîn), who, in his time, furnished fifteen hundred camels and accompanied them himself to Mecca. The caravans number at present from four thousand to six thousand camels, and the pilgrims and others seldom buy or own their beasts of burden, but depend entirely upon hiring, making with their owners the best bargain they can, so that it is impossible to state what the general price is. It sometimes happens that beasts of burden die on the way, and this fact has to be considered at the outset, and extra animals taken for emergencies.

The whole caravan is under the charge of a certain Mahomet Said Pasha, a Koord living in Damascus, who has made the journey as leader for many years. Besides him there is an official who has special charge of the government presents to Mecca, and who always comes from Constantinople. There is a so-called "military" or "cavalry force," which consists of mounted Bedouin and Arabs in government pay, and which, with field-pieces, accompany the Haj both in going and coming. These irregular "braves" belong to no particular tribe, and, so long as they are employed by the government, they do not plunder—except in the mild form of pilfering—the pilgrims and others whom they undertake to escort. The government sends out every year what is called a "relief party" to meet the returning caravan. They start from Damascus a little before the Haj is supposed to leave Mecca on its homeward journey, and take with them provisions, powder, spare gun-carriage wheels, and some extra beasts of burden.

A large item connected with the expense of the caravans is the care of the "mahmal" with the yearly presents for Mecca from Constantinople. A special officer, as we have seen, accompanies this, and the ceremony attending its transport is great. This present being of such value, and the risks of the desert route being so great, it is probable that the government at Stamboul will hereafter send it by sea. In theory, the Constantinople government bears this part of the expense; but the poor sultans have had so many wives and so much war material to pay for that they could not spare money for religion, and the burden for the past few years has fallen upon Damascus. And that this is no light burden for an impoverished country may be seen from the fact that, in 1873, the Damascus treasury had to furnish for the caravan seventy thousand "purses," a sum equal to about three hundred and fifty

thousand pounds. Sending the "mahmal" by sea saves a large part of this expense; still the cost to Damascus of the yearly caravan is about forty thousand pounds. In 1876 it was forty-two thousand five hundred and seventy-five pounds, and in 1877 thirty-nine thousand and ninety-one pounds.

Allusion has been made to the fact that merchants accompany the caravans in considerable numbers, and it is estimated that about one third of the pilgrims themselves belong to this class. Even in this respect also the Moslem merchants take the prophet as their example, for it is supposed to be authentic history that Mohammed, when a young man, made commercial journeys with his uncle, and on one or more occasions went as far north as Bozra, a place very much frequented by Arabian merchants. When he was twenty-five years of age he was, as the story goes, a traveling merchant in the service of a certain widow named Khadîja, whom he afterward married as his first wife. On one of these visits to Bozra he met there, it is said, the monk Boheira, who recognized Mohammed as a prophet, and afterward went to Mecca and became his adviser while he was writing the Koran. At all events, the great prophet, in his practice of blending religion and business, has been imitated by his followers. But besides the regular merchants, almost all the pilgrims take something for barter or trade in a small way. It is now customary for the merchants to send their bulky goods by sea, but still a good deal of merchandise goes by the desert. They bring back "holy things," such as beads, spices, feathers, carpets, and slaves! As near as I can ascertain, as many as fifty or sixty, and sometimes eighty slaves—an estimate which is probably too low—chiefly boys and girls, are brought back to Damascus every year by the returning Mecca pilgrims and merchants. For these a ready sale is found. I have a friend in Beirût who is the agent of a Manchester firm, and one of his customers, residing in Damascus, makes the pilgrimage to Mecca every year and brings back regularly a lot of slaves. In the year 1876 he brought back twenty, all females. He obtained for them in Damascus more than double the price they cost him in Mecca. He was very frank to admit that it was quite common for the Moslems to exchange the merchandise which they took with them for slaves, because in that way they could realize two or three times the value of their goods. Dealing in slaves is not confined to Damascus, for even in Beirût, a city half Europeanized, I know of two houses, and there are probably others, where slaves are sold. They are brought up from

Alexandria, two or three or more at a time, as "servants," but designated really for the slave-market.

At the same time the Turkish and Egyptian governments have made numerous pledges to the governments of civilized countries that the slave-trade should be suppressed, and every now and then their high officials assure the English public that "the outrageous traffic has ceased," and that "slavery is at an end throughout the Turkish Empire." The friends of Turkey abroad may believe this statement, but those Americans or Europeans who are obliged to reside anywhere in the empire itself, know that, like other Turkish official statements, it is largely destitute of truth. The worst of it is that the government and people of Turkey have no real desire to suppress the slave traffic, and put forth no efforts to that end except such as they are compelled to by Christian governments.

People who have never seen the Haj road may imagine that it resembles a turnpike, or some public highway in a civilized country. But, on the contrary, it consists of a number of narrow paths, or trails, lying side by side, some of which are deeply and others but slightly worn. After leaving Mazarib the road skirts the western border of the plain, but avoids the Gilead and Moab hills, and thus passes over a comparatively level country. At intervals all the way to Mecca there are small forts, in some or all of which there are a few soldiers. These are generally built at or near the points where water can be obtained.

In referring to the pilgrimage to Mecca, or to the Haj road, writers often describe the way as "lined with bones bleaching on the desert sands," and the impression is conveyed that the mortality among the camels is something frightful. A popular writer, "upon seeing his first camel," spoke of their being unable to endure hardships, and that on any long journey they would "die like sheep." It is quite possible that a sheep dies when it stops breathing, and that a camel dies in like manner; but there the comparison ends. Mortality among the camels on the journey to Mecca is reduced to a minimum, and so far from the road being lined with bones, one may travel on it for miles and days together, as I have done, and hardly see a bone. When the Haj are obliged to make the journey during the rainy season, the camels are liable to slip and fall, and this is the chief cause of mortality among them. If a camel slips and falls, he is built in such a way that he may wrench or ruin his body, and hence in bad weather their legs are frequently tied together to prevent their spreading too far, and hence from slipping so badly.

But there are no hardships connected with the ordinary journeys to Mecca which a camel can not easily endure. It should be observed, however, that if a camel were reduced to bones, there would be enough to litter up half an acre of ground, or at least two miles of any given road. In harmony with the popular idea just referred to, one often sees, in pictures which represent camels upon a desert, a few bones in the background, as if the desert were covered with them; but on the Nineveh slabs there are pictures of camels and desert scenes as true and life-like as if drawn by the most skillful hand in the world, and a noticeable thing about them is that the Assyrian artists saw no reason for strewing the sand about the camels with bleaching bones.

I employed at one time as guide and hunter an old man whom we called Haj Ali. He was tall, very dark, quiet, and self-possessed, an Egyptian by birth, but a resident of Syria, and twenty-two years ago—*i.e.*, in 1856, had made the pilgrimage to Mecca. He thought that a poor man could not make the journey unless in the capacity of camel-driver or servant, and he must be strong, for a feeble person could not do it. He stated that at certain places on the road the regular pilgrims who had means were expected to contribute something for the assistance of the very poor ones. He also testified that while at certain places bones were seen, not a great many animals died.

It is extremely hazardous for a European to attempt to make the journey to Mecca with the regular caravans, yet in very rare instances it has been done. The "faithful" on such occasions are full of zeal, and give the poor "infidel" no quarter. When the Haj left in November, 1876, a certain Englishman waited upon the British Consul in Damascus, and stated that he desired to accompany the Haj to Mecca, and requested that the consul give him official authority and protection for his journey. The consul informed him that he was asking for something that could not possibly be granted. What authority had the English Government along the Haj road, and at Medina or Mecca? But the gentleman wished him to intercede with the Governor of Damascus and with the leader of the caravan, to see if they would not insure his protection. The governor replied that it was a thing entirely out of his power, and the leader of the caravan said he had no control over the pilgrims in any such matter as that, and that if the gentleman attempted to go he would most probably be killed. The consul saw no more of this importunate adventurer, and a bout two

months after the caravan had started, he heard from one of the forts far down towards Medina that a certain "franjee" had been found in disguise among the camp-followers, and the leader not daring to have him go on, and not knowing what else to do with him, had directed the soldiers at that place to detain and take care of him until the caravan should return, when he would see that the man was taken back to Damascus. The consul knew from the description that it was the same person who had asked him for British protection on the wild Arabian deserts. This man wished to copy some Nabathean inscriptions which he had heard of at some place down in Arabia, and it is a pity he could not carry out his project, although his attempt to accompany the Haj can be spoken of only as rash and foolhardy.

In this connection it will not be out of place to speak of the caravan routes between Damascus and Baghdad. The "express trains," or caravans which carry the mail, occupy from ten to fourteen days between the two points, the time varying a little according to the season of the year. The freight caravans require from thirty to forty days to make the same distance. On the route there are four or five places where the caravans stop for water and rest. This is called the direct route, and the Bedouins along it have of late years allowed the caravans to pass without molestation. There is also a long route by way of Aleppo and Mosul, which requires sixty or seventy days, but this is no longer used to any extent. Since the Suez Canal was opened trade has been diverted from the old-established centers, and decay and stagnation have settled down upon the once prosperous and flourishing city of Damascus. Formerly there was a large trade in English and foreign manufactures between Damascus and Baghdad, but this has now nearly ceased, and the incoming caravans bring only butter, skins, timback, etc., articles of comparatively small value. Nothing is done now where formerly there were large business interests; taxes are heavy and oppressive, while the means to meet the imperative demands of the government are rapidly diminishing year by year, and ruinous debts and poverty are staring in the face the once wealthy families of this ancient metropolis.

THE CENTENARY OF ROUSSEAU.

II.

ROUSSEAU'S literary career may be said to begin with his prize discourse upon the Progress of the Arts and Sciences in 1750 and to close with his death in 1778, thus covering a term of twenty-eight years. Whilst there is no need of going into the particulars of his personal career at this time, it is convenient to remember that this term of twenty-eight years is best understood by considering its three characteristic periods: the first including the season in which he produced his great works, the *Discourses*, the *New Heloise*, the *Social Contract*, and the *Emilius*, and ending with his exile from France in 1762; the second period taking in his retreat to Switzerland, Motier, and England, his wandering life in Europe, and his return to Paris in 1770, a period marked by the composition of his *Confessions* as well as by symptoms of insanity; the closing period of eight years, 1770–1778, containing the time of his shattered health and spirits, his poverty, and, after a short time of comparative peace at Ermonville, on the estate of M. Girardin, his sudden death July 2d, 1778.

His great works seem to have been parts of one perhaps unconscious system, and his literary life appears to have broken upon him very much like St. Augustine's religious life at a chance word. He was walking from Paris to Vincennes one hot afternoon in 1749, on a visit to Diderot, who was then in prison for his *Letter on the Blind*, when he lighted upon a stray newspaper which published the subject set forth by the Academy of Dijon for the prize: "Has the restoration of the sciences tended to purify or to corrupt manners?" He declared that "if ever any thing resembled a sudden inspiration, it was the movement that began in me as I read this. All at once I felt myself dazzled by a thousand sparkling lights; crowds of vivid ideas thronged into my mind with a force and confusion that threw me into inconceivable agitation. I felt my head whirling in a giddiness like that of intoxication. A violent

palpitation oppressed me ; unable to walk for difficulty of breathing, I sank under one of the trees of the avenue, and passed half an hour there in such a state of excitement, that when I stood up I saw that the front of my waistcoat was all wet with my tears, though I did not know that I was shedding them. Ah ! if I could ever have written quarter of what I saw and felt under that tree, with what clearness should I have brought out all the contradictions of our social system ; with what simplicity I should have demonstrated that man is good naturally, and that it is by institutions only that he is made bad." His friend in his prison backed up this strong impulse, and Rousseau wrote the discourse which won the prize over thirteen competitors in 1750.

That discourse contained the germ of all his works, and it was the first book of the New Institutes of this seceder from Calvin's Institutes and this champion of the new gospel and church of nature and humanity. The second discourse upon the question, "What is the origin of inequality among men, and is it authorized by the natural law?" was the second book ; and the New Heloise, the Emilius, and the Social Contract were the third, fourth, and fifth books that rounded the whole system. Or, to compare Rousseau with Augustine, this radical prophet of the new social order with that devout champion of the rising Christendom over the old Roman paganism, Rousseau set forth his own idea of the City of God like that saint, and so, too, he made his own burning Confessions of sin and aspiration. His thought did not run clearly, indeed, at the beginning or move in logical order, and, as Mr. Morley has said, his first discourse is not vertebrate as a piece of rhetoric. Yet the new fire was in it, and Grimm said that it made a kind of revolution in Paris.

It is not necessary to give an elaborate analysis of these works of Rousseau. The same ideas run through them all, in various forms and stages of development. He had found his text, and begun not only to preach his sermon, but to write out his own body of ethics and divinity. These three ideas ran through all that he wrote : man is right and pure by nature ; he is spoiled by society ; the great thing is to save him from the corruptions of society and lead him back to the truth and simplicity of nature. We must not suppose that he was so foolish as think that civilization was altogether a mistake, and that civilized people ought to return literally to the savage state. This return, of course, would be impossible ; yet the corruptions of society were to be seen and corrected, and

the lessons of nature and the warnings of reason and conscience were to be sacredly heard. We must remember in what a corrupt and artificial age this radical cry for reform was spoken, and how many of the changes that he suggested have been accepted by the science and civilization of our time. We must grant to this keen-eyed and bold-tongued Swiss censor the credit of bringing from the solitudes of his native mountains, and from his musings in Venice upon the republics of Italy, some stern and wholesome lessons for the corrupt society of France, at a time when courtesans ruled the throne and sometimes the church; when royalty was the reigning religion, etiquette was worship, manners were morals, and the king anointed of the Lord said grace over the victims of his seduction and the orgies of his lust.

Rousseau's *Social Contract*, although not published till 1762, was begun soon after the two *Discourses*, and belongs to the same cycle of aggressive thinking. This treatise is an examination of the just foundations and proper form of that civil society which the *Discourses* regarded as being founded in injustice and as incapable of securing the welfare of men. The opening sentence of chapter first said the word that set the age on fire: "Man is born free, and he is everywhere in chains." The mischief is to be repaired by looking to the foundation of social order, which is a sacred right and source of all other rights. This right does not come from nature, but is founded upon conventions. The thing to be done is to know what these conventions are, and the result is that the only just legislation which is to secure liberty and equality rests upon social contract. Rousseau began with setting forth each man as making himself voluntarily a part of the aggregate community, the collective body, the public person. This body he regards as sovereign. This sovereignty is inalienable and indivisible; it is the exercise of the collective will, which can not be transmitted; and all departments of the sovereignty are not divisions of the collective will, but expressions of it; not heads, but instruments of government. The general will of the sovereign is law, and the law-making power can not be delegated to another person or body. The obvious consequence is, that the only true government is a perpetual parliament of all citizens or an everlasting town-meeting, unless the various collective sovereigns or communes choose to put their heads together and to keep them together, and act as a great confederate collective will. The folly of this theory is obvious. No such social contract was ever made at the outset; and government was like the

family—a fact before it was an agreement. Indeed, all historical civilization exists under the law of heredity before it is stated as a system; and language, which is the voice of civilization and the very breath of society, was a living power before it was put into grammar and logic. Moreover, there can be no such perpetual assembly without delegated will, and the attempts to secure such result in the National Assembly of France through its committees led to the most utter despotism and the most monstrous centralization that modern history has seen. That is the best government that best embodies and represents the continuous and combined thought and virtue and life of the nation, whatever its form. Such government never begins in mere contract, yet the popular will, by wholesome check or approbation, should modify existing laws and powers by calm opinion and orderly vote. Here is a place for the idea of the social contract, but not the chief place. The Americans did not make our government by contract, but we accepted in the main pre-existing laws, and embodied the continuous and combined life of the States in the order of the Constitution. We had our revolution, but not a destruction of elementary law or civilized society. Unlike France, we used the idea of contract, not to create or justify central absolutism, but to defend local liberty and to restrict central jurisdiction. Rousseau was at heart more with us than with the French in this respect, more with Jefferson than with Robespierre; but the logic of events was stronger than the lines of a theory, and the collective will of an assembly became the armed head of the whole nation. Louis Napoleon played the same game by a more regular but equally false interpretation of the popular will.

Rousseau was not content with putting his ideas into discourses and essays, but he was bent upon making them live in telling works of art. He was not a great artist, although he had a rare sense of beauty of scenery, persons, and language; and, moreover, his thoughts and feelings tended to a certain personality which is the soul of art. Yet he could never get out of himself enough to let his characters speak for themselves; and it is Rousseau and his companions and experiences that look out upon us everywhere from the pages of *Héloïse* and *Emilius*. Hence the latter book, which turns more upon ideas, has more enduring life than the former, which tries to be an impassioned romance, but which is mostly made up of a set of letters, a note-book of conversations, and a lot of lectures and sermons, all full of eloquence, yet all from the same pen and personality, and well enough in their place. So far as pure

romance is concerned, he interests us most when he comes out fully in his own character, and tells us all about himself, as in his *Confessions*. It is all J. J. Rousseau and his associations there; yet these associations are beyond mere egotism, and rise into generous and grand universality, as in his descriptions of nature and his sketches of his better experience of books and society. With him every thing came home to his own personality: history became autobiography, philosophy was introspection, and religion was communion as much with himself as with God. He was master of the new literature of reverie, and nature was more the mirror of himself than he was the mirror of nature. He could not help putting his own word in everywhere; and even when he sets before us the last judgment, and his appearance there, as in the opening of his *Confessions*, the strange man insists upon being judge as well as culprit, and upon telling God that no man will dare to call himself better than this man. If his revelations of his vices are in some cases disgusting, we must remember that he regarded himself as speaking in the confessional, where the whole truth must be told; and they who have read the manuals of confessors know what foul details are spoken there.

The *New Heloise* is full of fire, and had great power over the thought and feeling of the age. Its idea probably came from Richardson's *Clarissa*, and its aim was to set forth the wrong and wretchedness of the prevailing mode of forcing marriage without love, and to show that true love is not only an engrossing passion, but an exalted virtue. The error of the book is in making love an absolute force, if not an infallible law and paramount religion. The madness of passion is in a manner checked by the discipline of philosophy in the sequel, and Wolmar's calm moralizing is brought forward to save the forgiven wife Julia from yielding to her old flame. But her love is rather kept down than rooted out by such counsels; and even the warnings and the consolations of faith do not wholly save her from unhallowed sentiment, whilst they secure her purity of conduct and give peace and sanctity to her death. To us the tone of the book is lax and offensive, yet in its time it was a plea for honest love against mercenary marriage and illicit pleasure, whilst it mingled with its romance humane thoughts of labor and capital, and of mutual duties between castle and cottage, counting-house and farm. It was purity itself to a generation that revelled in Crebillon's licentious pages, and was familiar with the intrigues of the court and its lords and ladies. It of course became a manual

of sentimentalism, with the false notion at the foundation that love of itself is divine, instead of tending to be the opposite of divine, and instead of being God, being more in need of God than any other passion. Heloise, of course, in its name and drift was a blow at the reigning society in its love relations, and it struck at the France of the time, as the story of Abelard and Heloise revealed the wrong of the old papal Rome. Its power came mainly from its defense of love in its own right; and women forgave the author for declaring that the woman must serve man as master so long as he insisted upon her right to possess him whom she serves.

The *Emilius* is Rousseau's great book, and it will live, and ought to live, as long as education is cared for, and there is any need of calling for fair play to body and soul against the artifices of fashion and the devices and dictations of pedants. The first words show the spirit of the whole book: "All is good as it comes from the hands of the Author of things; all degenerates in the hands of man." He carries his pattern pupil *Emilius* through the four stages of education, infancy, childhood, youth, and early manhood, and in the fifth chapter he treats of *Sophia*, his chosen wife, and of the education of women. Girardin may well say that he loves the *Emilius* for its generous recognition of the need of an education suited to each age of life and to all its uses, and also for its earnest lessons of morality, and of a morality far above the ethics of the world of his time, and not without close connections with religious sentiment. The book is full of mistakes and follies. What more unwise than to slight the habit of obedience, and to train the child to think and act only from personal knowledge of what is true and right in his own judgment; whereas it is evident that authority must go before reasoning and experience, that a child would suffer and die without the lead and help of parents, and that the true obedience does not crush reason and conscience, but rather opens the way for them, and gives them just nurture and guidance! So it is with religious instruction, which Rousseau absurdly postpones till the beginning of manhood, in fear of overworking the inquiring mind by arbitrary dictation or confounding it by unintelligible mysteries. Here, as always, he does not see the law of heredity and the nature of the affections and thoughts. The child's mind can not be a blank, and must have some ideas of religion, right or wrong, and the true way is to give him the best light, especially the best practical training and instruction that we can without premature argument and analysis. As we give him bread and milk before

we teach him their chemical composition, so we give him nurture in piety and charity before we trouble his mind with metaphysics or theology. Rousseau's error here comes, as everywhere, from his false idea of individualism, and his failure to treat each child and man as a member of the family and under the social and divine order. He does his best to develop religion and morality from the individual reason and conscience, but he does not succeed; and his noblest passages virtually confess the failure, as when in his *Vicaire Savoyard* he accepts Christ as divine, and salutes conscience more as the revelation of God than the device of men: "Conscience! conscience! instinct divine, immortal and celestial voice, assured guide of a being ignorant and limited, but intelligent and free; infallible judge of good and evil, which makes man like God!" This is very much like George Fox; and Rousseau was a Quaker of the sentimental school, and he led on a set of followers more devout than himself.

Crude as his views of religion were, and imperfect as was his conception of Christianity, he yet claimed to be a Christian in his letter to the Archbishop of Paris in 1762, after returning in 1754 to the Protestant Church in which he was born. This letter to the archbishop was dated from Motiers, Neufchâtel, where Rousseau found brief refuge under the rule of Frederick the Great, and it marks the beginning of his eight years of exile and wandering, that were in such strong contrast with those twelve years of comparatively quiet study and composition in or near the great city; most of the time in the favored retreats of the Hermitage and Montmorency, with high-born gentlemen and ladies for friends and patrons. These years of exile were followed by eight years in France, which closed with his death in 1778, and which concern more his personal life and his infirmities of mind and body than his genius or his fame.

III.

It is a somewhat serious matter to undertake to settle Rousseau's place in history after a century has gone since his death. It is especially a serious matter to write a centenary article in this *INTERNATIONAL REVIEW* upon his influence, since he probably more than any other European, certainly more than any other Frenchman, made his mark upon our American politics, and his extravagances have played into the hands of partisans, and perhaps at this very time they are at work in the most dangerous tendencies of American society. He tried to break loose from history, and to turn his back upon the ages of experience and the lessons and

examples of lawgivers and nations; as if every man had the whole world in his own mind and could construct society and government afresh out of his own consciousness and will. He made a sad mistake, as many of our people have done and are doing. He tried to jump out of history, and he found that history had close hold of him, and that the sober lessons of time and experience which he renounced in his theory he illustrated and confirmed by his mistakes and his wretchedness. He had no sort of conviction of the will power in man and history; and in his sentimental dreaming he makes the same mistake that Spinoza a century before made in his bloodless idealism. Yet strong as we are in rejecting the lead of Rousseau and his school of radical thinkers and agitators, we must be all the more earnest to deal with him fairly, and to give him the full benefit of the most eloquent counsel and the fairest jury and the most learned and sagacious judgment.

The works placed at the head of this article are a fair representation of the mind of our time as to Rousseau's power and worth. They all treat him respectfully and even tenderly. Saint-Marc Girardin differs from him probably more widely than any of his kindly critics; and this refined, accomplished, and devout Frenchman looks upon his hero from the high ground of Christian faith and ethics and with the watchful eye of a conservative monarchist. Girardin, with all his keen sense of Rousseau's sophisms in politics and errors in ideas of education, can yet speak thus of this wild preacher of nature against civilization and of instinct against school learning: "Think in what a moment of the history of the human mind, in the midst of what forgettings and what disdains of God, he has dared to pronounce the *sursum corda* which has aroused souls from their lethargy. Rousseau has snatched his time from the routine of incredulity; whilst the philosophers of the day undertook to startle and shame the age out of believing, Rousseau was moved to startle and shame the age out of not believing. To believe every thing, what absurdity! they said. To believe nothing, what greater absurdity! cried he; and the day in which impiety, whether frivolous or systematic, began to stagger in its infatuation or in its logic, that very day the cause of religion was more and more beyond the pleading of its defender." Mr. Morley does not seem to have any positive religious belief of his own, nor does he closely scan the heresies of his hero or greatly admire his zeal. Yet he carefully studies his disposition as well as his genius, and acknowledges his sincere reverence thus: "The prime merit of Rousseau, in comparing him with the brilliant chief of the rationalistic school

of his time (Voltaire), is his reverence : reverence for moral worth, in however obscure intellectual company ; for the dignity of human character, for some of those cravings of the human mind after the divine and incommensurable, which are closely bound up with the highest elements of nobleness of soul. In a word, he was religious. Again, he was a puritan, a puritan of the eighteenth century, it will be understood." Van Laun gives an elaborate study of him as one of the forerunners of the French Revolution, and after full allowance for his shortcomings and excesses, pays him this tribute : " He remained one of the greatest, if not the very greatest literary power of the age ; and his influence on letters, as on life and politics, was deeper, if not wider and more enduring, than that of any other Frenchman of his century."

It is amusing to set the verdict of the reactionary De Maistre against the eulogium of George Sand upon Rousseau—the man whom that Catholic stigmatizes as " one of the most dangerous sophists of his age, and yet the most destitute of true science, sagacity, and, above all, of depth, with a show of depth which is only in words ;" whilst this free-thinking woman thus salutes her apostle, whom she accuses only of finding his golden age in the past instead of the future : " Rousseau is a Christian as orthodox as the centurion (centenier) Matthew and the persecutor Paul are for the church of the past. At a time when every dogma was veiled and darkened under the scrutiny of frightened reason, the soul of Rousseau remained thoroughly Christian. It dreamed the equality, the toleration, the fraternity, the independence of men, submission before God, the future life and the divine justice under other forms, but not in virtue of other principles than the first Christians have done." She calls his Confessions an act of pious penitence, and claims him as the highest example in his age of that " eternal religion of which Christianity is a phase and skepticism is an accident." We may as well sum up this testimony with the evidence of Carlyle to the worth of this man whom " we have seen one whole nation worship," whilst Burke, in the name of another nation, classed him " with the offscourings of the earth." Here is, perhaps, a fair statement of present English opinion through its most famous oracle at Chelsea : " His true character, with its lost aspirings and poor performings ; and how the spirit of the man worked so wildly, like celestial fire in a thick, dark element of chaos, and shot forth ethereal radiance, all-piercing lightning, yet could not illuminate,

was quenched and did not conquer ; this, with what lies in it, may now be pretty accurately appreciated."

If we may presume to add our poor testimony to this august company of witnesses, it will be to say that Rousseau must be judged by what he was and what he tried to do, and not by what he was not and was not able to do. He was a sickly creature in some respects from birth, and his moral weakness came partly from constitutional ailment ; and he deserves all the consideration which the science of our time brings to bear upon such cases. He tried to do with his brain and hand what no man has yet done. He tried to set up the individual man in what he called his native dignity, and to bring on a Renaissance greater than that which Dante or Erasmus headed. He would make the individual the source and center of a new civilization, and develop citizenship, education, religion, and humanity from moral and spiritual sentiment. In this he was a Swiss ; and he did the Swiss business of keeping inns for all nations and teaching school on a grand scale to everybody's children. His mind was open to all comers ; and vagabonds and kings, kitchen-maids and duchesses, were his associates and correspondents. All guests who came to him went forth from him clad in the garment of his own peerless style ; and whatever impression of persons and life entered his mind was worked up into his own fiber, and was sent out in his own flaming word. He set himself to school the nations, and he talked to kings in very much the same master's tone as to workingmen ; whilst he did much to introduce the new style of royal speech, which says and writes "I" with more authority than the old "we" of sovereigns, and which means that he who thus says "I think" means to be understood as answering for the new public opinion that includes all orders, simple as well as gentle, and shames the pomp of courts and the fences of caste.

He was, it is true, a bundle of contradictions, and his career was a failure. A plebeian, yet a lover of courtly beauty, and master of its refinements of speech ; a solitary enraptured with nature, yet reveling among forests and waters in remembrances of his social honors and pains, and reading in the landscape his own experience of society and men and women, written there by his fancy in sympathetic ink that became visible under his eye ; a censor of culture, yet a dainty amateur of literary elegance ; a stickler for unbounded social and political liberty, yet a pope in his dictatorship ; a romancer of pure love, and the mate of a coarse concubine ; a prophet of the new education that was to correct and purify home life, yet sending his

children to the foundling hospital; a theorist who justified the use of force in securing religious conformity in the state, yet quarreling with every government under which he lived and taught his heresies; an enemy of the theatre, yet author of a play; and fond of making himself and his secrets a spectacle; a penitent in sackcloth and ashes, yet proud of his exposures of his vice and of his tears of contrition; speaking his mind boldly to kings and prelates, yet crazed with fear of critics conspiring to ruin him; full of zeal for humanity and peace, yet expressing ideas that have deluged the world with blood; the weakest of men in vigor of muscle and force of executive will, yet measuring his strength with the ruling powers of the world, and speaking of institutions as if they could be made or unmade by a word: this is the man in whom the old and the new times came together, and what wonder that he himself was as much of a paradox as the age whose contradictions he tried to reconcile, and whose antagonisms, like thunder-clouds, met in him, and struck with their lightning his quivering nerves and his restless brain? What is very strange, great as his influence has been, it has never been what he intended, and in most respects quite different. He was not a bag of wind indeed, but he held, like Æolus, the winds at his command, and when he opened his cave they blew every way other than what he asked and expected. His mystical religious sentiment fanned the rising flame of Roman Catholic and also evangelical pietism, as in Chateaubriand and Schleiermacher; his jealousy of excessive government and of trespass on personal right swelled the sails of the Robespierrean junto; his defense of the rights of man has inflamed the rage of Communism in its crusade of Atheism, and the deism which gives him affinity with the new Free Religion has breathed life into a kind of religious naturalism which makes light of his Quakerish introspection and seeks God in the evolution of nature, the heredity of the ages, and the solidarity of mankind—views utterly strange and opposite to his. His tendency lives and grows, but his theory has died out among thoughtful people. "He was the first," Sainte-Beuve says, "who put *something green* into our literature. That something green never dies."

We in America have had him amongst us in chosen disciples and in popular tendencies; and Jefferson and Paine preached him to our people and wrote him in documents that will not die, although the practical mind of our people has too much ballast to be carried away by abstract notions of the Rousseau school. We as a people tend, however, in a measure to repeat his error by breaking too

indiscriminately away from the old civilization, and thinking that nature should shape us instead of our shaping nature, and that the individual makes society instead of society making the individual, that man must make his religion instead of his religion making him, and that nations have their root in the atoms of personal choice, instead of in the combined and transmitted order of the ages and in the solar forces of God. Yet our liberal thinking has been more ruled by the practical conservatism of Locke and the Revolution of 1688, and by the common-sense of Franklin, than by the ideal democracy of Rousseau and the French Revolution.

Locke formed, to a great extent, the principles of the liberalized Puritans of New England; and when the new era of bolder progress came under such leaders as Channing, Bushnell, Parker, and Sumner, the rising transcendentalism was based more upon the keen and logical reason of Kant than upon the impassioned sentiment of Rousseau. Hence the new radicalism was cautious; and, moreover, our American liberalism differed from the French in this respect, that our liberty men came from the old reverential and conservative stock, and kept and nursed their freedom within the old church and state.

In Boston, the American Geneva, where Calvin's clergy had for years their way, the liberals who succeeded them in power were not behind them in character. The early liberals were conservatives in politics, whilst tolerant in religion; whilst the new liberals were more or less radical in politics and in religion, far more strict in ethics than in theology, and verging upon revolutionary latitude in speculative ideas rather than in socialistic movements. What would have been the result if the case had been otherwise, and if New England radicalism had taken a destructive direction? Lecky asks what would have been the influence upon French politics if Rousseau had been rich instead of poor; and we may ask what would a stormy spirit like Theodore Parker have become had he been as poor in fortune, as much tainted by profligates, as Rousseau, and maddened into being a wild revolutionist instead of an ethical reformer, in a war against the lords of lands and houses, banks and mills and roads.

What was done in Paris and Geneva to celebrate the centenary of Rousseau, we are already informed. We are assured that no commune of infuriated workmen paraded in his honor, and no Robespierre marched at the head of a grand procession in his name to inaugurate the God whose worship atheism had abolished. His name will not be forgotten in Paris, where industry celebrates

her triumphs; and in Geneva, which multiplies monuments of the heretic in the city where Calvin is a mighty name without a memorial stone.

I can never forget being in Geneva in September, 1869, when the union of that city with the Swiss cantons was celebrated by unvailing a monument with two noble statues answering to Geneva and Switzerland. In the evening, the city was all aglow with the illumination of houses and public buildings, and I strolled across the Rhone bridge to the charming little Isle of Rousseau. His statue was bright as in the day, and some friendly visitor had placed in its hand the inscription, "Author of *Emile*." The swans, who mistook the light for day, were wide awake and swimming about restlessly, as if they were trying to sing, and as if a swan song were due to this gifted and unhappy man, who was born almost dying and never ceased to be dying. I thought of him as he had spoken to me so long ago, and how much he called for gratitude as well as for forgiveness at our hands; and there was more joy in what he has won for us over all abuses than sadness over his mistakes and sins. The swift tide of the Rhone was rushing by with cool water springing from the mountain glaciers, which I some weeks afterwards climbed to see, and flowing through France to the Mediterranean at Marseilles, where, in December, I saw its current join with the great sea, and heard it whisper the name of Rousseau in connection with the grandest hymn of liberty, the *Marseillaise*.

Is not that river Rhone, or a stream like it, ever flowing from such mountain glaciers, and bearing such names in its rush and its roar? New men with new times are always coming, and too often in vengeance and destruction—now in the irruption of barbaric invaders, and now in the outbreak of revolutionary masses. What next? is the question, and our best culture and religion ought to answer it. Not revolution, but renewal, we need; and renewal we must have by the union of our best study of nature, our strongest pursuit of industry, our wisest science, our deepest philosophy, our heartiest humanity, and our divine faith. There is serious call for this renewal now; for society is artificial, politics are corrupt, business is demoralized, education inefficient, and religion uncertain and chaotic. When the true renewal comes, we can name the dreamer Rousseau with more hearty praise and more just censure than now, for we shall see what he tried to do and failed to do by not walking in the paths of wisdom and peace, which he sighed for and did not find.

RECENT CHANGES IN AMERICAN STATE CONSTITUTIONS.¹

THE past ten years form a period of general organic change in the government of the States of the American Union. Within that time a third of the States have adopted either their first constitutions or entire revisions of their former ones, and another third have adopted important amendments. The extension of suffrage to the colored race almost assumes a subordinate place in the multitude and extent of other changes characterizing this period. In fact, conformity with the policy of negro suffrage on the part of the States appears to be a purely formal and inconsequential step, except as it might be construed into an intent to reject or endanger what are popularly characterized as the results of the war. Thus, no Southern State could to-day adopt constitutional provisions forbidding the immigration of negroes and mulattoes, voiding all labor contracts with such persons, and denying them the right of suffrage, without raising a storm of indignation at the North. Yet such remain the uncanceled provisions of the constitution of Indiana as adopted in 1851. The Southern States have framed their State constitutions squarely to the new order of things. The distinct admission of allegiance to the federal authority may

¹ Constitutions of Alabama (1875), Arkansas (1875), Colorado (1876), Georgia (1877), Illinois (1870), Iowa (1857), Kansas (1875), Mississippi (1869) (Missouri (1875), Nebraska (1875), Nevada (1864), North Carolina (1875), Ohio (1851), Pennsylvania (1873), Tennessee (1870), Texas (1875), West Virginia (1872), Virginia (1867).

Amended Constitutions of California (1862), Connecticut (1875-6), Florida (1871-5), Indiana (1873), Louisiana (1870), Maine (1875), Michigan (1876), Minnesota (1875), New Hampshire (1877), New Jersey (1875), New York (1874), Vermont (1870).

The American's Guide, etc., containing the Constitutions of the several States composing the Union. Philadelphia, 1830.

American Constitutions, comprising the Constitution of each State and of the United States. By Franklin B. Hough. Albany, 1872.

The Constitutions of the several States of the Union and United States, including the Declaration of Independence and Articles of Confederation. A. S. Barnes & Co. New York, 1859.

be less full in one or two instances, upon the more recent revisions, since the State governments have reverted into the hands of the native Southern element, but they are still more explicit than the constitutions of the Northern States, which for the most part are silent on this point. We shall recur to these provisions again in the proper place.

Aside from the political changes consequent upon emancipation, there have been great and really significant changes of an economical nature. Simplicity of administration, limitation of the executive and legislative prerogatives, reservation to the people of powers which it has been found in practice could not be safely intrusted to the governing bodies, restriction of the power of State and municipality to contract debt and to tax, definition of the relation of the State to its chartered creatures and to certain great industries, simplification and moral purgation of government in general, these have been the great and interesting labors of State reform during this period.

In these respects real advances have been made. The reformatory impulse naturally sprung from abuses which demanded correction. The States emerged from the war heavily loaded with debt, pressed with the necessity of economy of administration, and at the same time tempted of the great enterprises and expenditures to which an era of inflation gave rise. The experience of a few years disclosed the fact that special legislation or jobs had greatly weakened the "wisdom and virtue" of State authority, and especially of the legislatures. Corruption funds richly supported a gang of hangers-on at every state house, and whether these lobbyists bribed legislators or more thriftily put in their own pockets the reputed wages of venality, public virtue was equally discredited in either case. The time which should have been devoted to general and conservative legislation was squandered, and the prerogatives of authority totally misapplied. The Western States had been through disastrous experiences in public improvements prior to 1857, and the war left them with little disposition to increase their State debts beyond the burden thus created; but the loan of municipal credit to railroads and other enterprises was a new discovery, and was indulged in with a recklessness which more than overbalanced the prudence of State finance. The Eastern States, with the exception of Massachusetts, also pursued a conservative policy in this respect, but their municipalities were betrayed into excesses almost equal to those of western cities and towns. The Southern States, unde

the early evils of negro suffrage and carpet-bag government, loaned their own credit largely to railroads, the doubtful credit of their obscure municipalities fortunately saving them from temptation. At the present time, therefore, the Eastern and Western States, with a few exceptions, are not heavily in debt; but the municipalities in these States are deeply involved. At the South the States are more deeply indebted, the municipalities less so, though by the "scaling down" and repudiation now going on, even the Southern States will soon be able to start anew, equally shorn of debt and credit. All the new constitutions, and many of the amended ones, as we shall show further on, impose sharp limitations on the power of States and municipalities to contract debt. The limitation of the power of the State to create corporations, and of the powers of the corporations themselves, sprung from the evils experienced by the States from their banks prior to 1857, and from the difficulties more lately encountered in the efforts of the States to control railroad management.

To take note somewhat in detail of the changes in the organisms of American States within the past generation, it will be convenient to consider them under the following loosely classified heads—Rights, Administration, Debt, and Industrial Relations.

RIGHTS.

The bills of rights have changed less than any other portion of the State constitutions. Except in relation to slavery, the wisdom of the fathers was good as far as it went, and has not been materially added to. The changes, however, are significant, if slight, and stand for still deeper changes in public opinion. To note one of the most curious, the early constitutions generally omitted to thank God for the blessings which they were intended to perpetuate, and distrustfully denied the clergy seats in the representative assemblies. Both discourtesies have been rectified. The early constitutions also rendered ineligible to office all who denied the being of God, or the doctrine of future rewards and punishments. Pennsylvania and Tennessee still disqualify for the non-acceptance of either of these dogmas, while Arkansas and South Carolina regard the belief in the Deity as a sufficient bulwark of official virtue. Tennessee still disqualifies the clergy, retaining the antique and scarcely ingenious preamble of reasons: "Whereas ministers of the Gospel are by their profession dedicated to God and the care of souls, and

ought not to be diverted from the great duties of their functions, therefore no minister," etc. The more general recognition of Providence and the abandonment of reliance on revolting dogma to insure morality are parallel tendencies, contrasting strangely with the narrow skepticism of Paine and the narrow theology of Edwards. New Hampshire has just refused to strike the word "Protestant" from the qualifications of public-school teachers, the only sectarian provision still retained, and in practice virtually abandoned. It is the policy of the new constitutions in general to forbid grants of public money to sectarian educational institutions.

The growing regard for the rights of women is evinced by the general adoption of a provision securing to the wife the control of property acquired before marriage, or in her own right after marriage. The terms of this provision vary somewhat, but in general secure to the wife such estate as her sole and separate property, not liable for her husband's debts, and which she may devise or bequeath. This is the language of Alabama. Texas enjoins that "laws shall be passed more clearly defining the rights of the wife in relation as well to her separate property as that held in common with her husband." The California provision is similar. Kansas adds that the laws shall "provide for their equal rights in the possession of their children." Kansas also requires that "the legislature, in providing for the formation and regulation of schools, shall make no distinction between the rights of males and females." Pennsylvania makes women twenty-one years of age "eligible to any office of control or management under the school laws of the State." Minnesota authorizes the legislature to confer the suffrage on women for school purposes, and to make them eligible to school offices. Colorado secures to women the right to vote at school district elections and eligibility to school district offices, and requires the legislature to extend the entire suffrage to women at its first session, contingently upon ratification of the enactment at the polls. The same procedure may at any subsequent time admit women to the polls. In 1830 women had not made their appearance in any State institution. New Jersey at that time still conferred the suffrage on "all inhabitants of full age who are worth £50," etc., but the legislature had excluded women from the scope of this provision in 1807, after having in previous years expressly interpreted it in their favor.

The educational qualification of suffrage makes little progress. Colorado legitimizes such a qualification after 1890, and Florida pro-

vides that the legislature "shall enact laws requiring educational qualifications for electors" after 1880, such laws not to apply to electors previously qualified. Dueling generally disfranchises and disqualifies for office. Nearly all the States make the truth a sufficient defense for libel, and Colorado gives to the jury in such cases the determination of the law and the fact. The same State introduces a new and valuable private right, namely, "that no person shall be imprisoned for the purpose of securing his testimony longer than may be necessary in order to take his deposition." This section further provides for adequate examination and cross in such cases.

We come now to the civil and political changes in the Southern States consequent upon the war. The bill of rights of Alabama is one of the most explicit on this point:

"SEC. 33. That no form of slavery shall exist in this State; and there shall be no involuntary servitude, otherwise than for the punishment of crime, of which the party shall have been duly convicted.

"SEC. 34. The right of suffrage shall be protected by laws regulating elections, and prohibiting, under adequate penalties, all undue influences from power, bribery, tumult, or other improper conduct.

"SEC. 35. The people of this State accept as final the established fact that from the Federal Union there can be no secession of any State.

"SEC. 38. No educational or property qualification for suffrage or office, nor any restraint upon the same on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, shall be made by law."

Among those who are disqualified from voting or holding office in the same State are "those who shall have been convicted of treason, embezzlement of public funds, malfeasance in office, larceny, bribery, or other crime punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary." This provision has alarmed some of the friends of the negro as being intended to disfranchise a class who are notoriously liable to "steal chickens." On the other hand, it may be alleged that the association of political disabilities with crimes against property may be expedient to inculcate a respect for property rights, which is to a large degree lacking. The criminal grounds for disfranchisement in Connecticut are similar—"bribery, forgery, perjury, dueling, fraudulent bankruptcy, theft, or other offense for which an infamous punishment is inflicted." Arkansas provides that no citizen shall be deprived of any right, privilege, or immunity, or exempted from any burden or duty, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The suffrage shall not be made to "depend upon any previous registration of the elector's name,"

or forfeited except for a felony at common law. Mississippi declares that "the right to withdraw from the Federal Union on account of any real or supposed grievances shall never be assumed by this State; nor shall any law be passed in derogation of the paramount allegiance of the citizens of this State to the government of the United States;" also that persons in order to vote be "not disqualified by reason of any crime." The constitution of Texas declares that "Texas is a free and independent State, subject only to the Constitution of the United States, and the maintenance of our free institutions and the perpetuity of the Union depend upon the preservation of the right of local self-government unimpaired to all the States." It disfranchises for felony, subject to such exceptions as the legislature may make. North Carolina is very explicit in denying secession and assuring paramount allegiance to the United States as "the American nation." It disfranchises for felony or infamous crime. The declarations of South Carolina are in substantially the same terms. North Carolina also prohibits marriage "between a white and a negro, or between a white person and a person of negro descent to the third generation inclusive." Virginia declares that "this State shall ever remain a member of the United States of America, and that the people thereof are part of the American nation, and that all attempts, from whatever source or upon whatever pretext, to dissolve said Union or to sever said nation, . . . ought to be resisted with the whole power of the State." It disfranchises "persons convicted of bribery at any election, embezzlement of public funds, treason, felony, or petit larceny." Florida accepts the Union in terms similar to those of North Carolina, and disfranchises for "bribery, perjury, larceny, or infamous crime, for betting on elections, and for dueling."

Tennessee prohibits slavery in the language of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, and in an additional article forbids legislation "recognizing the right of property in man." The only ground of disfranchisement is conviction by a jury, and court of competent jurisdiction, "of some infamous crime." Louisiana likewise adopts the language of the Thirteenth Amendment, and declares that "the citizens of the State owe allegiance to the United States, and this allegiance is paramount to that which they owe to the State;" it disfranchises and disqualifies for jury duty any person who has been convicted of treason, perjury, forgery, bribery, or "other crime punishable in the penitentiary," or "who shall have been under interdiction." Louisiana enters into the question of civil rights by securing to "all persons equal rights and privileges upon

any conveyance of a public character, and all places of business or of public resort, or for which a license is required by either State, parish, or municipal authority, shall be deemed places of a public character, and shall be opened to the accommodation and patronage of all persons, without distinction or discrimination on account of race or color." The constitution of this State also prohibits legislation "fixing the price of manual labor," and provides that "the State shall not assume the rebel debt, or claim allowance for slaves liberated." The constitution of Georgia, which was the last one framed, and has been called "Bob Toombs' constitution," adopts the language of the Thirteenth Amendment, and declares that all citizens of the United States shall be citizens of the State, and be protected "in the full enjoyment of the rights, privileges, and immunities due to such citizenship." Larceny and crimes "involving moral turpitude" are among the causes of disqualification. "The social status of the citizen shall never be the subject of legislation."

Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, Missouri, Tennessee, Texas, and West Virginia require separate schools for children of African descent, or for white and colored persons, as the expression in some cases is toned; these provisions are associated with others, prohibiting discrimination in the quality of the instruction, and securing uniform privileges. Arkansas, Virginia, Mississippi, and Florida secure equal uniformity and completeness in their school systems, but are silent on the separation of races, leaving the State free to follow either policy. Louisiana, on the contrary, provides that "there shall be no separate schools or institutions of learning established exclusively for any race by the State of Louisiana," and no municipal corporation shall make rules to the contrary. South Carolina requires that "all the public schools, colleges, and universities supported by public funds shall be free and open to all the children and youth of the State without regard to race or color."

Jury trial is so guarded by the Federal Constitution, both in criminal and civil cases, as to be difficult of modification, except to suggest that both parties to civil suits waive a jury trial. Nevada permits three fourths of the jury in civil suits to make a verdict, unless the legislature shall require a majority by law. Colorado reduces the grand jury to twelve men, of whom nine may indict, and provides that the legislature may change or abolish the grand jury system entirely. The legislature has already availed itself of this liberty by substituting for the grand jury a court of impeachment in each county, consisting of the county judge and two justices of the peace. Illinois, also, permits the abolition of the grand jury.

ADMINISTRATION.

The most striking change in the reservation of power to the people in pure administration is the assumption of the choice of judges by the people in place of their appointment by the executive, or their designation by the legislative body. In 1830, half the twenty-four States intrusted the appointment of judges to the governor; the other half provided for elections by the legislatures in joint assembly, or qualified the executive nomination by legislative sanction. Of the thirty-eight States now existing, twenty-four now elect judges by popular vote, nine give their appointment to the governor, and five continue to elect in joint assembly. In 1830 no State elected judges by popular vote; to-day the number of States so electing is equal to the whole number of States in the Union at that time. On the other hand, the short terms of office which characterize those States with a legislative choice have been succeeded under popular elections by long terms. Under popular elections the term of the judges of the highest court in California and Missouri is ten years; in West Virginia, twelve years; in New York, fourteen years, and in Pennsylvania, twenty-one years, incumbents not being re-eligible in the last case. In fact, the average term of popularly-elected judges is not much less than ten years, with such classification as to secure the State against the change of its whole bench at once.

The States intrusting judicial appointments to the governor secure to the incumbent possession during good behavior, sometimes with a limit of superannuation. In those where the legislatures elect, terms vary greatly, from two years in Vermont to twelve in Virginia. The Vermont practice has been to elect judges every session—even annually when the sessions were annual. This immediateness of accountability of course obviated the necessity for power of removal or impeachment, and has not worked so prejudicially to the independence of the bench of that State as it might under other popular conditions. The remarkable growth of popular power above indicated has been viewed with alarm in some quarters, on the assumption that improper motives would control the election of judges and compromise their independence. The evil is less in practice than in theory. Judicial nominations are generally made with care, and personal qualifications for the office lose nothing by being discussed temperately in an open canvass, rather than pressed upon an executive in the secrecy of his cabinet.

There have been scandals of elected judges as well as of appointed judges, but we recall no instance of the former in which there is any reason to suppose that the executive would have been more alert than the people to detect personal incapacity or to defeat an improper choice. The provisions for the impeachment of judges have not been materially changed, but many States now permit the governor to remove judges for reasonable cause on the address of two thirds or three fourths of both houses of the legislature. It is a sad fact that New Hampshire, one of the States which retains the gubernatorial appointment of judges, has just refused to sanction an amendment prohibiting the removal of judicial and other commissioned officers (upon the address of the legislature), "for political reasons."

There is very little change, otherwise than in respect to the judiciary, in the framework of American States. The executive council has long fallen into general disuse. Alabama and Arkansas escape the burden of a lieutenant-governor by devolving the succession on the president of the Senate, chosen by and from among the members thereof. Some new restrictions on the pardoning power have been devised; Pennsylvania makes it necessary to obtain the recommendation of the lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, attorney-general, and secretary of internal affairs, sitting as a board of pardons. Nevada requires a majority of the governor, supreme court, and attorney-general. The constitution of Pennsylvania is unique in providing a tribunal for contested gubernatorial elections, over which the chief justice presides. Pennsylvania also provides that when two judges of the supreme court are to be chosen for the same term, each voter shall vote for but one; when there are three to be chosen, for no more than two. This is the only concession to minority representation, except that of Illinois, whose House of Representatives is elected as follows:

SECS. 7 and 8. The House of Representatives shall consist of three times the number of the members of the Senate, and the term of office shall be two years. Three representatives shall be elected in each senatorial district at the general election in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-two, and every two years thereafter. In all elections of representatives aforesaid, each qualified voter may cast as many votes for one candidate as there are representatives to be elected, or may distribute the same, or equal parts thereof, among the candidates, as he shall see fit; and the candidates highest in votes shall be declared elected.

The disposition to improve the public service by lengthening and strengthening the tenure of office which we have seen exhibited

in the judicial department, has led also to an increase in the terms of governors and all State officers, and in the substitution to some extent of biennial for annual sessions of the legislatures. Several of the States elect governors for four years, and the senate for a similar term, one half retiring biennially. The principle of classification of legislators and of judges has been generally resorted to, to secure continuity of public policy and immunity from sudden and sweeping changes.

It is in the limitation of legislative powers, however, rather than in changes in the administrative framework, that the most beneficial reforms have been introduced into American State polity. The American legislature began with a charter as broad as that of the British Parliament. It subsequently surrendered certain well-defined powers to the federal government; but as to the rest it was still the uninstructed representative, the plenipotentiary law-making, taxing, spending, and borrowing organ of a sovereign State. It had full powers; every thing which could be done in a legislative capacity by the people of the State, except alter the fundamental law, it could do. It recognized no limits to the purposes for which public taxation, either of the State or of its subdivisions, should be applied, and loaned State and municipal credit indiscriminately. It assumed authority needlessly, and exercised it by an expensive and piecemeal method. It laid out a school-district highway in one county, undertook a public work of trans-continental importance and involving an outlay of twenty millions in another, changed a man's name in a third, authorized a fourth to lend its credit to some scheme of internal development, a fifth to aid the same by a lottery, set up a wild-cat bank-note circulation in the sixth, chartered half a dozen religious corporations in the seventh, authorized a military company in the eighth, a firemen's in the ninth, preserved fish in the tenth, legitimized the proceedings of a careless town-meeting in the eleventh, laid a special tax for a free bridge in the twelfth, chartered a parallel railroad after a prodigious wrangle in the thirteenth, and divided a town (with spoil) in the fourteenth. With our civilization daily growing more complex, our legislatures were distracted by the investigation of hundreds of petty projects, which were brought to the general court, each of which was pushed by friends in and out of the legislative body, whose efforts in its behalf, in intensity and unscrupulousness, were proportioned to its importance. Sometimes the special exercise of State sovereignty did not confine itself within the territorial limits of authority, as when

the State of Vermont, a few years ago, chartered a railroad in Tehuantepec. It was the disposal of an Erie railroad which carried a trunk to Albany containing \$1,000,000, in one-thousand-dollar bills, which Senator Boss Tweed, according to his own account, was invited to "put his arm into." The source of these evils in the opportunities of special and unguarded legislation has led the people to deprive the legislature of those prerogatives which have been most abused. The most important limitation perhaps is that affecting the public credit, which we will first consider.

PUBLIC CREDIT.

Observe the recent limitations on the power of legislatures to contract public debt. New York by the amendment of 1874 prohibits the loan of the credit of the State absolutely. The power to contract debt is limited: (1) to meeting casual deficits in the revenue, not to exceed at one time \$1,000,000; (2) to meeting the contingencies of war; (3) "to some single work or object" authorized by law and distinctly specified, in which case the proper tax shall be levied to pay the debt within eighteen years, provided that such law, on its final passage, be voted upon by yeas and nays; and at the ensuing general election be ratified by the popular vote, when no other proposition of law or of the constitution is pending for popular action. Subdivisions of the State are forbidden to appropriate money, incur indebtedness, or lend their credit in favor of any individual, association, or corporation, except to provide for the poor according to the general law. Pennsylvania in like manner limits the State debt for casual purposes to \$1,000,000, and does not admit other purposes for which debt can be contracted at all, except those of war and to pay existing debt. The State or municipal credit can not be loaned for any purpose; the debt of municipal subdivisions shall never exceed seven per cent of the valuation; new debt to the amount of two per cent shall not be incurred without a popular vote. The State shall not assume municipal debts, but their payment shall be provided for by municipal taxation. Ohio, West Virginia, Indiana, Michigan, Missouri, Minnesota, Nevada, Alabama, Florida, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, and Texas all strictly limit the borrowing power of the State, without allowing even a recourse to the popular sanction for an increase; the same States prohibit the loan of municipal credit. In Mississippi and Nebraska the power of the State to contract

debt is limited, that of the municipalities is based upon popular vote; in Virginia, Tennessee, and Maine the State is restricted, but their constitutions are silent as to the municipalities; in New Hampshire and Connecticut the State power is unlimited, but that of municipalities is restricted. Louisiana limits her State debt to \$25,000,000 prior to 1890. Colorado, Illinois, New Jersey, and North Carolina all follow the New York plan of limiting the State debt to certain purposes, and requiring a popular vote for an enlargement for other purposes, with strict prohibitions upon municipalities. Kansas and Iowa have similar provisions, without the limitations on municipalities. California, with a similar provision as to the State's debt, makes it the duty of the legislature to limit municipal indebtedness. Rhode Island as early as 1842 limited the power of the legislature to incur debt on behalf of the State.

SPECIAL LEGISLATION.

This evil, which consists in the passage of separate acts to reach individual grievances, or to confer individual benefits, instead of uniform and general legislation, is the object of severe reprehension in all recent efforts to improve State government. The State of Pennsylvania, for its magnitude and the wealth and complexity of the interests involved, has suffered from this source probably as much as any State in the lowering of the tone of legislative intelligence and morals. The following are its provisions of remedy for this evil:

"SECTION 7. The General Assembly shall not pass any local or special law, authorizing the creation, extension, or impairing of liens; regulating the affairs of counties, cities, townships, wards, boroughs, or school districts; changing the names of persons or places; changing the venue in civil or criminal cases; authorizing the laying out, opening, altering, or maintaining of roads, highways, streets, or alleys; relating to ferries or bridges, or incorporating ferry or bridge companies, except for the erection of bridges crossing streams which form boundaries between this and any other State; vacating roads, town plats, streets, or alleys; relating to cemeteries, graveyards, or public grounds not of the State; authorizing the adoption or legitimation of children; locating or changing county-seats, erecting new counties, or changing county lines; incorporating cities, towns, or villages, or changing their charters; for the opening and conducting of elections, or fixing or changing the places of voting; granting divorces; erecting new townships or boroughs, changing township lines, borough limits, or school districts; creating offices, or prescribing the powers and duties of officers in counties, cities, boroughs, townships, election or school districts; changing the law of descent or succession; regulating the practice or jurisdiction of, or changing the rules of evidence in, any judicial proceeding

or inquiry before courts, aldermen, justices of the peace, sheriffs, commissioners, arbitrators, auditors, masters in chancery, or other tribunals, or providing or changing methods for the collection of debts, or the enforcing of judgments, or prescribing the effect of judicial sales of real estate; regulating the fees, or extending the powers and duties of aldermen, justices of the peace, magistrates, or constables; regulating the management of public schools, the building or repairing of school-houses, and the raising of money for such purposes; fixing the rate of interest; affecting the estates of minors, or persons under disability; remitting fines, penalties, and forfeitures, or refunding moneys legally paid into the treasury; exempting property from taxation; regulating labor, trade, mining, or manufacturing; creating corporations, or amending, renewing, or extending the charters thereof; granting to any corporation, association, or individual any special or exclusive privilege or immunity, or to any corporation, association, or individual the right to lay down a railroad track; nor shall the General Assembly indirectly enact such special or local, by the partial repeal of a general law; but laws repealing local or special acts may be passed; nor shall any law be passed granting powers or privileges in any case where the granting of such powers and privileges shall have been provided for by general law, nor where the courts have jurisdiction to grant the same or give the relief asked for."

There are also restrictions on the process of legislation intended to secure more care and intelligence in the results. Repeal, amendment, or re-enactment of laws, by mere reference to the chapter and section, and without the reproduction of the precise language, is sometimes prohibited. Pennsylvania requires a yea and nay vote upon the final passage of every bill. Special or extra compensations to official favorites above their lawful salaries is forbidden, the appropriations are confined to bills involving no legislation, and the governor in many States has the power to veto single items in the budget without invalidating the rest. Legislative bribery and corruption are more severely dealt with. "Lobbying is declared to be a crime" in Georgia, and the legislature is required to "enforce this provision by suitable penalties"—not a very practicable defense perhaps, but indicating the popular reprehension of undue pressure on legislative virtue. The compensation of the members of the legislature, often a source of petty dispute and scandal, is fixed by many of the new constitutions.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.

We come now to a class of restrictions on legislative power of which the early constitutions show not a vestige, and which are purely the result of experience in the difficulties and dangers of general license. These provisions concern the relations of banks, railroads, manufactures, mines, and a variety of interests which

remain under State control. The earliest and most disastrous experiences of the States in domestic administration were with paper money, and their constitutional revisions show that the lessons then learned have not been unheeded. The Federal Constitution prohibits the States from making "any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts;" but it was never difficult to procure a voluntary circulation, at some rate, of such paper as the State banks were permitted to issue. The national bank system, established during the war, superseded in practice the State banks of issue, but did not in terms suppress them. It simply taxed their bills out of existence. Most of the State banks of discount became national banks of issue; but in New York a large and strong body of State banks of discount have remained, and throughout the West and South State discount institutions, with a large capital in the aggregate, have survived the general superposition of the national bank system. The States therefore maintain in many cases their respective bank policies, either for such institutions as now exist, or to await the surrender again to them of the dominant banking privilege which the national government may make at any time.

California and Mississippi absolutely prohibit the establishment of banks of circulation within their limits, this prohibition of course not affecting national banks, which in the case of Mississippi are excepted in express terms. Nevada prohibits the circulation of paper money, except federal currency and the notes of national banks. Illinois, Missouri, Alabama, and others prohibit the establishment of a "State bank"—that is, of a bank in which the State should hold stock. Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Michigan, and Kansas all require that any act establishing banks shall be submitted to the popular vote; Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Kansas, Pennsylvania, and New York require that all bills issued by such a bank be officially registered and secured by deposits of United States bonds or State bonds with the State treasurer. Alabama less effectively requires that the bills shall be always redeemable in gold and silver, and prefers the billholder to the other creditors. Other States make stockholders liable to double the amount of their stock, and Missouri requires that the taking of deposits, after the insolvency of a bank is known to its officers, shall be made a crime by the legislature and punished as such. Thus more than half the States outside of New England, where banking has been conducted on a more conservative and reliable basis than elsewhere,

have adopted provisions which go far to insure a more stable State currency, if it should ever be desirable to return to that method of issue.

Subsequent to these bank provisions in point of time, but of superior importance immediately, is a large class of provisions regarding railroad corporations, which we may characterize as "granger." We do not apply the epithet, however, in any opprobrious sense, or as implying that the principles established by these provisions are of recent origin. On the contrary, they are the principles which have always characterized the common law, as expounded by the highest English and American courts, and which have guided the policy of the older States, without express constitutional warrant. These principles, moreover, so far from endangering the rights of railroad capital, constitute the only safeguard of this great interest, requiring, as they do, not only the submission of all common carriers to regulation by State authority, but also the publicity of railroad accounts and transactions, the periodical inspection of the service and permanent way, the issue of stocks and bonds only upon certain authority and in accordance with certain proper precautions, limiting the power and opportunities of consolidation, insisting on strict comity and fairness in the operation of connecting lines, and in general opening railroad management to the public eye, and making it responsible to the public authority.

All this is certainly within the purview of the sovereign State. It is exercised in Massachusetts, although the constitution of the State is silent on the subject. But provisions recognizing these principles have been in process of adoption through the Western States for some years, both before and after the popular movement called "Grangerism." Although the first exercise of these powers was somewhat harsh, and unfortunately coincided with a business depression that sufficiently humbled the railroads, there is no occasion for the distrust of this policy which seems to have filled the foreign bondholder. He complains of the mysticism of American railroad reports, and the autocracy of American railroad managers, but is alarmed by the first effort on the part of the State to establish responsible and public supervision. That supervision is, however, being steadily established, based as it is, in the older States, on considerations of obvious policy, and in the newer States upon such an exhibition of the popular will as has completely changed the relative attitude of American legislatures and railroads, with a

great improvement in the moral tone and independence of the legislator.

The railroad provisions which have been introduced into recent constitutions may be summarized as follows :

Railroad and canal corporations are common carriers, and their ways public highways ; they shall be chartered under general and uniform (in each State) laws ; each shall have the right to connect with any other, and transfer and receive freight without delay or discrimination, but no corporation shall consolidate, directly or indirectly, with a parallel or competing line. Rates may be regulated, and never shall be higher from a given point to another, than from the first point to one more distant, except the latter be on excursion or commutation. Discrimination in rates between individuals or corporations asking to be served is prohibited, and railroad officers are not permitted to become privately interested in transportation or furnishing supplies. Common carrying corporations are forbidden to engage in mining or other businesses. Every corporation is required to have an office in the State, for the transfer of stock, and annual reports are required to be made to some State authority.

The above embrace the principal provisions. Pennsylvania does not require State reports, but allows minority representation in the election of directors, and prohibits the giving of free passes to persons other than officers and employés, a provision less effective in the correction of this abuse than the enforced retrenchment necessitated by the hard times. Alabama and Arkansas prohibit the giving of free passes to members of the State legislature and State officers. Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, Colorado, Texas, and West Virginia are the States most distinguished by the fullness of their railroad provisions. These later requirements of the States do not affect corporations chartered previous to their adoption, unless their charters reserve to the State the right to "amend, alter, or repeal," as most charters do. It is generally provided that no existing corporation shall be granted any privilege in the future, unless it accepts the new provisions.

The important State of New York has not attempted railroad supervision, although it exacted from the New York Central, as a condition of consolidation, the uniform passenger rate of two cents a mile. Other States vary greatly in the practical effect of State supervision. Massachusetts, with no constitutional provision, and scant legislative grant, has, through a semi-judicial commission, provided an effective organ of public opinion as bearing on railroad management, and for the redress of popular grievances.

Reform in taxation cuts no figure as yet in the American constitution, where, indeed, it is not essential that all current reform

should find expression. Apart from a general provision that taxation shall be uniform and include all property, except the usual exemptions for religious, charitable, and public uses, this subject occupies small space. Some States limit the per cent of taxability for State and municipal purposes, but that is a restraint on legislative extravagance rather than a step toward the perfection of methods. It would be wrong, however, to conclude that no progress in the science of taxation in the State is being made. California, with a felicitous and probably fortuitous abstinence from epithet, provides simply that "all property in the State shall be taxed;" the omission of the words "real and personal" has given the courts of the State opportunity to greatly simplify taxation by adjudicating debts to be not property. The taxation of the State thus falls substantially on real property, and but once a year on the same. The taxation of corporations has been established in Pennsylvania and in Massachusetts on very satisfactory bases, and provides substantially the entire State revenues of those States. In other States corporations nearly escape taxation, while in others still they are doubly taxed. The income tax has secured as yet no serious trial as a means of raising State revenue, while the taxation of all forms of credit and of the mortgage is nearly universal outside of California. Maryland exempts mortgages from taxation. The perfection of the uniformity and equality of taxation, and the nice adjustment of its incidence, is the next most pressing duty of the American States, but it is a reform to be wrought out by the interpretations of courts and the tentative efforts of legislation rather than by experimental constitutional changes. Indeed, it is to be hoped that changes in public opinion and gradual growth in the unwritten but authoritative lessons of experience will be henceforth recognized as a sufficient guide to a safe State policy, in preference to incessant changes of and lumbering additions to the formal expression of the State's organism.

MR. STANLEY AS AN EXPLORER.¹

WHATEVER may be the value of Mr. Henry M. Stanley's late discoveries in Central Africa, the indomitable courage and energy with which he has, under the most untoward circumstances, pursued his explorations in that far-off region must command general admiration and respect. If his book entitled "Through the Dark Continent," lately published in London, shows that he has not yet succeeded in revealing the grand secret of the Nile sources, it goes to prove that he has at least contributed largely towards narrowing the problem down to comparatively circumscribed limits, and added many striking facts to the common stock of geographical knowledge. By the aid of the camera he has enriched his book with a number of interesting pictures, which are particularly valuable because of their being faithful illustrations of the beautiful scenery of Central Africa, and of the manners prevailing among her savage tribes. The itineraries of his arduous travels, and his copious maps of the great African lakes and rivers, will be especially acceptable to those who are interested in diffusing the light of modern civilization over the broad extent of the "Dark Continent." It is but simple justice to say that Mr. Stanley's book claims a higher literary grade, notwithstanding some evident imperfections, than any of his former efforts. Some of the enchanting scenes and thrilling incidents of his adventures are sketched very graphically; and his knowledge of botany and natural history appears to be quite extensive.

When Mr. Stanley, soon after his expedition in search of Livingstone, was asked by a distinguished London journalist what work had been left undone by him on that continent, the explorer said: "The outlet of Lake Tanganika is undiscovered; we know nothing, scarcely, of Lake Victoria, and therefore the sources of the

¹ "Through the Dark Continent"; or, The Sources of the Nile, around the Great Lakes of Equatorial Africa, and down the Livingstone River to the Atlantic Ocean." By HENRY M. STANLEY. Portraits, Maps, and Illustrations. London: Sampson Low & Co. New York: Harper Bros. 1878.

Nile are still unknown. Moreover, the western half of the African continent is still a blank." Stanley said, also, that if he survived the time required to perform the work, it should all be done. Upon this assurance a telegram was sent to New York, asking the proprietor of the *Herald* if he would join the London *Daily Telegraph* in sending Mr. Stanley again to Africa. The laconic "Yes; Bennett," was speedily flashed across the cable in reply, and the fitting out of the expedition at once determined upon. The adventurous explorer was again in the full glory of his preparations for the scene of future enterprise; and on the 16th of August, 1874, he left England for Zanzibar, where the expedition was finally organized.

In the book before us an introductory chapter is given, covering almost every thing worthy of notice which historians and travelers have said of the Nile country, from the time of Herodotus down to that of Stanley himself. In fact, nearly every thing on the subject that may be met with in any respectable cyclopædia is given; and if he has omitted the pretty story about the Nile related by the Registrar of Minerva's treasury in Egypt to the father of history, he may be pardoned on the score of desiring to economize space. As far as we are ourselves concerned, we assume that the general reader is familiar with the principal discoveries in Africa, from the time of the celebrated Bruce to that of the no less notable Livingstone, and shall therefore forego the instructive pleasure of dealing with Mr. Stanley's well-compiled chapter on the learning connected with searches after the sources of the great Egyptian river.

On the 17th of February, 1874, the "Anglo-American Expedition" left Bagamoyo, where the principal civil and military authority, Sheikh Mansur bin Suliman, had found the greatest difficulty in preserving the peace between the expeditionists and the people of the place; the latter complaining of the wrongs which they claimed to have suffered at the hands of the former. So great was the uproar that over twenty of Stanley's Wangwana, or freed blacks, had to be secured in several rooms, and a dozen of their comrades placed to stand guard over them. This was, to say the least, a disorderly manner of setting out on a great undertaking; and the inference that may be drawn is, that if, when only a short distance from the island of Zanzibar, on the coast of the continent, the explorers behaved themselves in such a way, what might be expected of them when, with the power of guns that "shoot all

day" to back them, they would find themselves face to face with the unarmed savages of the interior? In setting out, the order of march was judiciously arranged. The advanced guard, a few hundred yards ahead of the main body, was composed of four chiefs; then came twelve guides, "clad in red robes of Jobo, bearing coils of wire." Behind these marched 270 persons, in file, carrying cloth, beads, wire, and such like effects, amounting to about 18,000 pounds weight, exclusive of the sections of the Lady Alice boat. Thirty-six women and ten boys, followed by the riding asses, the Europeans and gun-bearers, had their places in rear of the column; and the rear-guard was closed by sixteen chiefs, whose duty it was to pick up stragglers. The entire force numbered 355 persons, including four Europeans—Mr. Stanley, the two brothers Pocock, and Mr. Frederick Barker; the line of march covering nearly half a mile. Each of the porters was supposed to carry a load of from forty to sixty pounds, according to the nature of the goods.

It does not appear that—with the exception of a few isolated instances—any careful preparations had been made for provisioning the expedition; it seemed to be understood that the people composing it were to live on the country by exchanging effects for food; and the fact that they were able to do so proves how rich in resources it is, and how comparatively easy it would be for half a dozen hardy white men, accompanied by two or three servants each, to traverse it from end to end. In addition to troubles with the native tribes, and the difficulty of procuring food for so large a number, the travelers had to contend with sickness in their camp. Several deaths occurred to throw their saddening influences among the ranks; the most regrettable of these being that of Mr. Edward Pocock, who died of malignant fever at Chiwyu, four hundred miles from the sea, on the 17th of January, 1875.

After many losses and sufferings the expedition reached the South (Victoria) Nyanza on the 27th of February, and established a durable camp in the beautiful locality called Kagehyi, on its south-western shore, facing Speke Gulf on the east. The local ruler, Prince Kaduma, received the wanderers well, and after the inevitable "shauri," or preliminary talk, became their friend, frequently treating them to all the delicacies of his royal table, including the "froth-topped pombé," or native beer. But the good fare offered by King Kaduma could not induce the impatient Mr. Stanley to rest idle long, and after a week's delay he set out with a picked crew in the Lady Alice, to settle the mooted question as to whether

the South Nyanza was composed of a series of lakes, as Speke believed, or whether it was one vast inland sea, which furnished the principal feeder of the White Nile. With eleven of a picked crew, and his tight little boat abundantly provided for a long voyage, the chief of the Anglo-American Expedition set sail on the 8th of March to circumnavigate the South Nyanza. Frank Pocock and Fred Barker were left in charge of the camp at Kagehyi. Coasting eastwardly, the gallant little craft, after a most exciting voyage of fifty-seven days, and going over a water-line of upwards of 1000 miles, returned to camp, to find there sickness and death. The courageous Fred Barker was this time among the victims of the dreaded African fever. During this eventful excursion the first grand object of the expedition had been accomplished, and the South Nyanza was proved to consist of an immense sheet of water, covering, according to Mr. Stanley's calculations, an area of more than 21,500 miles.

It was while circumnavigating the South Nyanza that the expeditionists had some of their most serious encounters with the natives; and as the course which Mr. Stanley saw fit to adopt in these and other similar contingencies has been sharply criticised, we consider it right to review the facts relative to the whole matter, as stated in his book. At Mombiti the crew of the *Lady Alice* approached the shore, when the natives called out something and immediately attacked them with large rocks. The boat sheered off, when a crowd emerged from their hiding-place and slung stones, striking the boat and wounding the steersman. This appears to have been Mr. Stanley's justification for firing his revolver rapidly at them until one of the natives fell. The next day (March 28th), at the same place, the Wavuma acted in a menacing manner towards the explorers; laid their hands upon the boat's oars, and stole a large bunch of Matunda beads. They flung their spears, which were avoided by the crew lying down in the boat. Mr. Stanley says: "I seized my repeating rifle and fired right and left. The fellow with the beads was doubled up, and the boldest of those nearest us was disabled." In strong contrast with this seemingly unnecessary taking away of human life was the salutation sent by Mtesa, the Kabaka of Uganda, to Mr. Stanley through his envoy Magassa, who said that although Mtesa did not know from what land the travelers came, a swift messenger was on hand to carry the news to him. Upon entering the territory of Uganda, the orders to the sub-chiefs were: "Bring out bullocks, sheep, and

goat's milk, and the mellowest of your choicest bananas, and great jars of maramba, and let the white man and his boatmen eat, and taste the hospitalities of Uganda. Shall a white man enter the Kabaka's presence with an empty belly?" Mr. Stanley's comment upon the local institutions, after this most hospitable reception, was: "A most wonderful land, where an entire country can be subjected to such an inordinate bully and vain youth as this Magassa, at the mere mention of the Kabaka's name, and evidently with the Kabaka's sanction." But as the Kabaka did not hear this soliloquy upon the use or abuse of the imperial authority, he did not hesitate to receive the white man in right royal style, by convening a large gathering of the people, and firing 200 or 300 heavily loaded guns to celebrate the occasion. Magassa reverently knelt before the emperor-king; but Mr. Stanley, not knowing very well who the Kateiro was, only bowed; which, strange to say, was imitated by the savage monarch, excepting that his bow was acknowledged to be far more stately and profound than that of the intrepid explorer. Mr. Stanley confesses that he was embarrassed, perplexed, and that he blushed inwardly at this royal reception. At a naval review given in honor of the visitors, among the royal flotilla were 40 canoes manned by 1200 men. In the Court of Uganda the emperor surprised his dear "Stamlee" by introducing the chief of the allied journalistic expedition to Lieutenant-Colonel Linaut de Bellefends, a distinguished French officer in the service of the Khedive. The beauties of the primitive capital of Uganda are described in glowing terms, and the ripeness of the ground to receive the seeds of modern civilization dwelt upon at length. We have mentioned these incidents to show how placable and friendly the black man can be in his native Africa, and that a conciliatory policy like that observed by Dr. Livingstone can in nearly every instance succeed with the tribes of the Nile. Livingstone went almost alone through vast regions which until his time had not in the later centuries been trodden by the foot of a white man. Speke, Grant, and Cameron had little if any troubles with the native chieftains. Bruce wandered all alone through the countries of the Blue Nile, away up to Abyssinia; and the German and other explorers did pretty much the same thing. Baker discovered the North Nyanza without coming into collision with the aborigines. It was only on his way home, when, elated with success, and believing himself strong enough to give battle, that he preferred fighting to negotiating, and committed the error of unfairly pitting modern breech-loading rifles

against bows and arrows. When, shortly afterwards, he returned, at the head of a large military force of the Khedive's army, to the splendid lake discovered by him, he found then that he had to fight his way there and back to Gondokoro without effecting much more than changing the name of that miserable Nile village to the high-sounding title of Ismalia. The truth was that, in his second expedition, Baker appeared in the character of a military adventurer, and the tribes with whom he came in contact treated him as such. The right, or rather want of right, on the part of the Khedive, to annex the immense territories around Ismalia, is a question which we do not care to treat here. Mr. Stanley's trouble with the tribes seems to have been analogous to that of Baker during the latter's second expedition up the Nile. The commander of the united journalistic expedition appeared at the head of a formidable armed force, and the people doubtless looked upon his appearance among them in the light of an invading army, and dealt with him accordingly. That he punished them severely for doing what was quite natural to them under the circumstances, there can be no doubt, judging from his own account; and that he sometimes took away both goods and life can not be disputed. At Bumbireh, where the natives drew the expeditionary boat ashore, and leveled "a forest of spears" at the crew, bloodshed might have been avoided; but Mr. Stanley sprung to his feet, each hand armed with a self-cocking revolver. Sefani, one of his own men, pleaded with him to be patient. Sefani received a push from the natives, and his comrades, Kirango and Saramba, felt blows; but an elder of the tribe assisted in quieting them, and a "shauri" followed between the people and the native chief Shakka. The result was that the tribe would sell food. Six men, however, carried off the boat oars, and cloth and beads were delivered to the crowd upon demand. The war drum was beaten, and the savages assembled, armed with clubs, spears, bows, and shields. Things now looked black; but they could not have been in a very desperate plight, as Sefani was suffered to proceed alone and converse with the natives without receiving any bodily harm. The pledge of peace was refused, and fifty bold fellows went straight to the boat and seized several things there. Yet Sefani was a second time sent up the hill, with two fine red cloths in his hands, by way of a peace-offering. While he was still fifty yards up the hill, the boat was pushed out into the water and Sefani was called upon to return. The little craft was afloat; Sefani stood for an instant on the water's edge, the foremost of a crowd of

natives being about twenty yards from him. Sefani was told to spring into the water; and as Mr. Stanley saw a native with a balanced spear, and another preparing to take aim with one, but neither of which weapons was cast, he raised his gun, and the bullet plowed through both men. The natives drew their bows, but it does not appear that they let fly any arrows, yet Mr. Stanley treated them to a charge of duck-shot, which went into their midst with terrible effect. Twice the discoverer of Livingstone dropped his men as they endeavored to launch their boats. He used his elephant rifle, loaded with explosive balls for the occasion. Four shots killed five men and sunk two of the canoes. We do not wish to follow this painful affair any further; the reader can draw his own conclusions, always remembering that when these poor people were killed Mr. Stanley and his crew were out of reach of their bows and arrows, war clubs and spears. It must also be borne in mind that the oars and drum taken at Bumbireh were some time afterwards restored by the natives. This was an act of voluntary restitution on their part, and it is one which strangely contrasts with some of Mr. Stanley's own actions, as related by himself. For instance, he acknowledges that, being in need of canoes, his followers captured twenty-three from the natives, and retained them as a satisfactory equivalent, in payment of a war indemnity. This was done at Vinya-Njara, in December, 1876. But this transaction dwindles into insignificance when compared with that practiced by Mr. Stanley and his men in carrying away from Aruwimi, February 1st, 1877, a temple of ivory, consisting of thirty-three tusks and one hundred other pieces of this valuable material. Thus, the savages were forced to furnish twenty-three canoes in which to carry loads of ivory torn from the temple of their gods, and for which they received no equivalent.

When Mr. Stanley finally broke up his camp at Kagehyi, after his first visit to Uganda, he embarked the expedition on canoes lent him by Lukungeh, King of Ukerewé, and set out again for the country of Mtesa. After a number of additional encounters with the natives, and the capture of the King of Iroba, the details of which need not now be discussed, the expedition reached Uganda in August, 1875, and found the Emperor Mtesa warring with the neighboring Wavuma and people of Usoga. It was at this time that Mr. Stanley named a place "Jack's Mount," because of a fatal accident which befell his faithful companion Jack, a bull-terrier of "remarkable intelligence and affection," which accompanied him

from England. The bold traveler asserts that in the war which he witnessed, Mtesa collected an army of 150,000 warriors, not including 50,000 women, and as many boys and slaves of both sexes; so that the Kabaka's camp numbered altogether some 250,000 souls. How this number of people could be kept together for weeks without some efficient system in the commissary and quartermaster's departments, it is impossible to conceive. Speaking of Mtesa's slaves brings up the fact that the suppression of the iniquitous trade was one of the original objects of Mr. Stanley's voyage; but his book affords no proof that he troubled his head with the matter. Of course, the superior military and naval ability of the commander of the expedition enabled him soon to decide the war in favor of Mtesa, who detailed General Sambuzi to accompany Mr. Stanley to the shores of the Muta Nzigé. The united forces of the expedition and those of the native commander numbered 2290 men, exclusive of 500 camp-followers. Sambuzi obeyed his orders to accompany Mr. Stanley as far as the lake, but the latter, not contented with this, wanted him to remain while the explorers could get embarked. The King of Unyora was then fighting with white men, the Egyptians, and he warned off the expeditionists, saying how could the white man come behind him and expect peace while he was fighting in front. Sambuzi, having obeyed the will of his sovereign, and not liking, doubtless, to involve Uganda in a war with Unyora, refused to remain at Mr. Stanley's request, whereupon, notwithstanding past friendly relations, he told Mtesa's commander that "the white men would soon learn that there is no man so cowardly as a native of Uganda." Sambuzi, thinking he had done his duty, remained inflexible, and Mr. Stanley wrote a letter against him to the Emperor. The upshot was that Mtesa sent word for "Stamlee" to return, and he would furnish 60,000 or 100,000 men, if necessary, to escort him through Unyora to Muta Nzigé. At the same time the unfortunate Sambuzi was degraded and loaded with chains by order of the Emperor. Mr. Stanley declined to go back to Uganda, although by doing so he could have had a good chance of exploring the Muta Nzigé, and he pursued his way in a south-westerly direction through an interesting and diversified country to the Kagera River, which was now given the name of the "Alexandra Nile." This stream is said by some of the natives to be "the mother" of the great river which unites the North and the South Nyanzas, while King Rumanika asserted that the source of the Kagera (Alexandra Nile) is in Lake Tanganika. If both of these as-

sections should turn out to be well founded, this would establish the true sources of the Nile at the head-waters of the Tanganika. But there is a large unexplored section which Mr. Stanley left behind him, between Ngandu and the South Nyanza, through which the Kagera runs, no one knows how or where. After some stay in the beautiful lake regions of the upper Kagera, and witnessing boat-races at Kazinga, the expeditionists turned their steps towards Ujiji, on the Tanganika, where Mr. Stanley and Dr. Livingstone first met, arriving there in the latter end of May, 1876.

Both Livingstone and Cameron, as well as Mr. Stanley, had acquired considerable knowledge of the Tanganika, and they agreed that there was no outflow in the northern part of the lake—though, judging from the conformation of the water-shed, this is difficult to believe. Cameron claimed that he had discovered an outflow in the Lukuga, and Mr. Stanley directed his energies to the exploration of that creek. He found that at a short distance from the lake, the open waters of the creek had been narrowed by an abundant growth of papyrus, from 250 to 40 yards. Pretty soon the papyrus closed up the creek from bank to bank, but soundings there showed a depth of from seven to eleven feet among the reeds. When he could get no further for the papyrus, he mounted on two men's shoulders, and was able to see a broad belt of some 300 yards of papyrus-grown swamp lying east and west between gently sloping hills, with here and there pools of open water. The drift of the current was ingeniously but unsuccessfully tried. Finally, by traveling along the margin, the reed-covered bottom was tapped, and, after getting to the center of it, water was found flowing westward. The conclusion arrived at was that the Lakuga was at one time an affluent of the lake, but that now its only office is to carry the outflow of surplus waters down the Lualaba, or Congo River. It is hard to conceive why this outflow should not be regarded as a permanent one.

An important point not mentioned by Mr. Stanley is, that in the northern part of Tanganika the great Luanda and Rususi, or Rusini, rivers have not been explored. These streams might connect the Tanganika with Lake Kivu, which is supposed to be connected with Lake Akanyaru, which, Mr. Stanley asserts, is connected with the South Nyanza, and therefore with the Nile. If this were so—and the contrary has yet to be proved—the great Lofu River, which rises in the Urungu Mountains, in 10° south latitude, would prove to be the head-waters of the Nile, notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Stanley claims this distinction for the Kagera or the Shimeeyu,

neither of which rivers runs much south of the third degree of south latitude.

On his way between Lake Tanganika and Nyangwe on the Lualaba River, the starting-point for the Lower Congo, Mr. Stanley fell in with the redoubtable Tippu-Tib, Cameron's former guide, and engaged him with a force of 700 of his people to escort the expedition for a journey of three months into the unknown country. The 5th of November, 1876, saw the expedition, with its intrepid leader at the head, start out from Nyangwe to travel down the then unknown course of the Lualaba. It might take them to the north, the west, or the east—no matter; they would follow its windings as long as they could. Mr. Stanley proved to be equal to every emergency; and in spite of what may be said about the Jesuits having passed up or down the Congo before he did, nothing can take away from him the glory of having accomplished a feat which, until he did it, had not been performed either in our own generation or in a number of those next preceding ours.

Down the Congo, for the greater part of the way, the expedition had to fight for a passage through the countries inhabited by the tribes on either bank. It was quite evident that the aborigines mistook the explorers for some formidable invading army, and flew to arms at their approach. When Tippu-Tib abandoned them, Mr. Stanley resolved to continue with his own men the march down along the river, determining to solve the problem of its course, or perish in the attempt. His followers were much reduced in number by famine, battle, and sickness; and sometimes evinced great unwillingness to continue the hazardous journey, believing they were going to almost certain death. It is not, therefore, strange that periodical desertions happened to thin the ranks of the expedition. But under the most formidable difficulties, Mr. Stanley presented a bold front, and by his repeated repulses of attacks on the part of the natives made himself and his men a terror even to the supposed cannibals through whose lands he passed. In his great fight with the 63 canoes, his forces numbered only 44 guns against 315 in the hands of the tribes. Hunger, hardships, and danger were encountered every day, and heroically overcome by the Wangwana and their resolute leader. Passing the different falls met with in the windings of the river cost an immense amount of labor, and frequent sacrifice of life; yet the Congo is not by any means a rapid flowing stream. In a distance of over 1200 miles, between Nyangwe and Ntomo, the fall is but 934 feet, being a

little over nine inches to the mile. Mr. Stanley, whose habit of giving new names to the places he passed through is quite remarkable, called the mighty Congo by the name of Livingstone, and distinguished some places on it by the titles of Dover Cliffs, Stanley Pool, and similar appellations; but whether the dusky millions of the human race who inhabit those far-off lands will recognize the changes, time alone can tell. It must not be forgotten that the wonderful Congo, or Lualaba, hardly surpassed in magnitude by the Nile, Mississippi, or Amazon, presented a magnificent surface of water all the way down from Nyangwe—a breadth varying from 2000 to 6000 or 7000 yards.

A very melancholy incident occurred at Magassa Falls in the death of Mr. Frank Pocock, who lost his life May 3d, 1877, while trying to shoot the rapids in a canoe. So horrified were the Wangwana at the death of this brave young man, who by his sterling qualities had endeared himself to them all, that they broke into open mutiny, and it was with the greatest difficulty that their chief could persuade them to continue the perilous undertaking which was now so nearly at an end. It is an unfortunate fact that no white man who went out with the discoverer of Livingstone ever survived to share whatever honor and glory might attach to his exploits.

It was on the 9th of August, 1877, after a most trying ordeal of 999 days' march from Bagamoyo—a march as daring, in its way, as that of Alexander—that the expeditionists stretched out their famished hands to the pioneer white colony at Boma, near where the Congo empties its stupendous floods into the Atlantic Ocean, asking for help in the name of humanity. Of the 356 souls who had started from the coast of Zanzibar, on the Indian Ocean, only 113 of them, men, women, and children, survived to participate in the hospitalities of the generous Messrs. Hatton, Cookson, Motta Veiga, and their friends. The expedition had cost 173 lives, nearly three years in time, and, according to Mr. Stanley's published statement, the moderate sum of \$10,000.

Yet the Nile sources remain undiscovered, and it is still in store for either Mr. Stanley or some other fortunate explorer to locate them. The voyage which we have now considered has been fruitful of results. It has shown that the South Nyanza is a single inland sea; that the Lualaba and the Congo are but one river; and that the great Kagera, which may be connected with the Tanganyika, rises in the unexplored lake Akanyaru, and may or may not

empty into the South Nyanza. As the Akanyaru has not been explored, no one can tell whether or not it is connected with the North Nyanza, and therefore with the Nile. Chief-Justice Daly, President of the American Geographical Society, suggests, very plausibly, that the streams trending westward from the Killimanjaro Mountains, which lie far to the east from the South Nyanza, may be the head-waters of the river that cradled the infant Moses. Chief among these streams is the Duma, which Judge Daly seems inclined to believe identical with the Shimeeyu. Should this turn out to be the case, it would take a feather from Mr. Stanley's cap, who claims to have discovered the Shimeeyu. Three grand fields for exploration yet remain open; these are the country between Killimanjaro and the South Nyanza; the territory dividing lakes Tanganika, Akanyaru, and the North Nyanza from each other, and the region to the west of the Lualaba and the lacustrine territories terminating in Lake Bangweolo, on the south. There can be no doubt but the mountains of Lokinga and Bisa on the west, or Killimanjaro on the east, give birth to the infant Nile; but to determine just where these waters take their rise, the regions just mentioned have to be pressed by the foot of the searcher after geographical knowledge. Or it may be that the Nile rises in the grand eastern water-shed, at the head of which is the Killimanjaro, and that the Congo may spring from the west at the base of the Lokinga and Bisa mountains.

THE SPELLING OF SHAKESPEARE'S NAME.

IT is said that there are but six autographs of the name of England's greatest poet which are supposed to be authentic, and only one of those so clearly written that the orthography can be plainly made out ; while of the five others, one is half erased, two are pretty plainly written with more than nine letters, and the other two may be any thing that a lively imagination may choose to make them. So asserts Mr. Adolphus Smythe, of the Shakespeare Club. Mr. George Russell French, in his "Shakspeareana Genealogica," has gathered a great mass of information on the subject of the etymology of the poet's name, and he, with many other writers, adopts the form "Shakspeare," omitting the "e" after the "k." Mr. French says: "Differing widely from each other in their plan of spelling the name, Sir F. Madden and Mr. Halliwell agree that there are *five* signatures of the poet which can be relied on as genuine, viz., those which are attached to legal documents," and they are as follows: "1, The signature to the deed of purchase (counterpart) from Henry Walker of a house in Blackfriars, London, dated 10th of March, 1612 ; 2, the signature to the mortgage deed of the same house, dated 11th March, 1612 ; 3, 4, 5, the signature to the three sheets of paper which compose the poet's will." He says further, the surname in the two deeds Sir F. Madden makes out to be "Shakspere," while other persons experienced in old handwriting consider that the name can fully be made out to stand for "Shakspeare." Two of the signatures to the will are said to read "Shakspere," and the third one "Shakspeare." It is very evident then that this man, who knew so many things, did not know how to spell his own name. This, perhaps, is not to be wondered at ; for, strange as it may appear, the name, substantially the same, is found in registers, charters, leases, and other documents spelled in fifty-five different ways. The list can be found in Mr. French's book, p. 348. The name we now spell "Poughkeepsie" has had twenty-five or more variations in its orthography.

In a single deed to Shakespeare of the tithes at Stratford, 1605, four forms of the name appear—"William Shakspear," "William Shakespear," "William Shakespeare," and "William Shakesphear;" and in the Stationer's records, 1605, it is, "Shaxberd the poet which made the plaies;" but a majority of the earlier forms contains a vowel after the "k." But whatever etymology, whim or fancy, carelessness or ignorance adopted or led to, I think there is no doubt the pronunciation of it was with the full complement of vowels now generally used. In most of the plays printed during the poet's life, his name is spelled "Shakespeare;" so it is in the first folio edition of the plays edited by two of his fellow-players; so in the first editions of "Venus and Adonis" and "The Rape of Lucrece;" so by Meeres, a contemporary of Shakespeare; so by Ben Jonson and the other poets who contributed commendatory verses to the "first folio;" so is it spelled on the tombs of his wife and children at Stratford-on-Avon; so in many other places, and by Milton in his famous sonnet, "What needs my Shakespeare for his honor'd bones."

One of the safest guides to correct orthography is etymology; let us then examine our case by the light of this. I think there is but little doubt that the surname was originally bestowed on some famous knight or man-at-arms distinguished by his skill in the use of the spear, or "speare," as it was then spelled. Harness, in his life of the poet, says: "The name of Shakspeare is mentioned by Verstagan among those surnames imposed upon the bearers of them for valor and feats of arms," and cites "Restitution of Decayed Intelligence," 4to, 1605, p. 204. To "shake a speare" was the common form of speech denoting the use of that weapon, as common then as to "handle a musket" or "brandish a sword" is now. In Fairfax's translation of Tasso's "Jerusalem" occur the following lines in a description of Tancred preparing for battle:

"Most great the *speare* was which the gallant bore,
That in his warlike pride he made to *shake*."

In Lilly's "Alexander and Campaspe," published in 1584, is this sentence: "Will you handle the spindle with Hercules when you should *shake* the *speare* with Achilles?" In the "Temptation and Victory of Christ," by Giles Fletcher, a contemporary of Shakespeare, occur these lines:

“What should I here depaint her lilly hand,
 Her veins of violets, her ermine breast,
 Which these in Orient colors living stand ;
 Or how her gown with silken leaves is drest ;
 Or how her watchman, armed with boughy crest,
 A wall of prim hid in his bushes bears,
Shaking at every wind their leafy *spears*,
 While she supinely sleeps and to be wakèd fears.”

The same turn of expression is found in Ben Jonson, in a sentence in which he gives our form of the name :

“Even so the race
 Of Shakespeare's mind and manner brightly shines
 In his well turnèd and true filèd lines ;
 In each of which he seems to *shake* a *lance*,
 As brandished at the eyes of ignorance ;”

while Rabelais confirms the expression in French, when, in recounting the bodily exercises in which Ponocrates instructed Gargantua, he says “*Branloit la pique.*” Again, in Addison's “*Campaign*” :

“But see the haughty household troops advance,
 The dread of Europe and the pride of France ;
 The war's whole art each private soldier knows,
 And with a gen'ral's love of conquest glows ;
 Proudly he marches on, and void of fear
 Laughs at the *shaking* of the British *spear.*”

And to conclude this point, in King James's Bible we find, in the last chapter of Job, in the description of leviathan, “He laughs at the shaking of a spear.”

That the sound of the name was long in both syllables is apparent, and I think we have authority and reason for adopting the spelling “Shakespeare” as being consonant to the pronunciation.

Not only has the orthography of the name of this marvelous genius given rise to much altercation and caused thousands of pages to be written, but the degree of his learning—that is, of his book learning—has been the subject of earnest controversy and much painstaking investigation ; but such an impenetrable mystery or want of information surrounds the subject, that the results attained are principally the mere inferences from puzzling circumstances, or the deductions of logical dialectics ; consequently the same warfare can be continually renewed.

Ben Jonson, while placing Shakespeare by his works “above all Grecian and all Roman fame,” states explicitly that he had but “small Latin and less Greek,” and yet every reader of Shakespeare

must admit that as to Latin he always has sufficient knowledge of it for his purposes. Dr. Johnson says, "It is most likely that he had learned Latin sufficiently to make him acquainted with construction, but that he never advanced to the easy perusal of the Roman authors."

Ben Jonson's testimony ought to be conclusive, as he was an intimate friend and great admirer of the poet; but as Ben was himself a very learned man and erudite scholar, it may be that what he esteemed "small Latin" might by others less learned be considered a considerable acquisition.

I think Dr. Farmer in his famous essay "On the Learning of Shakespeare" has clearly demonstrated that he had no accurate knowledge of any foreign language, and has traced to domestic sources in translations most of his apparent knowledge of the classics. I have no doubt Shakespeare was an omnivorous reader, devouring all works then extant in English, and withal had such a wonderful power of mental assimilation that much of his knowledge, which from his ready application of it seemed to be original, or to be drawn from the original authors, was in fact only the result of his extensive reading of all the English books within his reach, and of his intellectual alchemy, which transmuted all the acquisitions of his mind into Shakespearian gold. This double faculty of devouring and of digesting will account for much of his apparent learning. Hence eminent lawyers, men of analytic and discriminative minds, have written books tending to prove that Shakespeare must have passed some time in the study of the law, so accurate is his use of law terms, even of the abstruser sort; physicians of learning, unable to show that he had ever studied surgery or medicine, amazed at his knowledge of those sciences, give the subject up in despair, and thus contribute to the phenomena that mark this man's existence and genius. Treatises of learned physicians on madness draw their illustrations from his works, as from the clinical notes of the most eminent practitioners.¹ His knowledge of flowers and gardening, extraordinary as it is, can perhaps be satisfactorily referred to the poet's wonderful perceptive faculties and his study of nature. He seems to have well known and understood hawking, hunting, and various other pursuits and arts.

Mr. French says: "Mr. Hunter contends earnestly for 'Shake-

¹ See the learned and interesting work of Dr. Bucknill on "The Mad Folk of Shakespeare," or Chief-Justice Campbell's treatise on his law learning

speare' as the poet's own way of *printing* the name; . . . but it may be asked is it quite certain that the poet superintended the printing of his plays?" Probably not, but he undoubtedly wrote and signed the dedications of his poems "Venus and Adonis" and "The Rape of Lucrece." They are both signed, Shakespeare, and the presumption is that the printers in these cases followed copy. Besides, if the printers and his contemporaries spelled the name Shakespeare, having no other guide they followed the pronunciation. It is more likely that if the name was Shakespeare, it might by the vulgar be reduced to Shakspeare, than that if it was the latter it should have been enlarged in sound to Shakespeare. Such is not the custom in uses of names. Mr. French makes 'his strongest stand on the last signature to the will, calling it "the authority of the mighty master himself." Now there are three synchronous signatures to the will, each one differing from the others, including two differing forms in the surname, and two in the Christian name. The poet was not famous for his attention to orthography, thinking "a rose by any other name would smell as sweet," and taking important deeds to himself, in a great variety of spelling of his name. But the heralds were, it is fair to presume, more particular. In their grant of arms to the poet's father in 1599, by William Camden, *alias* Clarentieulx, King of Arms, and Dethich, King of Arms, we find "Exemplification of arms to John *Shakespeare*;" so again in the body of the grant it is once spelt the same way, and once *Shakespere*. But with the fatality attending this point, in a prior grant in 1596 we have "Grant of arms to John *Shakspeare*," but in the body Shakespeare. To show how careless the poet was about the spelling of his name, we find the names of himself and his wife spelled in his marriage bond "William Shagspere" and "Anne Hathway." To show how Shakespeare's contemporaries supposed the name to be spelt and pronounced, we would cite the fact that many of them spelled it thus, Shake-speare, the syllables being written out at length with a hyphen between them. Davies the poet addressed certain lines "To our English Terence, Mr. Will. Shake-speare." Ben Jonson always spelled it the same way, sometimes with and sometimes without the hyphen. I will conclude with a few lines by Sir Philip Sidney, which are supposed to indicate our bard:

"And then though last not least in action,
A gentler shepherd may nowhere be found
Whose muse full of high thoughts' invention,
Doth like himself heroically sound."

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

PROFESSOR HILL'S PRINCIPLES OF RHETORIC.¹—This book has the rare merit of filling a vacant place, and so filling it as to satisfy every reasonable expectation. Before it appeared, had we been asked for a practical manual of the art of writing, fitted for the training of inexperienced writers, for the correction of prevalent faults of diction, and for the formation of a correct, pure, and elegant English style, we could not have named the book. There were, indeed, admirable essays on rhetoric, and on single topics embraced under that title, but not one—so far as we know—comprehensive enough for educational uses, and adapted to the needs of advanced classes of students, or of persons of mature taste and judgment. The work before us is all that could be desired in a college text-book ; and at the same time its perusal would be of eminent service to writers even of many years' standing and of established reputation, unless they have specially studied the art of expression. The book is to be commended also for what it does not contain—for the entire absence of irrelevant matter, and for a condensation of what is relevant to the utmost degree consistent with explicitness and clearness. It abounds, too, with illustrative examples, and in no department will examples seem more instructive than in this, when we consider that in language good usage has legislative authority.

This book is divided into two parts—the first treating of words and sentences in their relations to purity, usage, perspicuity, force, and grace ; the second, expounding the principles and canons of composition, both narrative and argumentative. The appended “ Rules for Punctuation ” merit not only emphatic praise for their simplicity and comprehensiveness, but equally diligent heed by not a few popular writers, whose haphazard pointing of their sentences serves to hide the meaning which their words might else reveal.

While all is good, we are peculiarly impressed by the keen discrimination and practical wisdom of the chapters on “ Argumentative Composi-

¹ “ The Principles of Rhetoric and their Application.” By Adams S. Hill, Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory in Harvard College. With an Appendix containing General Rules for Punctuation. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1878.

tion." In reasoning for the purpose of conviction or persuasion, logical acumen and accuracy are of themselves of but little avail. One may reason correctly, but inefficiently. As much depends on the arrangement of arguments as on that of troops in a battle. In many a war of words, as often on the field of arms, the adroitness of the feebler combatant has gained the advantage over the ill-marshaled forces of the stronger. Here the offices of logic and rhetoric are distinct. Logic forges and tempers the weapons; rhetoric gives them aim. This distinction has been carefully observed by our author. Indeed, it is one of the great merits of his book that, while it is enriched by the fruits of scholarship broad and deep in many departments, it never transcends its own province.

It is not our fault if we have made our brief sketch of this book without shading. If we could see where the darker tints belong, we would put them in. We suppose that they must have been eliminated in the years of patient, toilsome, rhetorical teaching, of which the work before us is the outcome.

DYRSEN'S TRANSLATION OF GOETHE'S POEMS.¹—The songs and ballads of Goethe make up the greater part of this handsome volume, and elegies, epistles, epigrams, and rhymed sentences complete the rich contents. The translator has labored diligently and skillfully upon his task; and if in some cases he has failed to express the exact shade of meaning in English, and in other cases he has stumbled upon an awkward phrase or a foreign idiom, the wonder is that he has done so well and brought the most original and fresh of German singers home to us in our own tongue. A song is itself and nothing else, and it must speak for itself. It is not a whole garden, but a single rose; it is not an orchard, but a single luscious fruit to be eaten at once, and without need of cook or butler, just as it comes from the tree—a ripe peach, or pear, or apple, or orange. A song must be short and sweet, and such Mr. Dyrsen has given us in this book, with other poems of heavier weight. Here is a good specimen:—

LIKE LOVES LIKE.
A little blue-bell
Had rapidly grown;
In early season
It sweetly shone.
A bee came flying
And touched its cup:
I think for each other
They have grown up.

The preface contains important illustrations of Goethe's poetical style and tendency.

¹ "Goethe's Poems, translated in the Original Meters." By Paul Dyrsen. New York: F. W. Christern, 77 University Place. 1878.

KINGSLEY'S ALL-SAINTS'-DAY.¹—Any who are familiar with the English pulpit of the last forty years must have noticed the marked change from the more artificial sermon, whether of theological or rhetorical type, to the simplicity that seems often almost a scorn of art. The change is to a great degree due to two writers—unlike in all else—Dr. Newman in his parochial sermons, and Charles Kingsley. At the time when the young rector of Eversley published his “Twenty-five Village sermons” (1849), the florid architecture of Melville, so long held the masterwork of Christian eloquence, had grown wearisome; and the effect of this plain, earnest, glowing utterance on all, from the scholar to the people, was like that of a new gospel. “It was,” as his biographer says, “the speech of a live man to living human beings.” It came somewhat as the homely verse of Cowper into the trim garden of English literature. Men felt that religion had to do with more than church polemic, or unreal sentiment; that it touched the nearest duties of life. This naturalness of the man is the secret of his power, whether he poured out his rich fancy in Hypatia, or thrilled the simple folk in the village church. We have the same feature in these later sermons, gathered by his friends since his death. He spoke to “living human beings” in the Chester Cathedral or in Westminster Abbey. We do not rank him among the greatest masters of the English pulpit, like South or Barrow. In our own time Robertson is far beyond him in intellectual grasp and that keenness which opens the heart of a Christian truth. Newman has a far more subtle logic, a rarer insight into the secrets of religious experience. Kingsley seldom or never reasons. But if he would seize a moral idea, so that it shall speak to the conscience; if he would present some passage of Scripture, apart from all technical interpretation, as it comes home to duty; if he would kindle the pure affections and nerve the will, he is almost unequalled. His mastery of pithy, rich Saxon English is another of the gifts, which will make his sermons live. Let any take up the discourse for Easter on “The Image of the Earthly and the Heavenly,” that on “Present Recompense,” or on “Human Soot,” and he will feel, that the man who could so speak was one of the prophets whom God raised up for his time.

THE LITERARY MOVEMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN.

MR. SWINBURNE'S NEW VOLUME.²—Mr. Swinburne has delighted all his admirers by his latest work. There is in it no vestige of the “fleshly” element, and the poet has manifestly acquired a greater strength of wing.

¹ “All-Saints'-Day and other Sermons.” By Charles Kingsley. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1878.

² “Poems and Ballads. Second series.” By Algernon Charles Swinburne. Chatto & Windus.

We not only receive here verbal beauty and exquisite music, but thought and poetic substance. "In the Bay," the chief poem in the volume, is a splendid tribute to the genius of Christopher Marlowe, with passing allusions to great contemporary poets, and the later singer, Shelley. There are passages of powerful description in this poem—both of scenery and character—which Mr. Swinburne has never surpassed. Amongst other noticeable efforts is "The Complaint of Lisa," founded upon one of the novels in the "Decameron" of Boccaccio. The poet has treated his subject—the love of a maiden for King Pietro—with singular grace and delicacy. Amongst the elegaic poems in the volume are two to Baudelaire and Barry Cornwall, which are distinguished for the happy use of language. The poet removes by this volume the charge that he is not a close student of nature. "Four Songs of Four Seasons" have indisputably settled that question. Altogether, this new work is one of very high merit and great variety. It shows that Mr. Swinburne's genius is passing out of the flowery stage, and fast ripening into the period of rich and mellow fruit.

BURCKHARDT'S RENAISSANCE.¹—Amongst all the numerous works which have been published upon the Renaissance in Italy, Dr. Burckhardt's is entitled to rank the first. For that reason, English students of this most fascinating period in European history will welcome Mr. Middlemore's translation, which is faithful and exact. This narrative has formed the chief ground-work for English writers upon the subject of which it treats. Dr. Burckhardt is able and learned, and is charged with information upon the Renaissance—its origin, progress, and ultimate results in other nations besides Italy. In this work he commences by considering the State as a work of art, describing the tyranny of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the rise of the Venetian and Florentine republics, the foreign policy of the Italian States, and the Papacy. The second part is concerned with the development of the individual, and the third with the revival of antiquity. Part four deals with the discovery of the world and of man; part five, with society and festivals; and the sixth and concluding part, with morality and religion. The author thus touches, in a luminous and interesting manner, upon the various phases of the Renaissance. His work may well be expected to acquire the same popularity in England and America that it has long enjoyed in Germany.

MR. SYMONDS'S POEMS.²—Mr. Symonds has already taken high rank as a critic, and if we can not award him similar rank as a poet, it must be confessed that his verses at least rise far above the ordinary level. The critic generally lacks that *abandon* which should distinguish the poet; and

¹ "The Civilization of the Period of the Renaissance in Italy." By Jacob Burckhardt. Authorized translation, by S. G. C. Middlemore. C. Kegan Paul & Co.

² "Many Moods. A volume of Verse." By John Addington Symonds, author of "Renaissance in Italy," etc. Smith, Elder & Co.

accordingly, while we can give the highest praise to Mr. Symonds's verse for its grace, its delicacy, and its refinement, it lacks energy, fire, and spontaneity. He does not himself claim the sacred name of poet, but publishes this volume because there are some thoughts which a writer may express better in rhyme and meter than in prose. Mr. Symonds has succeeded so well that many will be glad to hear from him again.

TRELAWNY'S RECOLLECTIONS.¹—The great revival of interest in Shelley during the past few years has induced Mr. Trelawny to publish a new edition of his recollections both of that poet and of Lord Byron. The author occupies a position of authority upon certain facts, from his personal knowledge of and acquaintance with the two great poets; and if in his old age he is rather proud of the fact, and grows garrulous upon it, no lover of Shelley will be inclined to blame him for so doing. These volumes possess, of course, a perennial interest.

THE ARCTIC EXPEDITION.²—There are doubtless some who will consider the narrative by Sir G. S. Nares of his remarkable voyage to the polar seas rather tame; but it should be remembered that the author writes under a sense of official responsibility, his work being issued with the sanction of the Lords of the Admiralty. For ourselves we found the work most entertaining. If the expedition was a failure, it was a failure because it did not accomplish that which is apparently impossible, and which many people who know little of the arctic regions expected from it. It should still be remembered, however, that Commander Markham with his sledge party reached the highest latitude ever yet registered by any arctic explorer, viz., $83^{\circ} 20' 26''$ N. He was thus something less than four hundred miles from the North Pole. Admiral Sir George Richards, who writes an introduction to this work, agrees with the leaders of the expedition that the North Pole is inaccessible by the means hitherto advocated. Sir George Nares's volumes are written in a modest and candid spirit, which should commend them to all readers.

VOLTAIRE AND ROUSSEAU.³—These volumes are the first instalment of a new and uniform edition of Mr. John Morley's works. The series should be most welcome to those who were unable to purchase the respective works as they appeared in their original and expensive form. Mr. Morley is one of the first of living critics—incisive, clever, and original. His biographies of Voltaire and Rousseau are the best which have yet

¹ "Records of Shelley, Byron, and the Author." By Edward John Trelawny. B. M. Pickering.

² "Narrative of a Voyage to the Polar Sea during 1875-6, in H.M. Ships *Alert* and *Discovery*." By Captain Sir G. S. Nares, R.N., K.C.B., etc. With Notes on the Natural History. Edited by H. W. Feilden, F.G.S., etc. Sampson Low, & Co.

³ "Voltaire: Rousseau." By John Morley. Chapman & Hall.

been produced by an English writer. They have already taken high and permanent rank amongst the finest examples of contemporary criticism.

PARIS ORIGINALS.¹—These graphic sketches of Parisian life are by a young and clever writer, who thoroughly knows his subject. Mr. Hake has endeavored to go out of the beaten path, and to tell Englishmen who are unacquainted with the strange characters of the French capital much respecting their habits and modes of life. He deals with the *chiffonier*, the *mouchard*, the *brocanteur*, the *quartier-Latinists*, *chevaliers d'industrie*, *flâneurs*, and *badauds*, *blagueurs*, and others. Upon all these varieties of character he has many interesting and piquant things to say. The volume is beautifully illustrated by a series of fine etchings by M. Léon Richeton. I may mention that Mr. Hake is a son of that very considerable poet, Dr. Hake.

RIDING RECOLLECTIONS.²—Mr. Whyte-Melville is a good writer and a hard rider. Whether using the pen or riding in the saddle he is equally entitled to consideration. These "Recollections" will not only be enjoyed by hunting men, but will also be found valuable by those who are not very skillful adepts in riding to hounds. His advice is well worth following upon all matters relating to the horse, a quadruped which has occupied a good deal of space in all the breezy and healthful books he has written.

THE GOLD MINES OF MIDIAN.³—Captain Burton (to whom Mr. Swinburne dedicates his new volume of poems) has been a great traveler in the East, and probably knows more about the lands upon which he here discourses than any other Englishman. In his last expedition to the Midianite cities, in 1876, Captain Burton explored the sites of four old mining towns, and ascertained conclusively that not only gold but also iron, zinc, silver, lead, antimony, and sulphur exist near the coast in sufficient quantities to repay mining operations. He makes several valuable suggestions for the working of these ancient mines of Midian. He has now arrived in England, where he is engaged in organizing a staff of engineers to carry out the works under his direction.

FICTION.—Mr. Payn's new novel⁴ is just such a one as should be popular with story-readers. It is natural, yet contains plenty of excitement, and it is written with considerable literary skill.—Miss Montgomery has long been known for her inimitable descriptions of child-life. Her present work⁵ is a novel proper, but in it we get beautiful glimpses of chil-

¹ "Paris Originals." By A. Egmont Hake. C. Kegan Paul & Co.

² "Riding Recollections." By G. J. Whyte-Melville. Chapman & Hall.

³ "The Gold Mines of Midian, and the Ruined Midianite Cities." By Richard F. Burton. C. Kegan Paul & Co.

⁴ "By Proxy." By James Payn. Chatto & Windus.

⁵ "Seaforth." By Florence Montgomery. Bentley & Son.

dren once more. This class of work is evidently the writer's forte, and she is not so happy when dealing with all the complicated machinery required by a three-volume novel.—The anonymous author who is writing the "Cheveley Novels,"¹ will be the death of the critics if he proceeds at his present rate. His first story is of almost incredible length, extending to no fewer than eight volumes of the ordinary three-volume novel. He is, nevertheless, so clever that we should be sorry to lose sight of him. If some kind literary friend will only weed his productions for him, and reduce them by half, he will do something that will justly give him a high place amongst writers of fiction.—"Ouida,"² has produced a striking novel, and one not so "fleshly" as those we are accustomed to from this writer. Her new work is charged with sarcasm against modern society, and although there is a tone of bitterness running through all this, it must be confessed that, for the most part, her strictures are well deserved. English society is not the most pleasing thing to reflect upon at the present day. Several of the characters in the novel are vividly and powerfully drawn.—Miss Patrick's new story³ is charmingly written, and is distinguished for freshness and delicacy. When we come to the chief incidents of the plot, however, we are bound to confess that nearly all the sad and painful misunderstandings which arise between the various personages of the story might have been avoided by the exercise of a little—indeed a very little—common-sense. Otherwise we have nothing but praise for her novel.—Mr. Ashton Dilke⁴ has performed a very valuable service in placing within the reach of English readers Tourgénief's "Nov." The majority of us know too little of this remarkable Russian writer, and we should, therefore, be all the more grateful to Mr. Dilke for his most admirable translation.—Colonel Lockhart's new novel⁵ is amongst the best of the season. His hero and heroine are of real flesh and blood, and the love passages between them are natural and unstrained. We get, moreover, in these volumes many excellent descriptions of both Italian and Highland scenery—the story being partly developed in Italy and partly in Scotland.

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.—Mr. Tennyson is understood to be engaged upon a new play which will complete the trilogy of dramas originally contemplated by the poet upon English historical subjects.—Dr. Charles Mackay informs me that the elaborate etymological work upon which he has been engaged for some years back will shortly be published. Its full title will be "The Gallic Etymology of the Languages of Western Europe, and more especially of the English and Lowland Scotch, and of

¹ "The Cheveley Novels. A Modern Minister." Blackwood & Sons.

² "Friendship." By "Ouida." Chatto & Windus.

³ "Christine Brownlee's Ordeal." By Mary Patrick. Smith, Elder & Co.

⁴ "Virgin Soil." By J. S. Tourgénief. Translated by Ashton W. Dilke. Macmillan & Co.

⁵ "Mine is Thine." By Laurence W. M. Lockhart. Blackwood & Sons.

their Slang, Cant, and Colloquial Dialects." The work is dedicated by permission to the Prince of Wales, and will be issued in the first instance to subscribers only, at a cost of two guineas. The list of subscribers includes three princes, all the universities, many of our nobility, and most of the well-known writers in English literature.—A new weekly serial will shortly be published here, entitled "The Lives of the Cardinals." It is issued, I believe, under the sanction and authority of Cardinal Manning and all the principal Roman Catholic magnates of the United Kingdom. The author is Mr. P. J. O'Byrne, a London journalist, who has been to Rome for the express purpose of collecting materials for his work. While at the Vatican he had an audience of Pope Leo XIII. Each number of the new serial—of which there will be seventy-five in all—will contain a portrait, biography, and autograph of one of the cardinals.—Mr. Robert Buchanan has a new volume of poems nearly ready for publication.—We have a new literary, artistic, and social journal in London, called *Piccadilly*, which is destined to take high rank amongst the weekly periodicals. Its editor is a gentleman of high attainments and considerable literary power. He is a personal friend of Mr. Dante G. Rossetti, Mr. Swinburne, and others. Mr. Whistler is engaged upon a series of etchings for the paper, which cannot fail to become popular and be a great success. *Piccadilly* announces that Captain Burton is engaged upon a new and full translation of the Arabian Nights. He will render the verses scattered through the stories in the assonance of the original. I fully anticipate that Captain Burton's translation will take precedence of all others.—Messrs. Smith, Elder & Co. are about to issue a sumptuous edition of the works of Thackeray in twenty-four volumes. Only one thousand copies will be printed, and then the plates will be destroyed. The edition is to be beautifully illustrated.—Mr. Joaquin Miller is at present in London, and frequenting literary circles here, where he seems to be popular. His new volume of poems will be published immediately.—A grandson of Douglas Jerrold has just written a comedy, of which I hear very favorable things.

THE LITERARY MOVEMENT IN GERMANY.

THE Berlin Congress is ready to close its doors. Beaconsfield has made upon the whole less of a failure than was expected; in fact he has thus far acted wisely and consistently in effecting precisely what he had vowed to prevent; the course he had previously laid out was unwise, and nothing would be so inconsistent in his case as the continuing to show the same face. Bismarck has shown as much skill in handling the ministers as he has displayed in less important assemblies. To a delicate perception touching what must be done, he adds a certain sharp and hearty

rudeness which gives wings to the dispatch of business. It is to be feared that the Turks regard his "tender mercies" as somewhat "cruel." Outside of Berlin, the country is endeavoring to persuade itself that the late attempts at assassination of the Emperor are dreams, and it comforts itself with the thought that the coming elections will give a reactionary parliament, and that when all the social-democratic workmen are turned out of factories and workshops, the social-democracy will be dead. Yet, unlikely as may be the election of a retrogressive parliament and the death of democracy, literature holds her even way, only pausing an instant to erase the traitor doctor's name and title from her album. Any but an idiot could see that the reigning dynasty, in its anti-feudal centralization and its wide franchises, is the very friend that democracy needs at the present stage of its development in Germany.

Those learned in Egyptology and as well those who confine themselves to the realm of fiction, will remember the name of our Leipzig professor, Georg Ebers, to whom we referred in the March-April number. He is again before the public, and upon this occasion strikes a happy middle path, putting aside the microscope of the specialist and the colored spectacles of the novelist.¹ His "Egypt in Picture and Word" is well calculated, according to his wish, to preserve for the world the memory of the peculiarities of the Nile land, rapidly fading before the railway and the bustle of European commerce, the costumes and manners of the West. The five numbers before us contain no less than eighteen full-page pictures and seventy-two small ones, portraying happily now a vision of past history in the form of Cleopatra, now a moment of the present in the mueddins on the minaret calling upon the faithful to pray. The smaller pictures light up the narrative with landscapes, ruins, street-scenes, coins, articles of dress, and the like. It would be invidious to lay stress upon single pictures, but among the larger ones the head of a Coptic maiden, and among the smaller ones a tiny moonlight view of boat, river, land, houses, and minarets at Fua are particularly attractive. The picture of an Alexandrian lady, on page 49, seems to be unnecessarily disagreeable. The text leads us gracefully through the maze of Egyptian life, the first thirty-two pages being devoted to ancient Alexandria, pp. 33-66 to modern Alexandria, and pp. 67-96 to a still incomplete trip through the delta.

We have the pleasure of announcing the opening number of the journal of a new society. Germany, unwilling longer to depend upon America, England, and France for her regular information from the Holy Land, has started a Palestine Society for itself. The committee, from which we cull the names of Delitzsch, Kiepert, Gildemeister, Von Moltke, and Baedeker, is a sufficient guaranty for good management. Our friend,

¹ Ebers, "Aegypten in Bild und Wort, dargestellt von unsern ersten Künstlern, beschrieben von Georg Ebers." Stuttgart and Leipzig, E. Hallberger, 1878. Numbers 1 to 5, pp. 1-96, fol. Per number 2 Marks or \$0.50. In all there will be about 36 numbers, one coming out every two or three weeks.

Licentiate Hermann Guthe, privat-docent at Leipzig, is the editor of the journal.¹ The first number contains an explanatory preface by Professor Kautsch, communications from Jerusalem by Architect Schick, and a report by Professor Socin of new publications relating to Palestine.

Dr. Nicolai's "History of Greek Literature" is at last complete in its new form,² and affords the most convenient manual for the subject. Professor Curtius, it is said, still declares old Müller to be the most talented description of Greek literature, and praises Bernhardt for some points, but insists upon it that Nicolai is the one for daily use. The first volume treats of the ancient national literature, the poetical part in pp. 1-237, and the prose part in pp. 241-527, and the second and third volumes tell of the post-classic literature in three parts, (*a*) Aristotle and the Alexandrian period, (*b*) the Roman period, and (*c*) the Byzantine period. Dr. Nicolai rightly refers to the difficulty of the historian's task in the post-classical periods, the ground being so little prepared by special studies upon authors. He has endeavored to make his book of particular value in this regard, and believes that scholars will find many new points in his presentation of the Byzantine period. The lists of editions, of translation, of detailed studies or dissertations, and that of critical lists, are very valuable. The whole work is closed by a full chronological view, in which the principal dates of political history are also noted, and by an index of proper names. It is to be regretted that the publishers have not used Latin type instead of the Middle Age type, which is now so generally excluded from scientific works. Page-heading, with names and dates, would greatly facilitate the use of the book.

The attention Nicolai has paid to the Greeks of the Middle Ages brings up to us at once Bikélas's "Greeks of the Middle Ages, and their influence on European civilization."³ This little book, which has been well received in Greece, is an endeavor to place the history in a correct light rather than to add new points. We cannot but hail every honest effort at a new book on the part of Greeks as a token of reviving life in the land of Minerva. There is progress in Athens as well as in Berlin.

With the publication of the "Letter of Barnabas," Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn have completed their edition of the Apostolic Fathers,⁴

¹ "Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins." Leipzig, Karl Baedeker in commission. Vol. I., number 1. (46 pp. 8vo, with 5 plates.) Sent to members of the society. The condition of the membership is the payment of 10 Marks or \$2.50 per year. For the present there will be four numbers a year, or perhaps at times two double numbers a year. Mr. Baedeker is treasurer as well as publisher for the society.

² Nicolai, "Griechische Literaturgeschichte." 3 vols. (527, 706, xii. 435, pp. 8vo.) 21 Marks or \$5.25.

³ Bikélas, "Die Griechen des Mittelalters und ihr Einfluss auf die Europäische Cultur," aus dem Griechischen übersetzt von Dr. Wagner. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1878. (III pp. 8vo.) 1.20 Marks or \$0.30.

⁴ Gebhardt, Harnack, Zahn, "Patrum Apostolicorum Opera." I. ii. ed. 2. "Barnabæ Epistula." Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1878. (lxxiv., 172 pp. 8vo.) 5 Marks or \$1.25. The whole work, in three fasciculi, costs 24.50 Marks or \$6.13.

an edition that no student of early church history can afford to neglect. Dr. Gebhardt, of the Halle Library, prepared the text of Barnabas and of Diognetus, and has shown in it his accustomed skill and prudence. Every one will remember how previous emendations of his in Clement were confirmed by the new manuscript. Professor Adolf Harnack, of Leipzig, has not only written the prolegomena and historical notes to Barnabas and Diognetus, with that fullness and accuracy which mark his character, but has also edited the text and commentary of the fragments of Papias and of the "Presbyters," and of the ancient creed of the Roman Church, all of which are contained in this book. In this day of renewed interest in creeds, many will turn to pp. 115-142 and read the notes from Tertullian, Irenaeus, Justin, and Ignatius upon the creed.

Professor Weiffenbach in his "The Fragments of Papias concerning Mark and Matthew,"¹ first discusses the exegesis of each fragment (pp. 26-98), and then draws the conclusions, in particular for the synoptical question (pp. 99-134). His introduction (pp. 6-25), touches upon the general questions connected with the fragments. Weiffenbach has perhaps succeeded in writing more concisely than in previous works, and offers a very detailed discussion of the theme chosen. His treatment of Professor Weiss is not worthy of so learned and so courteous a scholar. The author lowers his style by the too frequent use of italicized ("gespernte") words, and of absurdly interjected marks of interrogation and exclamation.

When we received and examined the first part of Koenig's "History of German Literature," for the March-April number, and admired its profuse and unique illustrations from manuscripts, we could not but say to ourselves that the next parts, on the time after printing had been discovered, could not be so attractive. We were wrong, as the second part now proves.² The early printed books have afforded rich illustrations, and this history lays them before us in *fac-simile* again. It reaches to the time of Lessing. The whole work is to be finished this year. Let us look at an illustration or two. Opposite page 216 we have a *fac-simile* from Fust and Schöffer's Psalter of 1457, with a huge illuminated B, ten centimetres wide and nearly as high; the colors are blue and red; page 216 itself contains a large picture of a press of 1520 in operation. Page 220, with its portrait of Luther, is fronted by the *fac-simile* of the title of the 1523 edition of Luther's New Testament; this is drawn from the only known copy, preserved in the Leipzig city library; the *fac-simile* is about 27 by 37 centimetres. Pages 217 and 218 give full-page pictures of Luther in his thirty eighth year, and in the year 1522. Page 224 is the title-page of Murner's "Rogues' Guild," and represents a man sharpening his

¹ Weiffenbach, "Die Papias—Fragmente über Marcus und Matthäus eingehend exegetisch untersucht und kritisch gewürdigt, zugleich ein Beitrag zur synoptischen Frage." Berlin, L. Schleiermacher, 1878. (xii. 135, pp. 8vo.) 3 Marks or \$0.75.

² Koenig, "Deutsche Literaturgeschichte." Part ii. Leipzig, Velhagen and Klasing, 1878. (pp. 193-400, large 8vo.) 4 Marks or \$1.

tongue on a grindstone. Page 230 faces a *fac-simile* from the old known manuscript of Luther's "Eine feste Burg," with the music. And thus the pages run on with portrait on portrait, *fac-simile* on *fac-simile*, now in black, now with colors, to name which we should have to name almost every page. But we must mention one more: it is a broadside of Hans Sachs, 37 by 50 centimetres, a large picture, under which three columns of poetry relate how certain nobles begged off from execution a handsome young man, but at once returned him to the officers on learning that his fault was highway robbery, which they considered a perquisite of the nobles only. Hans Sachs, who signs himself in the rhyme of the last line, entitles this a "Farce about the Pious Nobility." The very paper is a copy of the original. Such is the felicity of the "object-teaching" in this volume that we dislike to lay it aside.

Professor Hergenröther of Würzburg, in his life of Cardinal Maury,¹ portrays the course of French and Papal interconnection in the latter part of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. We see how Maury, after many a fight against the infidels and the revolutionists, and after receiving many a token of favor from the pope, at last wavered in the spirit of his dream and in 1810 became the "intruded" archbishop of Paris at Napoleon's hands. The pope now turned towards the cardinal the negative end of the blessing-rod. But after Maury had fallen from power on Napoleon's defeat, he repented sufficiently to be again restored to favor. It is sad to perceive through his life a constant neglect of conscience in pursuing his ambitious ends, and even an unnecessary but persistent use of invention in his ordinary statements. He compares unfavorably in these regards with his contemporary the Bishop Henri Grégoire.

Professor Ebrard, of Erlangen, in the new edition of his "Apologetics,"² has been able to condense and as well confirm various of his detailed arguments by reference to and citations from late works which have attacked Darwinism. The author's well-known incisive, and even at times too keen, speech will attract many a reader. It is possible that by this vividness he succeeds in covering weak points of argument. Well-placed italics, a few hard names, and now and then a bad pun draw well with the multitude. In his very preface he devotes a page to punishing what he calls the "dishonorable lie" of a reviewer in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*. The reply shows how well the critic had aimed. We may observe, too, though it would perhaps come better from another pen, that the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* has an inconvenient way of describing new literature to the life; now and then an author is not at all grateful for the "giftie" of seeing himself as others see him. To return

¹ Hergenröther, "Cardinal Maury." Würzburg, Leo Woerl. 1878, (140 [1] pp. 8vo.) 2.40 Marks or \$0.60.

² Ebrard, "Apologetik." Part I. Gütersloh, C. Bertelsmann, 1878. (xvi. 462 pp. 8vo.) 7.20 Marks or \$1.80.

to Ebrard, we may assure the orthodox that they will find in this volume a worthy refutation of rationalistic philosophy and of alleged infidel science.

Dr. Meyn addresses to a lady a series of polite, interesting, and instructive letters upon creation and science.¹ The paper and type are unusually good, and will recommend the work to foreigners. The amount of interesting historical information touching science and men of science is large. Occasional local allusion only add interest and life to the letters. The style of the author is easy, though in the first few pages the word "mächtig" seems to have come too frequently into service.

At home in a cosy library, or across the sea wandering among cathedrals and palaces, the American reader and student wishes for a handy guide through the intricacies of architecture, so that he may know what to attribute to the classic Greek schools, what to Rome, to Constantinople, what to the Moor, or to the Goth. Lübke's "Sketch of the History of Architectural Styles,"² or better, of the history of methods of building, with its 468 wood-cuts, will satisfy the demands of beginners. This edition, aside from the many new illustrations, especially in regard to ornament, presents additional information drawn from late studies in the French and German Renaissance, and is enlarged by an introductory chapter upon prehistoric monuments, wherein the discoveries of Schliemann at Mykenæ are profitably used. Lübke divides his book into four parts, ancient (Egyptian, Babylonian, Persian, Indian) classic, medieval, and modern architecture. Pages 7 and 8 most fitly offer a list of technical terms, with a reference to the page which explains each. The author would do well to add an index of the historical pieces of architecture named. Whoever observes that the volume is from Seemann's publishing house, will not need to be told that the paper and print are the best; the book is a work of art, even if only a compendium.

Dr. Theodore Canisius, the consul for the United States at Bristol, having written a life of Lincoln for a prominent journal, has now caused it to be issued in a small volume, thus placing it within the reach of all.³ Unpretending as it is, we can heartily recommend it as an interesting view of life in the backwoods and of life in the west. We could not help reading it at one stretch. The animation of the story never flags. The style is attractive. One character in the earlier part, a French rover, is most happily represented, his broken English being put into broken German. If Dr. Canisius were to publish this book in America in an English dress, we think it would have a wide sale, and at any rate we hope that our

¹ Meyn, "Am Anfang schuf Gott Himmel und Erde." Schleswig, Bergas, 1878. (260 pp. 8vo.)

² Lübke, "Abriss der Geschichte der Baustyle." 4th edit. revised and enlarged. Leipzig, Seemann, 1878. (viii. 375 pp. large 8vo.) 7.50 Marks or \$1.88; bound 8.75 Marks or \$2.19.

³ Canisius, "Abraham Lincoln." Stuttgart, Abenheim, 1878. (340 pp. 12mo, with portrait.) 2 Marks or \$0.50.

German fellow-citizens will make its acquaintance at once. It should be observed that the references to political questions, touching upon Clay, Douglas, and others, betray the author's knowledge of the country.

The eyes of manufacturers, of all tradesmen who employ workmen, should be directed to another undertaking of the same publishers. In order to stir up a feeling of ambition and a new energy in the hearts of the workmen in all trades, they have begun issuing a series of pamphlets which describe in an interesting manner the lives, troubles, and honors of twelve men from each trade. We have before us "Twelve Printers,"¹ by Schmidt-Weissenfels, with notes upon Gutenberg, the Stephens, the Elzevirs, and Franklin among others, and closing with Bayard Taylor, and a commendation of his appointment to represent America at Berlin. Other volumes are the "Twelve Tailors," (in which Andrew Johnson figures), and "Twelve Shoemakers." Almost every important trade will soon be touched upon.

It has often been said that history cannot be written until after the lapse of many years. He, however, who by experience has learned the difficulties attending researches even into a near past, will insist upon a certain historical writing as immediately possible and desirable. Steam, telegraph, and telephone affect the matter, and we must "make up" our chronicles into history of a tentative character at once. Professor Wilhelm Müller, of Tübingen, has for ten years offered yearly "The Political History of the Present." The eleventh year is now published, 1877.² Germany and Russia, with Turkey and Greece, occupy each about a hundred pages, and the series of countries closes with America. The fact that Professor Müller gives to the United States but three pages, will not distress the American, because that is the part of the history as to which he feels informed. Yet a comparison of the detailed history of Germany with these three pages, will show the author that his view as to the relative value of events and circumstances is unduly affected by his surrounding. To this extent he does not rise to the ideal of the historian of the "Present."

Sergeant Leahy did not exhaust the subject of swimming in his Eton book, and Mr. Ladebeck has a way of teaching that will attract scholars. His "Swimming School"³ has the advantage of being intelligible even to one who has but a small knowledge of German, because of the numerous and careful diagrams; in case of need the varying positions are given in dotted lines and numbered. The language is short and sharp; we think we can detect in places the speech of a Leipzig professor who is nearly

¹ Schmidt-Weissenfels, "Zwölf Buchdrucker." Stuttgart, Abenheim. (140 pp. 16mo.) 0.50 Marks or \$0.13; better edition for masters, 1 Mark or \$0.25.

² Müller, "Politische Geschichte der Gegenwart. XI. Das Jahr 1877." Berlin, J. Springer, 1878. (xii. 288 pp. 8vo.) 3.60 Marks or \$0.90.

³ Ladebeck, "Schwimmschule." Leipzig, Klein, 1878. (xiv. 83 pp. 8.) 2 Marks or \$0.50.

amphibious. Not to describe the whole process, we would approve especially the author's persistency as to making the pupil first learn the buoyancy of his own body, and that in a much better way than the Franklin egg plan. Pages 25-83 are upon the variations in swimming, including a number of methods of diving. There are two of the diagrams, those for the emperor and for the spread-eagle dives which would be better if the body were shown at the upward or upper part of the throw. We only regret that the readers cannot all see the magnificent form of Ladebeck launching out into air and water in these various styles. He is of a swimming family, he was born to it.

What could be more "appropriate" as a book to end with than Spiess on "Cremation?"¹ In spite of the title the author opposes cremation, and will find favor with the myriads who have a desire to be eaten raw rather than to be wafted away into fine air. The history of the subject will instruct even a cremator. Those who wish to carry the matter further will find counsel in the same author's "History of the Conception as to the State after Death."

CASPAR RENÉ GREGORY.

LEIPZIG, July 13, 1878.

THE LITERARY MOVEMENT IN FRANCE.

WITHIN the last six weeks anniversaries and congresses, literary in character, have been so frequent as to draw the public attention away from the fact that the publishers are issuing few if any important volumes. A formidable strike of printers has seriously annoyed the publishing world, and has delayed the issue of numerous works of interest. The Voltaire and Rousseau centenaries excited the thinking masses in general, however, as much as the appearance of a poem, a romance, or an essay which gave evidence of genius would have done. M. Victor Hugo delivered an address at the Gaiety Theater, on the 31st of May, which combined an unparalleled eulogy of Voltaire with a noble and pathetic appeal for peace, tolerance, and liberty throughout the world. Political and religious passions were in no slight degree excited by the glorification of the man whom the clerical party has always affected most particularly to despise; and prayers were said in the churches in the hope of pardon for such a desecration as the Catholics considered a Voltaire centenary to be. The Literary Congress came next in order, with M. Victor Hugo as its honorary, and M. Edmond About as its real president. It brought together a large number of delegates from France, Italy, Germany, England, Spain, Belgium, Austria, and the United States, and there were several interest-

¹ Spiess, "Ueber Feuerbestattung oder Leichenverbrennung." Jena, Costenoble, 1878. (34 p. 8vo.)

ing discussions upon international copyright, the deference to be paid to the heirs of authors, and the necessity of union among writers of all nations in the interest of liberalism. Nothing definite has been accomplished beyond the appointment of an international committee, of which Hon. George Bancroft, the historian, and Colonel T. W. Higginson were elected the American members, and it is believed that at the next congress, to be held in London in 1879, an international copyright law may possibly be brought to the immediate attention of the legislative bodies of all the principal countries. Just before the close of the congress a remarkable public session was held, at which addresses were made by Edmond About, Victor Hugo, Douglas Jerrold of England, and the German and Italian delegates. M. Hugo made an impressive speech concerning literary property, the sacredness of the book, and the wonderful results achieved by the untrammelled printed word. The beauty and majesty of his phrases, the loftiness and humanity of his sentiment, and the keenness and vivacity of his satire, made the occasion most memorable. It had at one time been intended to celebrate the centenaries of Voltaire and Rousseau, those tremendous twins, on the same day; but for various reasons this was thought imprudent, and Louis Blanc's fiery and enthusiastic oration on the character and services of the melancholy Jean Jacques was delivered on the 14th of July. It was fully worthy of the moment, and of the orator's lustrous fame: he who reads it can not fail to see Rousseau in a new and more natural light than that in which we are wont to regard him.

The publishers continue to announce, if not to publish. A new novel by Alphonse Daudet, to be called "Kings in Exile," will be one of the sensations of the autumn. Emile Ollivier has been incubating in solitude, and will soon publish a volume of political recollections; Hachette & Co. will shortly send forth Mr. Stanley's narrative of African travel, to be called in French, "*A travers le continent mystérieux*"; and are also preparing a new and unabridged edition of the memoirs of Saint-Simon. These publishers now possess the original manuscript, fresh, and with few corrections, as it came from Saint-Simon's hands. *Apropos* of manuscripts, the heirs of the famous publisher, Firmin Didot, recently presented to the State the romance, "*The Cycle of the Round Table*," in manuscript, and the State purchased from them several immensely valuable works. Jouanst's edition of the writings of Jules Janin is now complete; there are few sets of volumes in the world which can rival this series for simplicity and elegance combined. The fifth volume of the "*Correspondence of Grimm and Diderot*," two giants in the theatrical criticism of other days, is also issued.

In a striking and extremely readable book, called "*La Terreur Blanche*,"¹ M. Ernest Daudet has united a series of episodes and souve-

¹ "*La Terreur Blanche*." Par Ernest Daudet. 1 volume. Paris, A. Quantin, 1878.

nirs of the reaction in the South of France in 1815, which has won for itself generous praise on account of its fairness. No epoch of French history was more disfigured by calumny and falsehood than that of the Second Restoration. When at the expiration of the "Hundred Days," the Bourbons returned to the throne of France, there was violent and bloody opposition in Marseilles, in Nîmes, in Avignon, and the results of these revolutions M. Daudet has painted with a charm and fidelity which render his volume as fascinating as one of Dumas's romances. No library of French history will be complete without M. Daudet's book.

The memoirs of that fiery and impatient, as well as perhaps somewhat ungodly prelate, the Cardinal de Retz,¹ have just been published by the house of Hachette. This edition forms a part of the "Collection of the Great Writers of France," published under the direction of M. Regnier. The cardinal is as frank as Montaigne in his self-analysis; and his intense frankness enables us to get from him such a description of the times in which he lived and moved as can not elsewhere be found. De Retz was a thorough adventurer, braving fortune daily: now tilting at Mazarin, to topple him over, that he might mount in poor Mazarin's place beside Richelieu; now speaking with reckless assumption in parliament, and now galloping across country after escaping from a fortress, nursing his broken shoulder with one hand while with the other he urged on his flying steed. One night in 1642, when he was returning from Saint Cloud, in company with three ladies, the coachman announced that he saw a "procession of devils," and refused to go further. The cardinal got down from the coach and charged upon the devils, who appeared more frightened than the coachman was, and cried out that they were only Capuchin monks returning to their monastery; nor had they been real devils would the cardinal have hesitated to charge.

France has already produced an incalculable number of editions of "The Imitation of Jesus Christ,"² but never before one so beautiful as that just issued from the press of Quantin. Henry Houssaye says of the pictures: "Here we have no longer the pompous prints of the seventeenth century, the coquettish vignettes of the eighteenth, nor yet the mystical compositions *à la* Overbeck of these last fifty years. M. Jean-Paul Laurens has sought his inspiration in the reality of the life of that iron epoch which we call the Middle Ages. These monks in ecstasy of prayer, these rude bishops hardily admonishing kings, these prelates setting the example of humility by serving food to the leprous and by washing the feet of the poor, these vindictive shades hovering above the couches of the wicked, these open coffins and decomposing corpses proclaiming the hideous annihilation of human things, these mysterious crypts and cloisters filled with tombs—all these render well the expression of a

¹ "Les Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz." 4 volumes in 8. Paris, Hachette, 1878.

² "L'Imitation de Jesus Christ." Édition illustrée de 10 compositions de J.-P. Laurens, gravées à l'eau forte par Leopold Flameng. Paris, A. Quantin, 1878.

book which is full of fright when it does not bring consolation, of discouragement when it does not offer hope." M. Houssaye has accurately described the marvelous work of Laurens, who to-day holds one of the first places among French masters. In a curious preface to the volume, the authorship of Thomas à Kempis is plainly doubted; but that of a nephew of Chancellor Gerson, to whom the writer of the preface would attribute it, does not seem proven.

"Le Bon Temps,"¹ is a capricious and dainty little poem, in which its author, Remy Marcellin, of Provençal origin, has endeavored to resuscitate the old "Sirvente" of the troubadours of the Middle Ages, and to apply its use to modern topics. It is a republican satire worthy the attention of an idle hour.

A literary curiosity is the latest novel of M. Adolphe Belot, whose extravagances do not seem as yet to banish him from public consideration. "The Woman of Ice"² is certainly sensational without being very vulgar, but it belongs to a class of literature which can never become popular in the United States. Occasionally M. Belot burrows lower than M. Zola, if that be possible. "Under the Empire,"³ is a fascinating, and, in the main, reliable account of matters before and after the fall of the Second Napoleonic *régime*, from a communistic point of view. M. Ranc, the author, is a writer of great talent, who was unfortunately involved in the insurrection. His book will serve to give a vivid picture of one of the most stirring periods of modern times. "Realistic Studies,"⁴ by E. Pouvillon, is a series of delicate stories, which remind one in tone and feeling of Daudet's earlier efforts. They are welcomed here as filled with promise. It would be quite superfluous to praise the latest stories of that original and powerful writer, Sacher-Masoch, who has just published in one volume "A Will,"⁵ "Basile Hymen," and other fugitive pieces, which are famous throughout Europe. Sacher-Masoch, the earnest defender of the Slavs in the variegated Empire of Austro-Hungary, is a writer too little known in America. Some of his latest work is fully equal to the romances of Dickens. He proudly says: "I owe all that I am to myself and—to my enemies." He fought ten duels when he lived in Graz, because he considered it necessary to defend the honor of his nationality. To-day he is a peaceable old man, impetuous only when his pen is in his hand.

Mr. Wallace's "Russia" interested the French people so much that they asked and obtained a very good translation of it; but it does not

¹ "Le Bon Temps." Sirvente Provençal. Par Remy Marcellin. Dentu, Galerie d'Orleans, Paris, 1878.

² "La Femme de Glace." Par Adolphe Belot. 1 vol. Paris, Dentu, 1878.

³ "Sous l'Empire : Mémoires d'un Republicain." Par A. Ranc. 1 volume. Paris, Dreyfus, 1878.

⁴ "Nouvelles Realistes." Par E. Pouvillon. 1 volume. Paris, Lemerre, 1878.

⁵ "Un Testament." Par Sacher-Masoch. 1 volume. Paris, Calmann Levy, 1878.

appear likely to win with them such permanent popularity as that which they propose to accord to the "History of Russia," by one of their own countrymen, M. Rambaud.¹ This gentleman has been a serious student of Russian history and the people of the strange northern land for many years, and has been rewarded for his zeal by the title of Corresponding Member of the Academy of St. Petersburg. The noblest accent in the volume is also the truest. M. Rambaud has seen with keen eyes, and he cries enthusiastically, after his story is told, "we have here been reciting the history of the Russian State; that of the Russian people is about to begin!" He devotes a great portion of the volume to proofs in support of his assertion that Russia is rapidly becoming liberalized. Not a little remarkable also is the retrospective view of the sovereigns who were in large measure attached to France, when the influence of French literature was all powerful in Russia. M. Rambaud shows us Catherine Second bowing before Voltaire and Diderot as their humble disciple; then, as she suddenly discovered that they were serious, and that their ideas of liberty, equality, and tolerance were likely to be adopted, hastening to arm Europe against the ideas which they had spread broadcast. M. Rambaud has drawn a brilliant portrait; has, indeed, made a wonderful psychological study of Catherine at that epoch in her reign. The parts which Paul First and Alexander have also played in the history of France are drawn with rare moderation, fidelity, and force. Mr. Wallace's book should be read at nearly the same time as M. Rambaud's: the two seem contrived expressly for the purpose of correcting each other, and the French volume will be found no whit inferior in piquant anecdote, in careful review of the past, or minute study of the present [of Russia, to that of his British rival.

"Father Hyacinthe's Liberalism,"² is the title of a small volume written by an able member of the clerical party. It is a vigorous book, but will not be likely to change Protestant American opinion with regard to the great orator, although the Abbé Vidieu fancies that he has quite demolished the logic of Father Hyacinthe, and has utterly confused him.

The academical reception of M. Victorien Sardou was the occasion of two brilliant addresses, fairly entitled to rank as current literature. The first was by the dramatist himself, and was filled with vivid word-coloring; the second was by M. Charles Blanc, who did not scruple to bestow some sharp criticism on the author of "La Famelle Benoiton," "Seraphine," and "Dora." It happens that M. Sardou is elected as the successor to the chair of Joseph Autran, a poet who manifested something of the ancient classical grace in his work, and who was justly famous among the cultivated, although fatally predestined to remain unknown to

¹ "Histoire de la Russie." Par M. Rambaud. 1 volume. Collection Duruy. Paris, Hachette. 1878

² "Le Liberalism du Père Hyacinthe." Par le Abbé Vidieu. 1 volume. Paris, Dentu, 1878.

the masses. M. Henri Taine's lack of success in his recent attempt to enter the academy seems to have discouraged him little if any and he is busy with his third volume on "The Origins of Contemporary France." The elections of M. Ernest Renan and M. Henri Martin as Academicians has been very cordially received.

EDWARD KING.

PARIS, July, 1878.

Happily the few weeks which preceded the great political crisis of 1877 bore a rich harvest of literary and scientific works. Of these we must choose the most important, and even supposing our space unlimited, we would be reduced to giving the titles only of a number of works. We have too high a respect for the public we address to discuss at length the literature which furnishes mental food to the grocers and hackmen here in Paris. Yet this literature is particularly well known abroad. But lately, while in England, we met a savant who gave the first rank in his library to the novels of Paul de Kock, and assured us that he read them with extreme pleasure. "La Fille Eliza," a work accounted unwholesome at Paris, has a place on the tables of the St. Petersburg aristocracy. Were we not lately informed that M. de Bismarck discovered a rare charm in the feuilletons of Xavier de Montépin? Hence opinions very often erroneous pronounced in foreign circles on the French mind, manners, and literary activity. Many of our reviews and our newspapers contribute daily to give a false idea of our contemporary literature. Extensive advertising arrangements further the spread of second-rate works, and critics, bound to keep the public informed and enlightened, are often so weak as to allow themselves to be influenced by personal sympathies, by the wish to encourage some débutant, as well as by other motives. In this fashion M. Tissot's "Voyage au Pays des Milliards" has had an immense reputation, particularly abroad, though the work is of a kind to give the most incorrect notion of Germany and the Germans. We might quote a great many publications which have acquired the dimensions of real literary events, but which will not be read next year. We have been amazed to see the *Revue des Deux Mondes* itself sometimes contributing, through its bibliographic department, to *launch* a work of small worth.

George Sand's "Last Pages"¹ contains "impressions" and "recollections," and ends with miscellanies composed of a series of short articles published by the authoress in various newspapers and reviews not long before her death. The impressions and recollections are entirely new, and they bear the impress of the genius of the woman who has exerted a great influence on the thought of this century. It must be owned that this influence has not always been a happy one. George Sand was an

¹ "Dernières Pages." Par George Sand. Lévy.

ardent disciple of Rousseau, and as such she had been enthusiastic in accepting the various socialistic doctrines which caused the explosion of 1848. Down to the end of her life she entertained the same sympathy. In this she was the dupe of her own generous heart, which told her to love with passion and without distinction all suffering and forsaken beings. As Rousseau's disciple, she felt a deep and vital love for nature. From this come those simple and magnificent descriptions so abundant in her works, and constituting the most original and genuinely beautiful portion of her writings. But, above all, George Sand is a great poet. When not transported by her imagination to the land of chimeras and of fantastic grottos, she succeeds in rendering the ideal real and reality ideal. This marvelous art makes the true poet. George Sand had it in the highest degree. In the present work we again meet these faults and merits, and the "Last Pages" will be read with a respectful and hearty admiration. The article called *Dans les Bois* is far from containing what the title seems to indicate. Here we are not dealing with an idyll, or a rural scene, but with—Napoleon III. ! George Sand had been well acquainted with the ex-emperor, and a few pages done in her inimitable style give a strikingly true portrait of a mysterious personage.

The wind does not blow in the poetical quarter. We, accordingly, who are incapable of enduring mediocre verse, opened M. Creissels's volume with¹ strong presumptions. But this unfortunate prejudice immediately gave way to sincere admiration. A true poet, he rescues us for a few moments from our prosaic business and vulgar interests. The thoughts expressed in this poetic garland are all marked with wholesome and manly energy. We are not gently lulled, but are on the contrary, affected by that fire which animates a soul filled with love for all that is truly great and beautiful. The sonnet is the mold chosen by the author to receive his thought, and the poet contrives to renew this somewhat antiquated form. His feelings, even under a tyrannical restraint, have acquired a vigor, his thoughts a solidity which affect and charm us the more as the greater part of the verses published in these days are lost in vague and languishing reveries. We recommend this excellent little collection to serious lovers of poetry, and we trust the author will not stop here.

Nothing can be more curious than a debate between two men as witty as M. Veuillot and M. Lapommerage.² The former has a downright grudge against Molière. It is not hard to understand the motives of this hatred. Molière wrote *Tartuffe*.—In order to strike his gigantic adversary what will M. Veuillot do? He will compare him with whom? Doubtless with another comedian. No, with a Christian preacher, Bourdaloue ! Compared to so serious and austere a minister of God,

¹ "Les Tendresses Verités." Sonnets par Auguste Creissels. Dentu.

² "Molière et Bourdaloue." Par Louis Veuillot. V. Palmi. "Molière et Bossuet, réponse à M. Louis Veuillot." Par Henri de Lapommerage. P. Ollendorf.

Molière will plainly be nothing more than a vile courtier, a profoundly corrupted man, and besides—a Tartuffe. Tartuffe is Veuillot's bugbear, and for good cause. According to the great ultramontane chief, Molière must be devoted to contempt, his memory to the execration of posterity. M. de la Pommerage has been quick to pick up the glove, and to strike M. Veuillot with the very arms wielded by the latter. He has compared Molière with a famous preacher, the Eagle of Meaux. We must say that the comparison is not to the advantage of Bossuet, who, in fact, was more of a courtier than this eloquent court-preacher, who dared affirm that the Grand Roi was the earthly representative of God, and that to obey him was as much a duty as to obey Him who reigns in heaven. Did he give proof of sincerity in maintaining a proposition open to so much question? Did he not to some extent favor the excesses of one of the most corrupt of kings, by shutting his eyes to his base conduct and by never reproaching him directly for his sins? As for Molière, he was true to his rôle in paying court to the king, and in scourging our poor humanity for its vices and ridiculous conduct. He by no means dreamed of turning the theater into a chapel, and whoever reproaches him bitterly, as does Veuillot, of having unmasked the sham *dévôts*, runs the risk of hearing the words: *Tua res agitur!* The retort is one more victory won over that clerical, ultramontane spirit which is one of the curses of our country. In this M. de la Pommerage merits the approval and the commendation of all those who hold Tartuffe in horror, and who consider religious hypocrisy as one of the most repulsive and dangerous of vices.

M. Octave Noël has written in an easy, pleasant style a little volume which ought to be in the hands of every school-boy. Under the form of familiar conversations the author aims to simplify the economic sciences, which tend more and more to become important. He combats those deadly social doctrines which are now threatening almost all civilized countries, and opposes to them the soundest and most liberal opinions. Thus, on the subject of strikes, wages, capital, labor leagues, luxury, etc., M. Noël has very correct ideas, cites striking examples well fitted to enlighten the most ignorant and to dissipate the illusions of those who might have been seduced by such hideous socialism as haunts the streets and cabarets.

STATISTICAL TABLES FOR 1878.¹—It is not worth while to dwell at length upon this Annual, which appears for the second year, and, as its mere title shows, is calculated to render a very great service to mechanics, business men, and politicians—in fact, to all classes of society. This book, which contains exact and well-grouped information upon the workings of government, finance, commerce, religion, etc., etc., of every country of the world, great or small, will be consulted constantly by men of affairs, what-

¹ "Tables Statistiques des divers pays de l'univers pour l'année 1878." Paris: Hachette.

ever may be their line of occupation. The divisions of the work are made with much method and clearness. This is not the most insignificant quality in a work of the kind.

DURET'S HISTORY OF FOUR YEARS.¹—The author published in 1876 the first volume of this history, which treats of "the fall of the empire." To-day he tells us the history of "the national defense." The third and last volume will recount "the presidency of M. Thiers." We shall then have a complete history of the Franco-German War, its origin and its consequences. We will speak only of the volume which just comes from the press. M. Duret is a republican, but a conservative republican. He relates history without passion, without prejudice. One can take this history of the national defense as a guide without fear of being led into error by perversion of facts or by judgments inspired by exaggerated opinions. Much has been written upon the great and sad subject, but nowhere have we found so clear and so well arranged an exposition of these lamentable events as here. It is very well known how variously the resistance, hopelessly opposed to invasion, by "the Government of National Defense" has been judged. Some, and they are the larger number, have judged this resistance as senseless, and likely to give the final blow to exhausted France. Others could not refrain from admiring a nation which felt itself lost, but was unwilling to yield to the inexorable conqueror until after having burnt her last *cartouche*. M. Duret is of the latter number. He knows very well that if the French continued to resist after Sedan their chance of success was precious little. But "their determination was then instinctive, and the result of a spontaneous uprising; . . . and the instinct which guided them turned out to be just." Wherefore? The justification is, that the losses and misery suffered by this desperate resistance have been made up by the sympathy and esteem which other nations felt for France, in seeing the country which they thought literally torn to pieces show that she knew how to face the most horrible dangers a nation could possibly undergo, to defend the integrity of her soil and protect her honor. On the contrary, have not the conduct of Germany and the use she has made of her victory after the heroic resistance of the people invaded chilled the admiration of every one of the partisans she had at the beginning?

Such is the general judgment pronounced by the author upon the work of the national defense. The parts devoted to the *dernières défaites*, to the armistice, and to the elections are particularly interesting. For the rest the volume offers a complete and vivid *résumé* of the acts of the government in question. It will be read with profit by those who seek facts above every thing, and who put themselves on their guard against de-

¹ "Histoire de Quatre Ans" (1870-1873). Tome II. Par Théodore Duret. Charpentier. 1878.

clamatory statements and risky opinions. The style of M. Duret is in harmony with his intellectual attainments. It is simple, correct, and concise. It is seldom that history, especially contemporary history, can be rehearsed with that freedom which is the first condition of historic accuracy.

DAUDET'S ARTISTS' WIVES.¹—In our opinion it needs more talent to write a series of short studies or of brief portraits well done than to compose an entire volume upon a given subject. And why? Because in an extended work feeble portions may be relieved by an interesting situation, eloquent pages, a happily conceived and well-rendered character, while in short literary pieces mediocrity will not pass muster. M. Daudet, whose romances are read with avidity in both hemispheres, has surpassed himself, to our mind, in three charming and refined little *tableaux de genre* entitled "Artists' Wives." It would seem, at first, as though these rapid, easy sketches of a pencil were wholly intended to amuse the reader at some odd moment. But this is not the case. A very serious tone unites these twelve recitals, which artists will never read without abandoning themselves to gloomy reflections. This is in effect the thought which has inspired this book, charming in form, but full of experience and philosophy! O artists, painters, poets, and musicians, do not marry! Whatever may be your tastes, your character, your desire of having your own hearthstone, marriage will be for you a never-failing source of suffering and vexation.

It must be acknowledged that the cases cited by the author are wholly of a kind to support the argument. *Mme. Heuotebrise, Singers' Household, a Misunderstanding*, are particularly dispiriting; and if you are an artist, you will tremble at the thought of joining your fortune to that of a woman, be she possessed of every charm and every virtue. If you are not an artist, you will read this book without experiencing the least regret, I assure you, because it is most original and ingenious.

SILVESTRE'S SONG OF THE HOURS.²—The author has already published a volume of poems with a preface by G. Sand. He gives this year a new collection, of which the subjects are varied from *Rimes viriles* to the *Intermèdes païens*. The author is a ready versifier. His verse is easy, rich, and warm. There are in these pages lofty and patriotic sentiments, noble emotions. Yet, is M. Silvestre born of a pure race of poets? We will not venture to say yes. We recognize indeed that there are in *les rimes viriles*, *les fantaisies célestes*, and *l'âme en deuil* some lines which border on grand poetry. In the case of the *Intermèdes*, do not permit them to fall into youthful hands.

¹ "Les Femmes d'Artistes." Par Alphonse Daudet. Avec une eau forte de A. Gill. Lemerre, Paris. 1878.

² "La Chanson des Heures. Poesies nouvelles." (1874-1878.) Par Armand Silvestre. Paris: Charpentier. 1878.

DUPONT'S ETCHINGS ILLUSTRATIVE OF XAVIER DE MAISTRE.¹—We have already announced here the issue of a new edition of Xavier de Maistre by the publisher Lemerre. Those who have bought this work will be able to illustrate it by buying at a very moderate price, some of these beautiful *eaux-fortes*, which can be easily inserted in the text. The same house publish also an enchanting little poem, by François Coppée, called the "Shipwreck," which we have already seen in the *Revue de Deux Mondes*.

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR: A DRAMA.²—It is a just reproach to France that she has no national theater, like those of the English, Spaniards, and Germans. The literature of our classic drama can not be considered as such in fact. Racine and Corneille have represented on the stage, in magnificent verse, no doubt, the furies of Hermione and the mildness of Augustus. But these personages, mythologic or historic, of Greece or of Rome, are but very slightly akin to French character.

As for the historical dramas of Victor Hugo and Alexandre Dumas they have only rarely awakened a patriotic chord, being written especially to please the eye. Then, too often, these authors modify at their caprice the truth of facts and characters. We ought also to recognize the essays which have been made in our day to endow French literature with a national theatre. MM. F. Coppée, the well-known poet, and A. d'Artois have again made an effort in this direction. *La Guerre de Cent Ans* has not yet been represented; we know not why, because this drama is certainly as good as *Les Misérables* and *Joseph Balsamo*, which make all Paris run wild. We trust that at a period more or less early *La Guerre de Cent Ans* will be played on one of our principal stages. This work is truly patriotic. It contains some magnificent lines. It puts in action sentiments the most elevating and passions the most ennobling. The principal characters are never indiscernible phantoms, but living realities, and decidedly French. We wish truly that other dramatists would enter the new path which has been opened by Coppée and Artois. There is ample material for legitimate and lasting success other than that of *Winiche* and *La Femme de Chambre*.

Let us add that this drama is strongly enough constructed for us to find considerable enjoyment in the simple perusal of it and without the stage surroundings.

VIENNA AND VIENNESE LIFE.³—M. Tissot has already written a number of books on *Le Pays des Millions*. These publications have had a grand success, which we are far from being able to explain. We could not possibly take these studies on Germany to be serious: they are only a

¹ "Eaux-fortes pour illustrer Xavier de maistre." Dessinées et gravées par F. Dupont. Paris: A. Lemerre. 1878.

² "La Guerre de Cent Ans." Drame en Cinq Actes. Par F. Coppée et A. d'Artois. Paris: Lemerre. 1878.

³ "Vienne et la Vie Viennoise." Par Victor Tissot. Paris. 1878. Dentu.

series of satires, more or less witty. His is a sorry patriotism who only thinks of disparaging his enemy, instead of closely studying him without partisanship or passion, the only means of at last banishing all cause for dreading him.

In this new volume the author conducts us to Vienna by way of Venice, Trieste, and Goritz. Then M. Tissot endeavors to give us a just idea of Vienna and Austrians. We hope he is on friendly soil, accordingly far from criticising every thing, as when he was in Germany; here he praises and admires every thing. But nothing is more superficial than this book. Love, music, the dance, the beer, etc., are what chiefly strike the author. In regard to public schools, higher instruction, national sentiment, religious wants, he noticed nothing or nearly nothing. This new volume is without doubt easy reading, full of flowing spirit and animation; but one will gain as false ideas of Austria as of Germany, if one acquiesces one's self blindly to the guidance of this amiable author. Fortunately, more exact accounts and more thorough studies are not wanting.

GAY'S OBSERVATIONS ON THE INSTINCTS OF MAN AND THE INTELLIGENCE OF ANIMALS.¹—The author, who has lived in America, tells us his adventures, as also those of many other explorers. Mr. Gay tells a good story. He has seen much, observed well, and studied well. When he holds himself to facts, to descriptions, to anecdotes, he interests and instructs us. But after this first part of his book, which is especially narrative, Mr. Gay has written a second, wholly theoretic. On this ground it is an effort to follow the author. His ideas are vague, his reasoning loose, his conclusions debatable. Be that as it may, by confining one's self to the descriptive and narrative portion of this book one will have many an occasion to increase his scientific store of new and curious facts.

HISTORY OF FRANCE FROM 1789 TO 1848.²—The History of France recounted to my grandchildren left off at 1789. M. Guizot devoted a separate work to the history of France from 1789 to 1848. Mme. de Witt, his daughter, has collected and preserved the lessons which he had prepared on this subject for his children. The account of this important period of French history is now appearing in weekly parts. The work will be composed of ninety parts at fifty centimes each, forming two volumes, illustrated with about two hundred beautiful engravings.

A. NOUGARÈDE.

PARIS, July, 1878.

¹ "Observations sur les Instincts de l'Homme et l'Intelligence des Animaux." *Souvenir de voyage*, par Henri Gay. Paris. 1878.

² "L'histoire de France depuis 1789 jusqu'en 1848. Racontée à mes petits enfants par M. Guizot. Leçons recueillies par Mme. de Witt, née Guizot. Paris: Hachette. 1878.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW

NOVEMBER, 1878.

DOES HUMANITY REQUIRE A NEW REVELATION?

THIS question we answer with a prompt and decided—No !

Let us briefly consider :

1. How it has recently been raised.
2. By what arguments and analogies an affirmative answer has been supported.
3. Why there is no necessity for a new revelation.

We will not formally take up these as separate heads, but merely use them as a sort of framework for our discourse.

“What is generally doubted is doubtful.”

So at least says Mr. Froude, with charming dogmatism, in his extremely well-written articles in recent numbers of this Review.¹ This paradox is in fact one of the two chief reasons which he gives for looking upon the Christian religion as a scheme which suited its time, no doubt, but which now requires to be superseded. I can not attempt to compete with him in word-painting, nor should I desire to use it, even if I could, in place of argument. Thus, instead of commenting on this statement of his, for the moment at least, I try to imagine how one would fare at Mr. Froude's hands if he took a somewhat similar—though perhaps not equally startling—license. Suppose, for instance, a writer of acknowledged power were to lay down as a matter of undisputed certainty a proposition such as this :

What is generally misunderstood is unintelligible.

¹ “Science and Theology—Ancient and Modern,” *ante*, pp. 289, 492.

With what howls of execration, with what withering sarcasm would such a writer be welcomed—according to the style and temper of the multitudinous and mutually incompatible schools of thinkers, to every one of whom he would have given mortal offense? I can not conjecture what exact form of denunciation would be employed by Mr. Froude; but it would assuredly be something tremendous. Yet I venture to assert that this proposition contains quite as much of essential truth as does that laid down by Mr. Froude.

Fancy the theorist in politics or in political economy who has for years endeavored to bring his universal *panacea* before a listless public, and whose sole reward has been some contemptuously sarcastic notices, of a few lines each, in the more obscure of the daily journals—not one of the writers having taken the trouble to master what he was criticising. Is this great theorist necessarily unintelligible because everywhere misunderstood?

Fancy, again, the modern poet who should say his lyrics were misunderstood, because generally regarded as delirious and more than obscene:—while to himself, the true and only judge, they were merely the voice of Nature speaking by his pen;—would *he* allow that the genuine reason is that his verses are unintelligible?

Such men might not make out their case, though they would be hard to convince that they were in the wrong. But when a scientific man appears on the field, he tells you at once that there is *no such thing* in mathematical or physical science as the Unintelligible, though there is much that is imperfectly, or not at all, understood.

Or, to take higher game, let us consider Mr. Froude himself.

Is the term *Force* unintelligible because all but universally misunderstood and misapplied, so far, indeed, as to be generally confounded with Energy? Mr. Froude says that Lucretius, “with intuitive genius, had anticipated two, at least, of our most important modern discoveries. He had perceived that force was a constant quantity, that it was not expended, but was converted from one form to another.”

Of course what is here referred to is the *Conservation of Energy*; but, though so generally misunderstood, the principle itself is by no means unintelligible. Yet the error here committed is, from the scientific point of view, so great as of itself seriously to shake our confidence in the rest of the article of which it forms a part. While engaged with this branch of the subject, and to avoid repetition, I may allude, once for all, to a little more of Mr. Froude’s unscientific

science. Thus he applauds the methods of Lucretius, and says his moral and spiritual conclusions agree with those of the best modern scientific thinkers. We shall presently have to ask, Who are the best modern scientific thinkers? and the answer will promptly and effectually dispose of Mr. Froude's notion that their moral and spiritual conclusions agree with those of Lucretius.

Again, Mr. Froude says, after sketching the cosmogony of Lucretius :

"The reader of Darwin will miss the theory of the modification of species, which it was impossible for Lucretius to have guessed ; but they will find nowhere the modern doctrine of the survival of the fittest stated more clearly and carefully. Those who deny most earnestly that any elemental power of spontaneous generation can be traced in operation at present, are less confident that it may not have existed under earlier conditions of this planet, or may not exist at present in other planets. The theory of Lucretius is not in the least more extravagant than the suggestion of Sir William Thompson that the first living germ was introduced by an *aërolite*."

This passage contains a tangled mass of error, for the discussion of which the space at my disposal would be wholly insufficient. Not to speak of the adventitious *p* in Thompson, nor of the ridiculous superlative in the phrase "*survival of the fittest*" (which is not Mr. Froude's, but which it is strange to see used without protest by an accurate writer), the statement about the opponents of spontaneous generation is as wholly incorrect as is the allusion to the meteorite theory of Helmholtz and Thomson.

Take another general proposition, quite as defensible as Mr. Froude's :

He who is generally trusted is trustworthy.

I should think Mr. Froude's vast historical knowledge would make him one of the very first to cry out against a statement such as this. Every one of us, in his own personal experience of bankers, railway directors, insurance officers, and what not, has had ample reason to know and feel its absolute falsity.

After what has just been said, it is hardly necessary to examine or comment upon the other dogmatic statements of Mr. Froude, such as

"*Truth is what men trow,*"

"*Things are what men think.*"

As contributions to English etymology, these may or may not be accurate. With that I have nothing to do. But as logical propositions—and it is as such that they are brought forward and used—

they are transparently incorrect. Yet these and their like form one half of the basis of Mr. Froude's slashing but melancholy argument. Let us for a moment suppose them cut away, as at least useless if not wholly misleading, and endeavor to discover what support remains.

Here it is :

"The theory of development, as it is called, does not deny the existence of God any more than Epicureanism denied it. It denies only that the phenomena require the existence of such a being to account for them. For a time, even after the authority of tradition was shaken, science seemed to be on the side of religion. The evidence of design in nature was urged, as it was urged by the Stoics, in proof of a designing mind ; and as long as each species of plant and animal was believed to be distinct from every other, each one of them required a special act of creation to bring it into being. Both positions are now abandoned by advanced scientific thinkers."

If this be so, it is no doubt a very sad state of things, and perhaps *might* explain the following very extraordinary assertion with reference to the present time as compared with that of the Cæsars :

"People continue to go to church. They continued then to go to the temples. They say their prayers in public, or perhaps in private. So they did then. The clergy pray for rain or fine weather, and on great occasions, such as the potato blight, the archbishop issues a special form of petition for its removal. But the clergy and the archbishop are aware all the time that the evils which they pray against depend on natural causes, and that a prayer from a Christian minister will as little bring a change of weather as the incantation of a Caffre rain-maker. We keep to conventional forms, because none of us likes to acknowledge what we all know to be true ; but we do not believe ; we do not even believe that we believe, the bishops themselves no more than the rest of us—no more than the College of Augurs in Cato's time believed in the sacred chickens."

I feel assured that there are but few thinking men who will indorse a statement like this. So far as it is connected with science, it rests upon absolutely no scientific basis whatever ; for science has *not* proved, and will never be able to prove, that there are not now any direct interferences (from without) in what we call the order of nature. And the assertions as to our beliefs are probably even more wide of the mark than those of Elijah, when to his querulously-egotistical exclamation, "I have been very jealous for the Lord God of Hosts : because the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thine altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword ; and I, even I only, am left ; and they seek my life, to take it away"—the altogether unexpected and crushing

answer came : " Yet I have left me seven thousand in Israel, all the knees which have not bowed unto Baal, and every mouth which hath not kissed him."

Perhaps Mr. Froude's answer to this objection may be that supplied by his own words : " We are too earnest to tolerate impiety, and the traditions of religion will retain their hold with the millions long after they have lost their influence over the intellect. Intellect we know is not omniscient. Emotion has a voice in the matter, which is always on the side of faith, and women in such subjects are governed almost wholly by their feelings."

Still it is not easy to reconcile this statement with the last above quoted.

But who, pray, are the advanced " scientific thinkers" so confidently appealed to by Mr. Froude as having given up the proof which is furnished by the evidence of design in nature ?

Mr. Froude says, " the inferences [of Lucretius] were drawn in the strictest scientific method. Within the proper limits of physical science he anticipated many of the generalizations of the *best modern scientific thinkers*. His moral and spiritual conclusions are almost exactly the same as theirs ;" " the fate of nations is determined by the convictions about the nature and responsibilities of man which . . . are entertained by the *ablest thinkers* ; and everywhere opinions are now professed by *men whom we agree to admire*, . . . which recall the . . . time when the old order of things perished." If these extracts contain even a *trace* of truth, we are indeed in a bad way. Let us examine them. One thing is specially to be remarked, the persistence and iteration with which Mr. Froude claims as supporters of his views the ablest scientific thinkers.

When we ask of any *competent* authority, who were the " advanced," the " best," and the " ablest" scientific thinkers of the immediate past (in Britain), we can not but receive for answer such names as Brewster, Faraday, Forbes, Graham, Rowan Hamilton, Herschel, and Talbot. This must be the case unless we use the word science in a perverted sense. Which of these great men gave up the idea that nature evidences a designing mind ?

But perhaps Mr. Froude refers to the advanced thinkers still happily alive among us. The names of the foremost among them are not far to seek. But, unfortunately for his assertion, it is quite certain that Andrews, Joule, Clerk-Maxwell, Balfour Stewart, Stokes, William Thomson, and such like, have, each and all of

them, when the opportunity presented itself, spoken in a sense altogether different from that implied in Mr. Froude's article. Surely there are no truly scientific thinkers in Britain farther advanced than these! But then Mr. Froude has said that the inferences of Lucretius "were drawn in the strictest scientific method." Most scientific men think them, as a rule, metaphysical, and even in some instances wholly absurd.

It is obvious from this that Mr. Froude's notions of science are altogether at variance with those of the best authorities.

For true scientific writing there are three indispensable requisites :

1. Your facts must be facts.
2. Your reasoning must be logical.
3. Your knowledge must be *in all respects* adequate.

The words italicized are of the utmost importance, because the very slightest defect of knowledge may be fatal to the whole conclusion.

Mr. Froude is a very able and plausible writer, and his position as a historian is matter of common knowledge. But though these qualifications undoubtedly render his essay very pleasant reading, the fact that his subject deals to a certain extent with science has proved sufficient to show that something more than literary knowledge and ability is wanted to confer upon it that accuracy which is indispensable to authority. Nothing prepares one so well for the solution of a hard problem as previous practice at similar but easier ones, so we may usefully say a word or two about a few simpler cases, which bear some little analogy to that of Mr. Froude, in connection with his recent articles.

Nothing is more strikingly characteristic of the ignorance of even educated people than the way in which certain persons obtain undeserved popularity and come to be regarded (except of course by experts) as authorities in literature or in science. The royal road to this distinction lies in not merely looking and talking big, but in doing so in a great variety of subjects. Lawyers laughed at the late Lord Brougham's law, but thought him great in literature and science; scientific men laughed at his science, but allowed that he was a master in law and literature; and the recently published Napier correspondence has shown in what hearty contempt he was held by literary authorities like Macaulay.

The once celebrated "Vestiges of Creation" owed its popularity not so much to the truth and novelty of some of its statements, and

their supposed heretical boldness, as to the enormous range of subjects on which its author could smatter sufficiently to pass muster with men who knew them only superficially. Even true scientific men, though each convinced that the author was only superficially acquainted with his own pet subject, were often incautious enough to state that he was obviously well acquainted with every thing else.

It is a mere truism to say that no one can nowadays write with authority on more than two or three branches even of science—and, in general, these are closely allied : as physics, chemistry, and mineralogy, anatomy and physiology, etc. And it is another, but less generally received, truism that no one can make sound applications of even the elements of a scientific subject without a really profound knowledge of the whole.

The *Paper Science* of the present day, that which pretends to make the highest science at once interesting and intelligible to all, is a disgrace to education generally—a proof that such education as even the best of non-specialists receive is incompetent to enable them to detect superficiality and confident, because ignorant, smattering. What a contrast to the carefully thought-out treatises of two centuries ago—rich and full, even when wholly speculative—on the production of *one* of which a man spent often the best years of his life ! What a contrast to these is the constant flow of trashy verbiage from the “ Easy-Writing ” Paper Scientist ! *He* it is who is mainly responsible for the state of things we have now to explain.

The assumed incompatibility of Religion and Science has been so often and so confidently asserted in recent times that it has come, like the universal knowledge and ability of Lord Brougham, or the all-round scientific merits of the “ Vestiges of Creation,” to be taken for granted by the writers of leading articles, etc., and it is of course perpetually thrust by them broadcast before their too trusting readers.

But the whole thing is a mistake, and a mistake so grave that no true scientific man (unless indeed he be *literally* a specialist—such as a pure mathematician, or a mere mycologist or entomologist) runs, in Britain at least, the smallest risk of making it.

Who are, after all, the people who so loudly assert this so-called incompatibility ? Do they, or does even any one of them, show that thorough acquaintance with *both* sides of the question which is usually, and I think rightly, imagined to be necessary for the formation of a judgment of any value ? When *one* such presents himself it will be time enough for genuine theologians, if not to feel alarm,

at all events to be prepared for battle. Hitherto at least it appears that the contest has been originated and carried on by the supernumeraries, I had almost said the camp-followers, of both classes, the scientific and the theological. With a few, and these very singular, exceptions, the true scientific men and the true theologians of the present day have not yet found themselves under the necessity of quarreling.

An ignorant and mischievous supernumerary on the theological side takes up old and now exploded views of the nature and mode of production of the Bible—asserts (let us say) that every word, nay, every letter, in it is divinely inspired and has been divinely preserved to us—that its incidental references to objects of physical or natural science must also be scientifically exact. Well may the true theologian desire to be preserved from his friends !

“ For the son dishonoreth the father, the daughter riseth up against her mother, the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law ; *a man's enemies are the men of his own house.* ”

Hereupon an equally ignorant and mischievous underling of the scientific establishment, fancying he has an opportunity of attaining the notoriety which is his main object in life, seizes on these absurd statements, gravely assumes that they are put forward by the masters and not by the underlings, and proceeds with much stage effect and clatter to expose their absurdity. The long-enduring public, led too often by ignorant though “ educated ” men (for a “ scholar ” may be, and too often is, altogether innocent of the very slightest power of detecting the characteristic difference between science and pseudo-science, obvious though it be to the practised eye)—the patient public, I say, under such leadership, grows ecstatic over the tremendous contest, and hails the fancied victor as among the foremost men of science of his time. It is like the terrific sword and buckler combat in a melodrama, cheered to the echo, though every one *knows* it is humbug. And thus Religion, which has never really been in question, suffers in the judgment of the vulgar.

The same effect is often produced by a nearly converse process. The mischievous scientific camp-follower begins throwing stones at what he imagines to be religion ; but, as true religion is something very different from the idea he has formed of it, he has of course no chance of hitting his mark.

But the equally mischievous theological underling thinks *his* opportunity has come ; and so at it they go, tooth and nail, hammer and tongs, with plenty of noise and no result, except of course

that Religion again suffers in the eyes of the ignorant, who fancy that this tomfoolery carried on in her name really involves her interests. They have, besides, a sort of unexpressed notion that Religion should be, like Cæsar's wife, not only unimpeachable but unimpeached—forgetting that a child may easily drive in a nail so that a giant may find difficulty in extracting it.

So much for the discussions on the so-called incompatibility of Religion and Science. Almost invariably initiated and carried out against the wishes and the convictions of the true leaders on either side, they have become a sort of ladder by which hangers-on or supernumeraries manage now and then to raise themselves into public notice. To do so with the greatest effect they adopt, as a rule, the side of *what they call Science*. A well-known scientific man puts it very happily thus: "The dogs have partaken of the children's bread, and are determined to show that they belong to the family." It must be allowed that now and then some of the really foremost men have thought it worth their while to confute a more than usually loud-mouthed (and *therefore* popular) opponent, but as a body they have as yet found no cause to interfere.

Mr. Froude, I think, has done much harm by throwing himself unsolicited, and in great part unqualified, into this sham-fight of underlings. [A knight, as Don Quixote found to his cost, ought not to mix in the pastimes or quarrels of carriers and clothworkers.] He is quite as one-sided as, though of course from any point of view far more effective than, the scribblers with whom, in an evil hour, he has temporarily associated himself. Had he confined himself strictly to the somewhat novel question he has raised, which is practically that at the head of this paper, he would have to some extent kept clear of these small fry and their perennial chatter, *Diis aliter visum!*

According to Mr. Froude, we are, without being generally conscious of it, living in a period of exceptionally rapid advance. This advance consists not so much in material prosperity and scientific discovery, as in shaking off, one by one, the trammels of a burdensome superstition which we are at length beginning to estimate at its true value.

"Whither these material changes may be carrying us, it is idle to conjecture. Nothing of the same kind has ever been witnessed on the earth before, and there is no experience to guide us. The spiritual change is not so unexampled. Phenomena occurred most curiously analogous at the time of the rise of Christianity ;

and from the singularly parallel course in which at those two periods the intellect developed itself, we may infer generally what is likely to come of it.

“ That we have been started out of our old positions, and that we can never return to positions exactly the same, is too plain to be questioned. Theologians no longer speak with authority. They are content to suggest, and they deprecate hasty contradistinction. Those who doubted before now openly deny. Those who believed on trust have passed into uncertainty. Those who uphold orthodoxy can not agree on what ground to defend it. Throughout Europe, throughout the world, the gravest subjects are freely discussed, and opposite sides may be taken without blame from society.” “ Along the whole line the defending forces are falling back, not knowing where to make a stand ; and materialism all over Europe stands frankly out, and is respectfully listened to when it affirms that the war is over, that the claims of revelation can not be maintained, and that the existence of God and of a future state, the origin of man, the nature of conscience, and the meaning of the distinctions between good and evil, are all open questions.”

It is true he gives us a crumb or two of momentary comfort—sufficient for the present and perhaps for the next generation.

“ The entire generation at present alive may probably pass away before the inward change shows itself markedly in external symptoms. None the less is it quite certain that the ark of religious opinion has drifted from its moorings, that it is moving with increasing speed along a track which it will never retrace, and towards issues infinitely momentous. What are these issues to be? The thing that hath been, that shall be again.”

I do not venture directly to contradict all these assertions. Some of them are certainly in part true ; some are at least plausible. But I think the situation is enormously exaggerated. The state of the real heart-depths of a nation is not to be judged by the froth or dross which comes most prominently to the surface. The vices and frivolities, whether of fashionable society or of the music-hall cad, like the flippant lectures of half-educated materialists and the childish follies of ritualism, are but as ripples that disturb the surface of the water ; while the strong current of common-sense, morality, and religion flows on uninterruptedly below.

What led to the recent marvellous recovery of France? What but the fact that the glaring vices and frivolities, which to casual observers were her most prominent feature, did not seriously affect the real life of the nation? Remember what Horace says of the similar scum of his own times, and also of the true manhood which (till the scum is brushed away) is obscured from the sight of the careless observer :

"Non his juvenas orta parentibus
Infecit æquor sanguine Punico—

* * * * *

Sed rusticorum mascula militum
Proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus
Versare, glebas, et severæ
Matris ad arbitrium recisos
Portare fustes," . . .

And just as we all know from recent experience that a similar, perhaps even a higher, manhood is to be found to a practically unlimited extent alike in Britain and in America ; so we may feel assured that the great bulk of the sound common-sense people, of all classes, in these countries, is at heart leal to religion—of which, *therefore*, it does not ostentatiously make parade. Flippant skeptics may, in ordinary times, without great fear of contradiction, assert the contrary. But they would be altogether confounded were a season of trial, danger, and difficulty to arise, such as would necessarily call into practical display the simple but profound religious convictions of these many true hearts.

Doubter—if you can be found—think of Elijah and be reassured ! Thus the second of Mr. Froude's chief reasons for his conviction falls to pieces like the first. Christianity is *not* "generally doubted." And even if it were, that which is generally doubted is by no means necessarily "doubtful." Yet it is solely upon grounds so uncertain, or rather so certainly erroneous, that the startling conclusions he comes to are based.

The only passage in Mr. Froude's articles which suggests even the slightest hope is the following :

"For centuries states and individuals alike professed to be governed in all that they thought and did by the supposed revelation which was given to mankind eighteen hundred years ago. Avowed disbelief of it there was none ; of secret, silent misgiving there was probably very little. For practical purposes, that revelation was accepted as a fact, as little allowing of doubt as the commonest phenomena of daily experience. The universal confidence received its first shock at the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Just as the original pagan creed was made incredible by the legends with which it was overspread, so Christianity was overgrown by a forest of extravagant superstitions. Conscience and intelligence rose in revolt, and tore them to pieces. For a time all was well. The weeds were gone ; the faith of the early church was restored in all its simplicity. The Huguenots in France, Lutherans in Germany, the Puritans in England and Scotland, were as absolutely under the influence of religious belief as the apostles and first converts. Providence to them was not a form of speech, but a living reality."

With the exception of *one* sneering epithet, the whole of this passage may be accepted as it stands. But what follows? Instead of the obvious conclusion, that the Reformation was not complete, having left at least as many blots on dogmatic Christianity as it had removed; and that a second and more sweeping Reformation is now urgently required—what is hinted at is the necessity for an altogether new revelation, or, at least, a completely new system of philosophic belief.

But the great bulk of the human race can not be philosophers—can not even, so far at least as experience has taught us, be scholars. Yet surely they are all individually, not merely numerically, as important in the eyes of the common Creator (Mr. Froude *does* seem to allow that there is a God, belief in whom is essential to the existence of society) as is any, the most erudite, philosopher.

It would therefore appear, from the most absolutely common-sense view—independent of all philosophy and speculation—it would appear that the only religion which *can* have a rational claim on our belief *must* be one suited equally to the admitted necessities of the peasant and of the philosopher. And this is one specially distinguishing feature of Christianity. While almost all other religious creeds involve an outer sense for the uneducated masses and an inner sense for the more learned and therefore dominant priesthood, the system of Christianity appeals alike to the belief of all; requiring of all that, in presence of their common Father, they should sink their fancied superiority one over another, and frankly confessing the absolute unworthiness *which they can not but feel*, approach their Redeemer with the simplicity and confidence of little children.

“The Garden of Eden is desecrated now by the trampling of controversy, and no ingenious reconciliations of religion and science, no rivers of casuistic holy water, can restore the ruined loveliness of traditionary faith. But the truth which is in religion will assert itself again as it asserted itself before. A society without God in the heart of it is not permitted to exist; and when once more a spiritual creed has established itself which men can act on in their lives and believe with their whole souls, it is to be hoped that they will have grown wiser by experience, and will not again leave the most precious of their possessions to be ruined by the extravagance of exaggerating credulity.”

Most true, and yet most false! But false only because of the implied assumption that the “spiritual creed” already vouchsafed to us is *not* one “which men can act on in their lives, and believe with their whole souls.”

That men in myriads have already thus believed, and acted on, the altogether spiritual creed of the New Testament, is matter of absolute certainty. And if in the past, why not in the present and in the future?

The Founder of Christianity has given for all time the answer to those who, discontented with what God has graciously done for them, seek a new revelation. "If ye believe not Moses and the prophets, neither would ye believe though one rose from the dead."

To this there can be no answer except a bold denial of the Divinity of Christ. That Christ claimed to be divine we know, altogether independently of Scripture, from the historical facts connected with His execution. We have His own triumphant answer to the question (all-important so far as our present subject is concerned): "Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another?" But the claim comes out admitted in all its strength in the words of the high-priest: "What need we any farther witnesses? ye yourselves have heard the blasphemy."

All who approach the subject without bias can see from the New Testament records how some of the most essential features of Christianity were long in impressing themselves on the minds even of the Founder's immediate followers. And we could not reasonably have expected it to be otherwise. The revelation of Himself which the Creator has made by His works we are only, as it were, *beginning* to comprehend. Are we to wonder that Christianity, that second and complementary revelation, is also, as it were, only *beginning* to be understood; or that, in the struggle for light, much that is wholly monstrous has been gratuitously introduced, and requires a Reformation for its removal? What more likely than that, in the endeavor to frame a document for the stamping out of a particular heresy, over-zealous clergy should carry the process a little too far, and so introduce a new and opposite heresy? But this is no argument against Christianity; rather the reverse.

It might in fact be asserted, with very great reason, that a religion which, like any one of the dogmatic systems of particular Christian sects, should be stated to men in a form as precise and definite as was the mere ceremonial law, would be altogether an anomaly—inconsistent in character with all the other dealings of God with man—and altogether incompatible with that Free Will which every sane man feels and knows himself to possess.

P. G. TAIT.

THE PENDING ORDEALS OF DEMOCRACY.

IT should never be forgotten that popular institutions, however admirable in theory or beneficent in practice, are at all times exposed to danger. They bear no charmed life which can lift them above the laws of their condition. Democracy "is not born out of the sky nor wrought in dreams," but is inevitably colored by the atmosphere in which it lives, and takes on the qualities with which it is mingled. It is an opportunity, as well as a power. While decidedly acting upon society, and multiplying the sources of its own life, it is constantly acted upon by forces which disturb the free play and full sweep of its tendencies. It is always on probation, waiting for its complete ascendancy upon the advance of knowledge and virtue, the ministry of equal laws, and the "eternal vigilance" of the people. It may fitly be compared to the struggle for a higher life, in which the best men never rise to those heights of goodness which lie beyond the reach of temptation. Mr. Buckle argues that in some countries democracy is impossible, owing to the influence of soil, climate, food, and what he calls "the peculiar aspects of nature;" but even under the most favored conditions and in the most enlightened communities, it is only a grand experiment, an heroic endeavor of the people, a ceaseless conflict with ever-recurring dangers, which invoke the helping hand of every man who is ready to show his faith in free institutions by his works.

The truth of these observations seems too manifest to admit of controversy, or even to require statement. It confronts the champions of free government at the very threshold of their labors, and demands its practical acceptance as the handmaid and indispensable condition of success. It warns them against the political superstition that would ascribe some magical power to any mere theory of government, and trust in the form without the power of democracy. And it finds its best illustration in the pending trials of popular liberty in the United States, to some of which we propose to refer, and which plead with the people for renewed

labors and sacrifices to preserve the institutions founded by their fathers.

One of the most serious of these trials is the result of false relations between the people and the land. So intimate and vital are these relations in all countries that in the nomenclature of politics the words "people" and "land" are convertible terms. The laws regulating the ownership and disposition of landed property necessarily shape the institutions of a people. As the landowners of a country are its masters, real democracy must have its roots in the soil. A government which allows the land to become the patrimony of a few can not be free, since liberty and slavery are not more utterly repugnant to each other than are popular institutions and the unrestricted monopoly of the soil. Such a government can be democratic in name only, and becomes, in fact, the most galling and fatal form of aristocratic rule. It has been well remarked that laws of primogeniture and entail cause an aristocracy to spring out of the ground, and affect the well-being of unborn generations. They make the existence of a true yeomanry impossible, and wage war against the normal life of the family. They breed pauperism and crime, and lay the many prostrate at the feet of the few. It was in the abolition or radical curtailment of these laws by the Puritans that American Democracy had its birth. Not even the germs of aristocracy were originally planted in New England. Her political institutions were the logical product of her laws respecting landed property, which, by favoring a great sub-division of the land, favored great equality among the people. This produced prosperous cultivation, closely associated communities, free schools, a healthy public opinion, democracy in managing the affairs of the church, and that system of local self-government which has spread over so many States, and must finally prevail throughout the world. English ideas, however, took root in the States of the South, and the result was the system of entails and large landed estates, fitly supplemented by African slavery, which simply emphasized the irrepressible antagonism between the democracy of one section of the Union and the aristocracy of the other. The land policy of New England would have made slavery impossible, while democratic institutions would have been the common heritage of North and South.

This vital mistake might have been partially remedied after the Colonies became a nation, if a just and comprehensive land policy had then been adopted. But the Colonies emerged from the Revo-

lutionary War under the burden of an immense debt, and the fathers of the young republic knew of no other considerable source of payment than the public lands. In the disposition of these lands there was but one thought, and that was revenue. In resisting the divine right of kings the divine right of the land monopolist was forgotten. Instead of laying the foundations of democratic equality in the soil itself, and thus taking a "bond of fate" for the welfare of coming generations, the goading need of money and the very abundance of American lands paved the way for great monopolies, which have increased and multiplied ever since. The purchase of vast tracts by individuals and companies was not only allowed, but encouraged by the government. The policy of disposing of the public domain at low or nominal rates, to actual settlers only, and in limited quantities, was not then dreamed of; and so potent was the influence of those feudal ideas which had been transplanted from the Old World, that the enactment of the present Homestead law did not become possible till seventy-five years after the establishment of the American land system. But this famous law did not emancipate the public domain. It was a sign of promise, but it did not fulfill the nation's desire. Non-resident speculators were still at liberty to purchase great tracts, and hold them indefinitely for a rise in price, which was at war with the whole spirit and policy of the Homestead law, and as flagrantly unjust as it was financially stupid. The American system of land grants to railroad corporations, which originated in 1850, has already surrendered a territorial empire of over two hundred million acres. The Indian Treaty system, fully inaugurated by Congress in 1861, has robbed poor settlers of great bodies of choice lands, and handed them over to monopolists and sharpers. The legislation on the subject of military land bounties, while nearly profitless to the soldier, has been a national disaster, beneficial only to speculators and monopolists. The acts of Congress on the subject of swamp lands and college and Indian scrip have been equally vicious and indefensible. The rights of settlers under the Homestead and pre-emption laws have been seriously threatened by department rulings in the interest of railway companies, while the growing power of land monopoly has been formidably reinforced by the State and Federal courts. Under the vicious legislation to which we have referred, only one person in fifteen, outside of the towns and cities, is the owner of a home in the land States of the South. In the State of California quite a number

of men own hundreds of thousands of acres each, and in crossing the lands of one of these you are obliged to travel seventy-five miles. These monopolists, in league with the navigation and railway companies and banking corporations of the State, naturally favor the Coolie traffic, since it supplies a background of degraded and pauperized labor on which a splendid aristocracy of wealth may fitly and securely flourish. The curse of monopoly in the States of the Northwest, caused by the cruel commerce in land which the government has encouraged, has been an irreparable blight to their prosperity. Great estates are everywhere tending to swallow up the smaller ones, and to produce a constantly multiplying and crouching tenantry. Even in New England, owing greatly to her tariff policy, non-resident proprietors have become common in large districts, while the general education of farm laborers is below that of the factory operatives, and the condition of agriculture itself is that of rapid decay.

These facts are as significant as they are alarming. They foreshadow the approach of a deadly danger to American Democracy, and the fearful trial which certainly awaits it. It is true, there is no crushing system of landlordism in the United States, founded on despotic laws and traditions, but through the land policy of the republic and the machinery of great corporations she has inaugurated a system of feudalism as completely at war with the principles of free government as that which scourges England to-day. We believe nothing is more logically certain than that this system must be confronted and overthrown, or the epitaph of American Democracy must be written. This is the simple but pregnant alternative ; and the statesmanship that would postpone or evade it is criminally recreant to the most imperative demands of the hour. Men do not gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles. In politics, as in morals, we shall reap as we sow. Land monopoly has preyed upon every age of the world, and sapped the life of every free government of the past, while it is to-day the stronghold of every despotism on earth. History ever repeats itself, and the believers in popular institutions are therefore utterly without excuse, if they allow its solemn and reiterated warnings to go unheeded.

American Democracy is threatened with another formidable trial in the growth and domination of cities. We are far from saying that great cities are in themselves an evil. They are the necessary outgrowth of modern civilization. They supply the

producer with a home market. As great intellectual and commercial centres, they are the natural handmaids of social and economic progress. They ought to be the natural allies of democracy ; but we believe they are preparing for it an ordeal which will tax all the resources of the people to save it. The danger to which we allude is twofold. In the first place, the government of great cities by democratic methods is an unsolved problem. Thus far, at least, it can scarcely be affirmed that the chief cities of the United States have proved governable. The forms of democracy have been laid hold of by its enemies, who have trampled its substance under foot. In the Northern States of the Union, outside the great city, popular government has been a success. Life and property, as a rule, are secure. Education is generally diffused, and society makes a healthy and natural progress. There is a general equality of condition among the people, which holds in check the spirit of aristocracy and caste. The laws are respected, and the voice of the majority is honestly registered and cheerfully accepted. But in the chief cities all this is changed. In the city of New York only a few years ago official thieves robbed the treasury. Offices were bought like merchandise. Legislatures were sold to the highest bidder. Courts were bribed by villains, who escaped justice through the power of their money. Great masses of men, native and foreign, cursed by ignorance, poverty, and drink, became the miserable tools of demagogues and gamblers, while opposing political parties were equally corrupt, and decent men were tempted to give up public affairs in disgust. The voice of the church, if heard at all, was unheeded. No man's life, property, or reputation was safe, and nothing was sincerely believed in by the men who ruled the hour but the beauty and blessedness of wealth. This picture of Democracy as practically illustrated in one city, and in several others by somewhat less startling exhibitions, shows how powerless it is in these great centres of population and wealth, and how well founded seems to have been the apprehension of De Tocqueville, uttered nearly a half century ago, that Democracy in America would find its ruin in the growth of her cities and the character of their population.

But Democracy not only fails to govern the cities, but the cities govern the country. In several of the States they hold the balance of power. They hold it, and wield it, in the nation. The same ignorant and brutalized horde which demagogues and thieves employ in the government of the cities is made to turn the scale in

State and National contests. And this frightful evil seems to be constantly increasing. Through the concentration of capital and its resulting oligarchy of wealth, the "dangerous classes" are all the while on the increase, while the growth of cities outstrips that of the nation. In the United States, as in Europe, men are running away from rural pursuits, and coveting the excitements of town life. The professions are more and more crowded, while increasing multitudes are seeking a livelihood in some form of traffic. The character of our civilization and the whole current of modern life favor the growth of these evils. This is illustrated in the great railway and banking corporations, which so powerfully tend to aggregate capital in the hands of the few, and to draw the many under their control. It is seen in the growth of great manufacturing establishments, called into life by labor-saving machinery which capital can so easily utilize, and causing the dependent masses to gravitate around new centres. It is seen in the monopolization of lands and the absorption of small estates, decimating the farming population, and portending a centralization in agriculture through the combination of capital and machinery, such as we have witnessed in manufactures and commerce. It is seen in the growth of habits of luxury and extravagance, and the decline of those domestic virtues without which the family and the home lose their sacredness and the State its best support. It is seen in the alarming increase of taxes throughout the country, which are chiefly saddled on the poor, and especially in the American tariff laws, exempting from duty the chief luxuries of the rich, and heavily taxing the articles of prime necessity to the producer, such as iron and steel, and thus at once taxing his transportation, and his plow, his reaper, and every thing else into which these metals enter, while the price of his produce is as low as it was before the late war. It is seen, in short, in the unmistakable tendency of the government to lend itself to the service of capital, and to show the world the spectacle of a great nation founded on the aristocracy of wealth, instead of resolutely maintaining the principles of real democracy, and fostering the republican virtue of the people.

These considerations may well awaken anxiety among the believers in democratic government. Hitherto the hope of the United States has been the rural districts. In peace and in war the great republic has leaned upon her yeomanry, and they have never failed her. Brave, patriotic, and incorruptible, they have

been her strength and her pride. Will they be able safely to carry her through the fearful ordeal involved in the unhealthy growth of our cities, and the increasing distaste for rural pursuits? Can the nation stand the present drain upon the farming population, and the growing ascendancy of the bad elements which rule the large towns? Rome perished in the destruction of her peasantry and the concentration of her population in the capital. Great estates destroyed the family life of the people, and while the cultivators of the soil became slaves, luxury and vice preyed upon the empire. Can America escape the same fate if she follows in the same path? The agriculturists of the United States compose a majority of the population. Their business feeds the human family, and from it both manufactures and commerce draw their life. Every interest of society must therefore suffer when the great underlying interest of the farmer languishes, while the very principle of democracy is thus at the same time menaced with decay and death.

A more immediately threatening danger to democratic government in America is the growing power of great corporations. Democracy needs the quickening influence and constant support of equal laws. It demands common opportunities for the people. It can safely tolerate no privileged classes, and no legislative favoritism of any sort. If corporations are created they should be a clear public necessity or convenience, and never cease to be the servants of the people. Without these conditions they have no right to exist. The question of railway transportation affords the best illustration of what we wish to say on this subject. Political economy teaches that good roads are equivalent to good tools. They are a part of the economy of labor, since they are to be regarded as a diminution of the cost of all things sent to market by them. But the railway corporations of the United States, though the mere instruments of commerce and agents of the people, and often richly endowed by the government, have threatened to play the *rôle* of master. Instead of helping the people, they have sometimes proved a hindrance, if not a positive public grievance. The great railway corporations have grown so powerful that they have been able to manipulate both State legislatures and Congress. The power of associated capital embodied in them, and sometimes exercised in the way of exorbitant charges, has produced a serious and widespread agitation in the States of the North-west, and provoked some very questionable legislation in the way of retaliation. Congress undoubtedly has the right to regulate

the charges on inter-State lines of railway ; but Congress itself has sometimes become the servant of the railway power. This was shamefully illustrated in the Credit Mobilier developments, and in the ugly fact that their pretended investigation was anything but thorough. The States also have the same power as to the roads within their borders, but their law-makers also have too often become the stipendiaries of these monopolies, while, in some instances, both the State and Federal courts have succumbed to their purposes.

The due regulation of the power of these corporations presents one of the most serious questions now before the people of the United States. The old slave power acted as a unit, and had a combined capital in human flesh estimated at two thousand million dollars. It ruled the nation forty years. It was exceedingly difficult for a Northern man to stand up in Congress and look that power in the face ; but we believe it has been quite as difficult for a member of Congress, North or South, to withstand the purposes of the railway power. The danger is different, but not less. It is no longer the fear of personal violence, or the frowns of a compact oligarchy of domineering men, but the insidious tactics of the lobby, in sapping and mining its way through the consciences of members. The railway power of the nation wields a consolidated capital of nearly five thousand million dollars. The network of its ramifications reaches throughout the Continent, and as against the public it is as completely a unit as was the slave power. There are now about eighty thousand miles of railroad in the United States, to which we are adding a yearly average of twenty-five hundred miles. Their yearly gross earnings are nearly five hundred million dollars, and they have in their employ an army of over two hundred thousand men, including the ablest legal talent in the nation, and drawing into their support every influence which great centralized wealth can command. The privileged classes of aristocratic Europe are unknown in the United States, but they have a substitute in these great corporations which never die, armed with equal or greater power, and threatening the complete subjugation of the people. It is the one-man power in a new and most alarming form. The great republic has no dukes, lords, or barons, and in theory the people can guard against political abuses by frequent changes of their public servants ; but these great railroad kings sometimes control the makers and expounders of the laws, and are practically endowed with life offices and

powers of hereditary succession. Is not this as fatal to Democracy as would be the life tenure of the office of President, with power to name his successor? If the European system of government is vicious, is not the American system of railway rule equally so? The issue involved is that of democracy on the one hand, backed by forty million people, and struggling for its very existence, and commercial feudalism on the other, dominated by great monopolies which own the wealth of kingdoms, and will be content with nothing less than imperial power over the government and people.

In presenting this grave issue we certainly cherish no hostility to railroads. They have undoubtedly done much in the settlement and development of the Western States. They have often created the towns which they connect. They have extended civilization and all its appliances. They are of inestimable value to the country under a just administration of their affairs, and while content to act as the servants of the public. But they are built by the people's resources and labor, and they should be thoroughly subordinated to the people's will. How this shall be done the future alone can fully reveal; but it must be accomplished, if the people themselves are to remain sovereign on their own soil and over their own affairs. They can not fail to see that the very principle of democracy is at stake in this controversy. They can not fail to see that it is one thing to establish great lines of intercommunication, foster great commercial enterprises, and amass great wealth in the hands of the few, and quite another thing, while reasonably favoring the development of commerce and the activity of capital, to so shape the administration of affairs as to maintain, in their full vigor, the vital principles of democratic government.

The success of American Democracy is also seriously involved in the solution of the labor problem. This subject has been somewhat anticipated in what we have said of the monopoly of lands, the domination of cities, and the power of corporations; but it demands a distinct consideration. A right adjustment of the relations of capital and labor is absolutely necessary to the permanent success of popular institutions. We have seen this illustrated in the slave system of the South, which was simply an extreme form of the tyranny of capital. It was the logical climax of that system of political philosophy which makes the protection of property the chief end of government. Democracy teaches that the laborer is worthy of his hire, and that *man* is paramount to wealth. Whether the domination of capital takes the

form of chattel slavery or serfdom, or that practical ownership of the laborer which our system of modern industrial skill has inaugurated, can make no sort of difference in principle, since in all such cases the sacredness of humanity is invaded, and democracy, in the same degree, renounced. The great practical difficulty is that the improvement in the condition of the working people does not keep pace with the increase of the wealth which they produce, and its accumulation in the hands of the few. It has been aptly said that while the forms of aristocracy and privilege have been driven from the political system of the United States, they have reappeared in the industrial. Great manufacturing establishments are so many great centers of aristocratic power. Labor-saving machinery, the cost of which the wealthy alone can afford, creates great establishments, which do the work that before was done by the handicraftsman. It is true that the cost of production is lessened by the extent of the establishment, the amount of capital and credit employed, and the division and subdivision of labor. It is likewise true that a better article is manufactured, and that the mind of the master is invigorated and enlarged by the training involved in the supervision of such an enterprise. But the laborer is sacrificed. He becomes the perfect master of the little mechanical task allotted to him, but dwarfed in every thing else. "In proportion as the workman improves the man is degraded." He becomes more and more a machine the longer he pursues his business. "Hitherto," says John Stuart Mill, "it is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being. They have enabled a greater population to live the same life of drudgery and imprisonment, and an increased number of manufacturers and others to make fortunes. They have increased the comforts of the middle classes. But they have not begun to affect those great changes in human destiny which it is in their nature and in their futurity to accomplish." They have achieved signal material results, but as yet they have not proved the handmaids of human welfare. On the contrary, they have plunged the laboring classes of all countries into new dangers, which invoke new safeguards for their protection. They have created a new trial for democratic institutions, and thus pointed the way to new fields of political action in the interest of multitudes who will need the strong hand of law in their struggle against new and formidable forces. The abolition of the small industries which once flourished, and the substitution of the factory system, carried on by great

capital and the vast power of machinery, have founded a new era in industrial economy, to be followed by a new era in legislation. Improved machinery is revolutionizing the world. It greatly facilitates production and the aggregation of capital, thus rendering the laborer more and more dependent, while the capitalist is enabled to amass increasing wealth. This law of concentration is to-day in full blast, pointing to the still further degradation and helplessness of the masses, and the more complete domination of the few.

Can American Democracy stand so severe a trial of its very life? And is there no remedy? We are often assured that this ugly conflict between the power of wealth and the rights of humanity will settle itself. Political economists and party leaders declare that the law of supply and demand will solve the whole problem, and that government has nothing to do with it. This seems to us as shallow as it is heartless. The law of supply and demand may well enough be trusted where the parties to be affected by it stand on an equal footing; but when one of them, from whatever cause, is able to hold the other completely in his power, the law is a law of death to the latter. This was shockingly demonstrated in the English factory system, under which the rights of humanity were as completely forgotten as in the cotton States of the South under the rule of slavery; and to redress the wrongs thus inflicted Parliament was obliged to enact laws fixing a limit to the hours of toil. The sad truth is that capital, under the stimulus of modern society, is too often utterly deaf to the appeals of both justice and mercy. It cares for nothing but its own increase, and justifies the saying that "the love of gain overrides even the love of life, and silences even the fear of death." Non-intervention, we are told, is the gospel to be preached to the working-man when he asks for fair play at the hands of the government; and yet the government has always intervened against him, and does to-day. This is true in all countries. Our laws of property originated in the power of the strong over the weak, and they still bear the stamp of their beginning. Instead of taking pains to temper the inequalities which exist in the conditions of men they have taken pains to aggravate them. Instead of favoring the diffusion of wealth they have constantly favored its concentration. Instead of taking care of the weak, they have all the time given their help to the strong. All this, as we have shown, finds illustration in a vicious land policy, in the power of great corporations, in the monopolies in the inter-

est of favored classes, which have grown up under the system of tariff duties, and in the power of great manufacturing establishments over the lives and fortunes of the poor. And yet we are gravely told, in the face of facts like these, that the law of supply and demand will right their wrongs. Their present condition of helplessness is the result of a systematic and long-continued course of legislation dictated by capital ; but, instead of undoing this legislation, and turning the current at last in favor of the working classes, the convenient makeshift of supply and demand is appealed to, which is exactly what capital wants, and all it needs. We have no quarrel with this principle, but only with its misapplication. Labor is not a commodity, like cotton or corn. The rights of the laborer are the rights of humanity. The power of his employer to fix his compensation is the power over his life, and the government therefore should recognize the principle that "the man who has labor to sell has as many rights as the man who has it to buy," and that his wages are to be determined by mutual conference, and not exclusively by the employer. The rights of man are not a mere dream. The naked rapacity of gain, with conscience and humanity turned adrift, is not liberty. It is a substance, not a mocking shadow. It is not "the liberty to die by starvation," but it means just laws for all. It means a home, and bread, and education, and fair-play in the race of life. Precisely how the despotism of organized cupidity is to be overthrown, and the grievances of the working classes redressed, we do not pretend to decide. We only know that this is the grand problem of American statesmanship, and that it must be solved, if Democracy is to be carried safely through its trials. In the United States the laborer is a citizen and a voter. When the republic is in danger he constitutes the best part of its military establishment. The class to which he belongs comprises a large majority of the nation, and much of its intellect and worth. Unlike the palsied victims of arbitrary power in the old world he breathes the atmosphere of free institutions, and cherishes the traditions of his revolutionary fathers. His just demands can not be safely disregarded, nor can he be enslaved without the ruin of the republic.

A fearful trial awaits Democracy in the growing tendency towards Federal usurpation and the centralization of power. During the late civil war the national government was compelled to deal with a strong hand. A thorough schooling in the use of power seemed to be its only alternative. Theories of strict con-

struction found little favor when the life of the nation was menaced in the name of State rights. The people looked for their salvation through the vigorous exercise of power by the central government, and cared far more about the end to be attained than the means of its accomplishment. The natural effect of this military training was to familiarize them with military ideas and habits, and to attach them to loose and indefensible opinions, respecting the relative powers of the general and State governments. At the same time, and just as naturally, these mischiefs of war crept into the civil administration after the war was ended, largely coloring the views of the leading public men who had most zealously sustained the government, and producing a final harvest of maladministration and misrule which the country has had to reap during the past few years.

These evils were the natural and inevitable fruit of the great sectional conflict ; and they were considerably aggravated by a remarkable popular fallacy which still extensively prevails. The effect of the war was mistaken for its cause. The rebellion was charged to a particular theory of State Rights, whereas its real cause was African slavery, while the pretended right of secession was only a pretext. Devotion to this institution was the overmastering sentiment of the people of the South ; and while at one time they manifested this devotion by setting up their pet dogma of secession in its support, at another they were equally ready to strike at the very citadel of State rights by a policy of monstrous Federal aggression. The right of the States to secede at their own pleasure was scarcely more indefensible than the Federal authority assumed in the Dred Scott decision and the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. The cotton States did not secede on account of the tyranny of the national government, but because of their inability any longer to rule it in the interest of slavery. The simple truth is, that in the hands of the old slave masters the constitution was made to dip towards centralization or State rights, exactly in the degree it promised to help the claims of the slave power. This is perfectly evident, and must, we are sure, enter into the verdict of history. But the people, as a rule, judged otherwise, and their judgment necessarily exercised a shaping influence over the action of the government. In insisting that it was the heresy of State rights which caused the war, they believed it was not only necessary that that heresy should be crushed, but that in doing it the central power should be sustained in its most latitudinarian pretensions. The

whole policy of the government was thus swerved towards centralization, and with such an impulse that it still continues. The constitution expressly declares that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved by it to the States respectively, or to the people;" but the theory on which the general government has been administered since the war is that all powers not conferred on the States by the Constitution are reserved to the United States, thus completely repudiating the doctrines of the fathers, and setting at defiance the express words of the Constitution itself. This was illustrated by President Grant in the San Domingo affair, in which he deliberately usurped the war-making power which is vested in Congress by the Constitution; in issuing millions of currency without any warrant of law, and on his own individual caprice, in order to help the farmers in "moving their crops;" in his appointment to civil places about him of men in the military service, in violation of an express statute which he was sworn to execute; in standing by a reckless and corrupt Federal judge in Louisiana, and using him in crushing out the lawful government in that State; and in the whole civil and military policy of his administration in dealing with the lately rebellious States. He systematically carried the imperial and military spirit into his high office for eight years, and trampled down the laws which were as binding upon him as upon any other citizen, while the example of his disobedience was preeminently mischievous.

Nor did Congress escape the centralizing influence to which we have referred. It proved itself at all times the ready and faithful ally of the President. The authority conferred on him to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* at his own pleasure armed him with the powers of an autocrat. It was a plain violation of the Constitution, since neither "invasion" nor "rebellion" justified it, and no better plea could be made in its support than that the end justified the means. What are called the Enforcement Acts of Congress embody provisions at war with the very principle of municipal government, and which can only be defended on the tyrant's plea that the central power can administer the affairs of a locality better than the people can do it themselves. The same evil tendency has frequently cropped out in the judicial department of the government, which uniformly leans to the side of power. The Supreme Court of the United States for many years past has unquestionably favored the strong against the weak in controversies between citi-

zens and the government, instead of administering impartial justice. This centralizing tendency is the special danger of democratic institutions in the United States. They had their birth and first trial in the town meeting, the township, the county, and the State. Without this schooling in local self-government the development of a democratic nation would have been impossible. The people must be trained to freedom in small concerns before they can be trusted with great ones. "The end of good government," says De Tocqueville, "is to insure the welfare of the people, and not merely to establish order in the midst of its misery." He shows that the very principle of equality works in favor of centralization, since the love of equality is stronger than the love of liberty, and the general hatred of privileged classes finds satisfaction in the strength of a common government under which the rights of all are equal, while they are unsupported by democratic institutions in detail. American democracy should guard against this fatal mistake, and has abundant reason to remember its old maxim, that power is ever stealing from the many to the few. Decentralization, inspired by slavery, struck at the nation's life; but it lies buried in the grave of treason. The real danger which now confronts Democracy in the United States is the insidious approach of imperial power, the blight and paralysis of paternal government. This is sufficiently evident in the light of the facts we have presented, and the cry of danger can not be sounded too early or too earnestly by the believers in free institutions.

The last ordeal of Democracy which we shall notice is the rapid decline of political morality. This is the most alarming evil of the times, because it underlies and aggravates every other. Political corruption has become the great canker of the republic. In the sphere of politics the divine command, "Thou shalt not steal," seems to be losing its obligation; and this, of course, must seriously infect the whole community. If a public man may steal, it necessarily weakens the standard of integrity by which men regulate their affairs in private life. The lapse from honesty of a trusted politician is a public misfortune, because it becomes a conspicuous example. One public reprobate begets a multitude of private ones. If a Member of Congress, on the plea that he is insufficiently paid, is justified in stealing five thousand dollars, any private rogue under similar temptation may do likewise. If men in office may prize their own interest above that of the public, why may not every man steal from his neighbor? Indeed, every moral rule

should be magnified where the rights of the public are involved. Cheating the State should be counted a flagrant crime, because government is a divine ordinance, and because the consequences of such cheating are wholesale and widespread. Stealing from the State is stealing from the multitude whose toil produces the wealth of the State. It has been branded as worse than robbing widows and orphans, because it breeds general corruption and misgovernment, and thus multiplies widows and orphans.

That principles so elementary and obvious should be flagrantly set aside by men high in official position, and sometimes winked at by the people, is as dishonoring to their politics as it is shameful to their virtue. The evils of political ambition are bad enough, but they are "trifles light as air" in comparison with that inordinate greed of pelf which now pollutes the very fountains of political action in the United States. Power is chiefly sought for the sake of plunder. Offices are coveted as the chosen means of amassing wealth. Men are nominally elected by the people to take care of their interests, while in fact they are often the hired tools of corporations and capitalists whose money manipulates the machinery of politics. Judges are bribed and State legislatures are bought and sold. Jay Gould says under oath, "I needed the legislatures of four States, and in order to acquire them I created the legislatures with my money. I found that this is the cheapest way." It is no secret that through the power of money men are sometimes made governors and United States senators who ought to be in the penitentiary. The traffic in human flesh still goes on, but white men as well as black are now in the market. Popular elections are carried by wholesale bribery, while the convicted ring-leaders in grand schemes of ballot stuffing are allowed to go unpunished. Political magnates and "Christian statesmen" are persuaded to invest their money and their influence where they "will do the most good" to a great railroad corporation in its organized robbery of the Treasury, while both houses of Congress and the President of the United States join hands in a salary theft which makes the average rogues of society comparatively respectable. The Civil Service of the government, which has been vaunted by some of its champions as "the best on the planet," is so disgusting a system of official huckstering and political prostitution, that nothing can match it but the unblushing duplicity and demagogism of the party leaders who profess to favor its reform. Indeed, so complete has been the current debauchment, that in 1876 the

right of forty million people to choose their chief functionaries was made the football of political criminals, who were afterwards rewarded for their services by the Administration which mounted into power through their agency ; while the evidence is not wanting that under like circumstances the same high-handed game would have been played by some of the leaders of the opposing party.

Of course this fountain of corruption, breaking out in high places, must find its level, overflowing the county, the township, and the school-district, and poisoning the moral as well as the political life of the people. Whether this evil originates in the laxity of moral training in the family, or in some radical defect in the system of public education, or in the recreancy of the church to her high mission as a moral instructor and guide, or, as we believe, in all these causes, it presents a problem which every true man and woman should earnestly ponder. Its solution involves the salvation of the land. No reform is possible in any direction if the people can not stem the black tide of political corruption which threatens to lay waste the republic. In meeting the great dangers we have mentioned, the friends of Democracy will fail hopelessly, if they can not inspire in the people, and especially the coming generation, the love of rectitude, and restore the maxims of common honesty to their rightful sway. The grand need of the time is a general resurrection of conscience, and an organized revolt of honest men of all parties against the evils we have attempted to depict. Legislatures have been purchased because the moral sense of the people permitted knaves and traders to represent them. Congress has been controlled by the railways because the people failed to choose incorruptible men to stand in the places of great temptation. Courts have been bribed and seats in Congress bought because the general mammon-worship of the times failed to see in these acts their real turpitude, or their treason to Democracy. Cities have been governed by the mob, and the ballot ruthlessly profaned, because decent men retreated from politics in despair, and thus became themselves a mob, by disowning the government which had the right to demand of them political duties as the price of its protection. The word "politics" has become synonymous with plunder, because the people have heaped honors upon men who abjure every principle of morality in public as well as private life, and are by nature incapable of any higher aim than political success. And this fearful treachery to virtue does not stand alone. It finds its

strong allies in widespread popular ignorance, which is itself a great national danger ; in the vice of intemperance, which lends itself to the service of every evil element in society ; and in the stupid enforcement of party discipline after party issues have lost their meaning or totally disappeared. Nothing less than the power of indwelling moral principle, and the most devoted and patient labors of the preacher, the schoolmaster, and the patriot, can rescue the republic from this appalling assemblage of perils.

To the evils we have enumerated, many thoughtful persons would add the extension of the ballot to large classes who are unfit to cast it. Some of these political moralists, indeed, go so far as to trace all the evils which menace the success of the democratic experiment in America to "a debased and irresponsible suffrage." This is the opinion of Mr. Parkman, as recently expressed. We do not sympathize with such views. The source of these evils lies deeper, and no remedy for them is possible through the restriction of the suffrage to the educated classes. We still hold fast the idea that the ballot itself is one of the best means of fitting men for using it wisely. We believe it to be far less difficult to manage the unenlightened classes in the United States by giving them a share in the government than by withholding their political rights. The denial of the ballot to illiterate citizens would also be a direct sanction of class legislation, and all class rule is vicious. It would intrust political power exclusively to those who are best able to take care of themselves without it, while the ignorant, who would especially need the means of self-protection against a privileged class, would be helpless. We also believe the extension of the suffrage, as a general rule, promotes the extension of education, as it has done in England. Nor can we subscribe to Mr. Parkman's disparaging estimate of the aggregate fitness of American citizens for the ballot ; and we differ from him quite as radically in his estimate of the political value of education and culture. Nearly the entire literary class in England has been found on the side of power in its conflict with the people, while the men least fitted for the work of government, and most obstinately opposed to all great reforms, have been the graduates of universities. We place this fact alongside of Mr. Parkman's opinion of the masses, whom he regards as so incapable of progress. The fearful decay of political morality to which we have referred is chiefly the work of men of education, and not the result of "flinging the suffrage to the mob." The educated classes, in

fact, are quite liberally represented among the conspicuous rascals and malefactors of modern society, as we have already shown, and as any one must see who reads the daily newspapers. In the presence of such facts, the folly of tracing political abuses to ignorant suffrage, or of looking for their cure to an educated aristocracy, becomes sufficiently apparent.

But our task must be concluded. We have referred to the false relations between the people and the land, as illustrated in the growth of great estates and the resulting inequality of the people ; to the domination of great cities, and its antagonism to popular institutions and the prosperity of the rural districts ; to the dangerous power of great corporations over the national and State governments and the rights of the people ; to the concentration of capital in alliance with labor-saving machinery, and its remorseless power over the working classes ; to the centralization of political power, keeping step to the march of great industrial and social forces, and helping them in their evil direction ; and to the shocking decay of political morality, now everywhere visible, and which is partly the cause and partly the effect of the evils we have mentioned. These are some of the dangers which cast their baleful shadow over the future, and summon the people to the work of reform. In thus pointing them out and emphasizing their magnitude we have taken the first step towards their removal, since men will not wage war against an evil till they are convinced of its existence. It is not our present purpose to enter into the discussion of particular remedies or methods of action which these ordeals of Democracy may demand. Speaking generally, what is wanted is a perfectly unshackled movement of the people—a fellowship of brave and faithful men in every section of the republic—against the new forms of aristocracy which the greed of sudden wealth and the agencies of modern society have created. There must be the substance, and not the form merely, of free institutions. The people must snatch freedom itself from the perilous activities quickened into life by its own spirit. They must search out new defences of Democracy in the new trials of its life. The grand work which has been committed to their keeping is not the highest development of favored individuals or classes, or the accumulation of great wealth in their hands, but the utmost enlightenment and supreme welfare of all. It is not the exceptional culture or commanding advantage of the few, but the uplifting of the many to a higher level. This is at once the religion of humanity

and the mission of Democracy. And it will be accomplished. It may be delayed for a season. It may be temporarily frustrated by the great and impending dangers we have mentioned. The blind greed of cupidity, trampling down the rights of the people, may even precipitate the country into revolution and violence, as did the slave power of the South ; but in the end Democracy will be vindicated. All the divine forces are waiting to aid it. Christianity is pledged to its triumph, and coincident with its teachings. The principle of social evolution foreordains it. Democracy is to come in its fulness, sweeping away the conspiracies of wealth and the subterfuges of monopoly, and enforcing "all rights for all ;" but whether this shall be sooner or later, and whether heralded by the kindly agencies of peace or the harsh power of war, must depend upon the wise and timely use of opportunities. The result is certain, since justice can not finally be defeated ; but the circumstances of the struggle and the cost of the triumph are confided to the American people. They can help or hinder the grand march of human progress. They can smooth its pathway and speed its momentum, or fold their arms in slothful indifference, and thus hand it over to the unpitying logic of events. We believe they will not shrink from this solemn responsibility, and that while holding fast their faith in justice, in the might of the truth, in the certain victory of right over wrong, they will dedicate their lives anew to the grand tasks appointed for them as the servants of their kind.

THE GOVERNMENT LIBRARY AT WASHINGTON.

WHEN the Library of Congress was founded, April 24th, 1800, by the modest appropriation of five thousand dollars "for the purchase of such books as may be necessary for the use of Congress, at the said city of Washington," there was no library in the United States exceeding fifteen thousand volumes. The Library Company of Philadelphia, founded by Franklin and his associates in 1731, had absorbed the Loganian Library in 1792, and thus ranked as the largest American collection. Harvard College came next, with about ten thousand volumes ; and the Society Library of New York ranked third, with some sixty-five hundred. Besides these we have traces, more or less obscure, of some fifty libraries numbering from one hundred to three thousand volumes each. In 1800, the paucity of the collections and the poverty of their literary stores marked the infancy of a country whose rapid progress in wealth and intelligence has been such as now to exhibit a roll of more than 3700 libraries, numbering upwards of 12,000,000 volumes.

It is noteworthy that the Library of Congress was the first one created by statute for the use of a legislative body in this country. While small collections of books, chiefly law and documentary, existed at the State capitals for legislative use and reference, there is no record of the creation of any State library by law, until that of Pennsylvania was formally established in 1816. The New York State Library was founded in 1818, that of Massachusetts in 1826, and the other States of the Union have followed, until none is now without a library.

The early American Congresses, before the adoption of the Constitution, were dependent for works of reference upon private collections mainly, though we find the Continental Congress tendering a vote of thanks to the Library Company of Philadelphia for the gratuitous use of books. A more permanent provision for the express use of Congress became necessary upon the removal of the

government to Washington, a nascent city in the wilderness, then containing less than five hundred souls. The act of April 24th, 1800, "making provision for the removal of the government of the United States," which appropriated the first sum of five thousand dollars for books for the use of Congress, was followed by the more systematic statute of January 26th, 1802, entitled "An Act concerning the Library for the use of both Houses of Congress." This Act, out of which was to grow that vast institution which will hand down to future generations the literature not only of a nation, but of the world, did not pass Congress without vigorous discussion. There were then in the Union sixteen States, with a Senate composed of thirty-two members, and with one hundred and forty-one Representatives in the House. The provisions of the bill concerning the library for the use of both Houses of Congress were debated December 21st, 1801, when Mr. Bayard, of Delaware, proposed the annual appropriation of one thousand dollars for ten years for the purchase of books. Other members objected to any continuous appropriation. Mr. John Randolph advocated the closest economy in expending the public money. Mr. Bayard said, in urging the formation of a library, "It has been claimed that we were the most enlightened people on earth ; if that be not altogether true, let it be as much so as possible." Mr. John Bacon, of Massachusetts, startled the House by declaring himself in favor of ten thousand dollars annually. He thought it a moderate sum and a necessary appropriation. The act as ultimately passed appropriated one thousand dollars, in addition to an unexpended balance of twenty-eight hundred dollars, for books ; created a joint committee, consisting of three Senators and three Representatives, to have charge of the expenditures ; restricted the use of books outside of the library ; and provided for a librarian, to be appointed by the President of the United States. The clerks of the House of Representatives were successively appointed to take charge of the library until 1815, when President Madison appointed Mr. George Watterston librarian. In that day of small things the growth of the Library of Congress was slow ; and in 1814, when the Capitol was burned by the British army under General Ross, three thousand volumes only had accumulated, and all these were destroyed in the conflagration of the Capitol. And now came the opportunity which was embraced by Thomas Jefferson, who was then living in retirement at Monticello, six years after leaving the Presidential chair. Congress had been convened in special session

on the 19th of September, 1814. The destruction of the Capitol having occurred on the 24th of August, Jefferson wrote, under date of Monticello, September 21st, 1814, to his friend Samuel Harrison Smith, founder of the *National Intelligencer*, in the following terms :

DEAR SIR : I learn from the newspapers that the vandalism of our enemy has triumphed at Washington, over science as well as the arts, by the destruction of the public library, with the noble edifice in which it was deposited. Of this transaction, as of that of Copenhagen, the world will entertain but one sentiment. . . .

I presume it will be among the early objects of Congress to recommence their collection. This will be difficult while the war continues and intercourse with Europe is attended with so much risk. You know my collection, its condition and extent. I have been fifty years making it, and have spared no pains, opportunity, or expense to make it what it now is. While residing in Paris I devoted every afternoon I was disengaged for a summer or two in examining all the principal bookstores, turning over every book with my own hands, and putting by every thing which related to America, and, indeed, whatever was rare and valuable in every science ; besides this, I had standing orders, during the whole time I was in Europe, in its principal book-marts, particularly Amsterdam, Frankfort, Madrid, and London, for such works relating to America as could not be found in Paris. So that in that department particularly such a collection was made as probably can never again be effected, because it is hardly probable the same opportunities, the same time, industry, perseverance, and expense, with some knowledge of the bibliography of the subject, would again happen to be in concurrence. During the same period, and after my return to America, I was led to procure also whatever related to the duties of those in the highest concerns of the nation ; so that the collection, which I suppose is of between nine and ten thousand volumes, while it includes what is chiefly valuable in science and literature generally, extends more particularly to whatever belongs to the American statesman : in the diplomatic and parliamentary branches it is particularly full. It is long since I have been sensible it ought not to continue private property, and had provided that, at my death, Congress should have the refusal of it, at their own price ; but the loss they have now incurred makes the present the proper moment for their accommodation, without regard to the small remnant of time and the barren use of my enjoying it. I ask of your friendship, therefore, to make for me the tender of it to the Library Committee of Congress, not knowing myself of whom the committee consists. I inclose you a catalogue which will enable them to judge of its contents. Nearly the whole are well bound—abundance of them elegantly, and of the choicest editions. They may be valued by the persons named by themselves, and the payment made convenient to the public ; it may be, for instance, in such annual installments as the law of Congress has left at their disposal, or in stock of any of their late loans or any loan they may institute at this session, so as to spare the present calls of our country, and await its days of peace and prosperity. They may enter, nevertheless, into immediate use of it, as eighteen or twenty wagons would place it in Washington in a

single trip of a fortnight. . . . I do not know that it contains any branch of science which Congress would wish to exclude from their collection. There is, in fact, no subject to which a member of Congress may not have occasion to refer. But such a wish would not correspond with my views of preventing its dismemberment. My design is either to place it in their hands entire, or preserve it so here. . . .

Accept the assurance of my great esteem and respect.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

The Senate readily passed a bill for the purchase of Jefferson's library, October 10th, 1814. A week later the bill was discussed in the House of Representatives, and considerable opposition was manifested. Some of the objections were highly curious, one being the extent of the library; another, the cost of the purchase; a third, that there were too many works in foreign languages; a fourth, that some of them were of too philosophical a character.

On the other hand, those who advocated the purchase of the collection contended that so valuable a library, one so admirably calculated for the substratum of a great national library, was not to be obtained in the United States; and that although there might be some works to which gentlemen might take exception, there were others of very opposite character; that this, besides, was no reason against the purchase, because in every library of value might be found some books to which exceptions would be taken, according to the feelings or prejudices of those who examined them.

Mr. King, of Massachusetts, moved an amendment "authorizing the Library Committee, as soon as said library shall be received at Washington, to select therefrom all books of an atheistical, irreligious, and immoral tendency, if any such there be, and send the same back to Mr. Jefferson without any expense to him." This motion Mr. King thought proper afterward to withdraw.

Says the record:

"Those who opposed the bill did so on account of the scarcity of money, and the necessity of appropriating it to purposes more indispensable than the purchase of a library; the probable insecurity of such a library placed here; the high price to be given for this collection; its miscellaneous and almost exclusively literary (instead of legal and historical) character, etc. To those arguments, enforced with zeal and vehemence, the friends of the bill replied with fact, wit, and argument, to show that the purchase, to be made on terms of long credit, could not affect the present resources of the United States; that the price was moderate, the library more valuable from the scarcity of many of its books, and altogether a most admirable substratum for a national library."

The debate is very imperfectly reported in the Annals of Congress, which naïvely records the following: "The debate before its conclusion became rather too animated, and being checked by the Speaker, the question was permitted to be taken." Finally, the bill for the purchase of the library passed the House of Representatives by the close vote of 81 yeas to 71 nays. The sum of \$23,950 was appropriated for the collection, which contained not quite 7000 volumes.

The catalogue of the collection thus purchased, a thin quarto volume of 208 pages, prepared by Mr. Jefferson himself, bears the comprehensive title, "Catalogue of the Library of the United States." The books he classified into divisions, on the basis of Lord Bacon's classification of knowledge—a system which, applied to any collection of books, is productive of singular results. Thus, in the chapter of "Moral Philosophy" were classified Clarkson's "History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade," Thomas's "Essai sur le Caractère des Femmes," a work on the Evidences of Mohammedanism, Kames's "Art of Thinking," Montaigne's Essays, Vattel's "Droit des Gens," and Ochino on Polygamy. The Baconian classification is but poorly suited to a bibliographical system, however well adapted it may be to mark the divisions of knowledge. This classification, however, with all its defects, was perpetuated in the successive catalogues of the Library of Congress, and in the arrangement of books upon the shelves, until 1861, when it was abandoned for a strictly subjective system of classification. The catalogue system of the library is alphabetical, the original or official catalogue being upon written cards, arranged in a series of cases, and the accessions from all sources kept up to date by daily intercalation of new titles.

It may be noted, as illustrating Mr. Jefferson's methodical care of his books, that every volume in the collection of seven thousand has his private mark, consisting of his initials, incorporated with the signatures of the book. Thus, he would turn to signature I (anciently the same as J) and write the initial T before it, always in ink. Then turning the leaves to signature T he placed the letter J after it. He could thus identify his literary property on whatever shelves any stray volume of his collection might be found, and he spared the title-pages the indignity of being defaced by the written name of the owner. In rare instances, the books have notes elucidating the text or correcting errors, and some of the

anonymous books and pamphlets bear the name of the author in Mr. Jefferson's clear, neat, and small chirography.

As early as 1802 the special supervision of the Library of Congress, with the expenditure of moneys appropriated for book purchase, was placed in charge of a joint committee of both Houses of Congress on the Library. This committee has always consisted of three Senators and three Representatives, appointed at the commencement of each session of Congress. Many men of distinction in our political history have been members of the Library Committee, and among these may be named John Randolph, Samuel L. Mitchill, W. C. Preston, John Quincy Adams, Joseph R. Chandler, Lewis Cass, J. M. Berrien, Gulian C. Verplanck, Levi Woodbury, Caleb Cushing, John M. Clayton, John G. Palfrey, Thomas H. Benton, Horace Mann, James A. Bayard, George P. Marsh, Henry C. Murphy, W. P. Fessenden, Wm. C. Rives, Reverdy Johnson, Charles Francis Adams, E. B. Washburne, Edward McPherson, E. D. Morgan, John Sherman, L. M. Morrill, T. O. Howe, S. S. Cox, Rutherford B. Hayes, and W. A. Wheeler.

The Jefferson library was an admirable selection of the best ancient and modern literature up to the beginning of the present century. By no other method than its purchase *en bloc* could Congress have acquired so valuable and comprehensive a library of reference, and it was offered and accepted in an emergency which it was well suited to meet and to relieve. The Jefferson library was lodged in the post-office building at Washington for three years, until the north wing of the Capitol was rebuilt for the use of Congress, when it was removed thither, remaining until 1824 in the upper story, in rooms now occupied by the Senate library. When the central building approached completion, the library was removed to the long hall occupying the whole western front of the Capitol, where it has ever since remained, with the exception of the law-books, which fill the entire room on the lower floor of the Capitol, formerly occupied by the Supreme Court. The sum appropriated for the increase of the Library of Congress was \$1000 a year from 1805 to 1815. This was increased to \$2000 per annum after the acquisition of the Jefferson collection, continuing until 1824, when the annual appropriation for books was made \$5000. To this was added in 1832 \$1000 specially appropriated for law-books, and continued for many years, being increased in 1850 to \$2000 a year, which has continued annually up to the present

time. In 1864, the sum of \$7000, previously devoted by Congress to the annual enlargement of the library, was increased to \$10,000; in 1875, to \$13,500; and in 1877, reduced to \$9500. The collection had grown by steady but moderate accretion until it numbered 55,000 volumes in 1851. On the 24th of December of that year a fire broke out in the library room through a defective flue, which speedily consumed the greater portion of the books, or left them in a charred and ruined condition. There were saved only 20,000 volumes, including, fortunately, the whole division of jurisprudence and political science, as well as American history and biography. The Congress which sustained this sudden loss appropriated with praiseworthy liberality \$85,000 in one sum for the purchase of books, and \$72,500 for the restoration of the library room. The latter was rebuilt in fireproof material, the walls, ceiling, and shelving being wholly of cast-iron—the first instance, it is said, of the employment of that material exclusively for the interior of any public edifice in America. The pilasters, panels, and architraves are ornamented throughout with consoles, shields, grape clusters, and other chaste designs, the whole library being painted a delicate buff tint, heightened occasionally with gold-leaf. The general effect is pleasing, though in parts somewhat too ornate; and it is to be regretted that in an ambitious attempt to display a splendid ceiling, supported with enormous consoles of floriated iron, an opportunity for a whole gallery of alcoves for books was thrown away. So perfectly has the original tint of the walls and alcoves been preserved that no repainting has been necessary for more than a quarter of a century—an instance of economy rare in any public building.

In 1865 and 1866 the library had so encroached upon the narrow space it occupied as to render an enlargement imperatively necessary; and two wings were constructed, each capable of containing 75,000 volumes, by absorbing rooms in the Capitol which had been devoted to clerks' offices, committee-rooms, and storage. Yet these spacious wings were no sooner completed than they were almost entirely filled by two great acquisitions of books brought to the Capitol in a single twelvemonth, through the legislation of Congress.

In the development of most public institutions are to be traced events which mark certain distinctive epochs in their history. In the growth of the Library of Congress there may be said to be five clearly marked epochs, each defining a long step forward in its progress.

The first of these was the accession of the Jefferson library in 1815. The second was the appropriation by Congress of \$85,000 to enlarge the collection immediately after the conflagration of 1851. The next epoch was marked by the accession of the great scientific library of the Smithsonian Institution in 1866, simultaneously with the completion of the new fire-proof wings added to the library. Following this in the next year, 1867, was the purchase for the sum of \$100,000 of the historical library collected by Peter Force, a citizen of Washington. The fifth notable epoch was the institution of the present copyright system, through which the Library of the Government is made the sole depository of the records of copyright, and the sole recipient of all publications registered and protected by law. The features connected with the Jefferson library and the enlargement in 1852 have been already outlined. The removal to the Capitol in 1866 of the Smithsonian Library and its incorporation with the Library of Congress was so marked a step in the growth of the latter, and so closely related to the policy which has been steadily growing in the management of the former institution, as to merit more than a passing notice.

By the will of James Smithson, an English subject, whose scientific bent of mind had led him to take great interest in the progress of knowledge through original research, the sum of half a million dollars (afterward increased to \$651,000) was bequeathed to the United States of America, for the purpose of founding at the city of Washington "an establishment for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." The testator, it appears, had designed to leave his fortune to the Royal Society of London, but certain writings of his, contributions to scientific research, having been rejected for publication by that institution, he changed his purpose into a bequest for establishing the Smithsonian Institution on this side of the Atlantic. This was in 1826, and ten years later, the legacy having been secured and transferred after protracted legal proceedings, Congress was beset with many conflicting schemes, each embodying diverse methods, for carrying into effect the objects of the will. One party, headed by John Quincy Adams, advocated a great astronomical observatory as the institution most expedient to be organized; another party, including the presidents of some colleges, urged the founding of a national university for higher education; a third party was strongly in favor of building up a national museum of objects of natural history, art, and antiquities; a fourth interest was for a great

public institution for the widest possible diffusion of knowledge through the printing press ; a fifth insisted upon a well-organized lecture bureau, with salaries large enough to command the highest talent ; and a sixth demanded, in the name of the largest possible diffusion of knowledge, that a great monumental library should be gathered by the Smithsonian fund at the seat of government. Other advocates were found who urged the combination of two or more of these various objects as the only aim wide enough to be worthy of the occasion. Congress grappled with the question during successive years from 1839 to 1846. Rufus Choate carried through the Senate the library scheme, which, however, did not pass the House. That body rejected successively a plan for a normal school and one proposing a system of lectures and professors at Washington. A substitute for all the schemes finally passed both Houses, and became a law August 10th, 1846, providing for the erection of a building to contain a museum of natural history, a library, a gallery of art, and lecture-rooms. The Senate had passed a provision limiting the amount to be expended for the purchase of books to \$20,000 annually. This limitation was extended by the House to " a sum not exceeding an average of \$25,000 annually, for the gradual formation of a library composed of valuable works pertaining to all departments of human knowledge." Such was the language of the act of Congress founding the Smithsonian Institution.

Very shortly after the organization of the institution its regents were confronted with the difficulty of developing so many diverse agencies for the diffusion of knowledge with the limited fund at their command. The building cost over \$300,000, and a heavy and injudicious investment in Arkansas bonds of a portion of the fund greatly diminished the interest. The late Professor Joseph Henry, appointed secretary and manager of the infant institution, was from the first opposed to the devotion of any considerable share of the income to the formation of a library, or of a national museum, at the expense of the fund. All his influence was exerted to direct the expenditure of the institution into what he termed active operations ; *i.e.*, the publication and distribution of such original contributions to science as might be approved by a board of experts as best worthy of publication. Professor Henry's views prevailed to the extent of curtailing the amount expended for books to the insignificant sum of about \$13,000 during the whole period of the first five years, instead of \$25,000 per annum. The friends of a

great library, represented especially by Charles C. Jewett, who had been made assistant secretary and librarian, were active in denouncing through the public press and otherwise what they deemed a diversion of the funds from their proper objects, and a violation of the act of Congress providing for a library. In this conflict the Board of Regents compromised upon a division of the annual expenditure, apportioning the income equally between the library and the museum on one part and active operations on the other. The promise of an equal division of funds, however, was not kept. The controversy grew warmer. The majority of the regents sustained Professor Henry, and the compromise devoting half the fund to a library and museum was rescinded. The librarian was removed from his position. Senator Choate resigned his office as a regent, and an investigation into the whole matter was ordered by the House of Representatives. Mr. C. W. Upham, chairman of the Committee of Investigation, made a report recommending the restoration of the original quota of the Smithsonian fund specified in the compromise to be devoted to books and museum, and making a great library one of its cardinal objects.

The minority of the Committee of Investigation sustained the Board of Regents and approved the removal of Mr. Jewett, and the subordination of the library to those original publications which have formed the distinctive contributions of the Smithsonian Institution to science. No action whatever was taken by Congress to further define or control the administration of the act forming the charter of the institution. The net result of the protracted controversy was to leave the regents to put their own interpretation upon the law, and every step since taken in the management of the Smithsonian bequest has been in the direction of curtailing every expenditure for other objects than the procuring, publishing, and distributing of what were deemed valuable original contributions to human knowledge.

In strict accordance with this theory, the library gathered by the purchases and exchanges of twenty years was transferred to the Capitol in 1866, and became a part of the library of the government. This large addition formed a most valuable complement to the collection already gathered at the Capitol. It embraced the largest assemblage of transactions and other publications of learned societies in all parts of the globe, and in nearly all the modern languages, which is to be found in the country. By the terms of the act making this transfer, it was stipulated that Congress should

become the custodian of the library during such time as the Regents of the Smithsonian Institution should continue the deposit, the expense of binding and cataloguing all books being defrayed by Congress in return for this valuable and annually increasing addition to the stores of the national library. The Smithsonian deposit, kept up as it is from year to year by additions of new contributions in every department of scientific literature, supplies in connection with the extensive Library of Congress a larger collection of scientific books for use and reference than is to be found in any one body elsewhere in the United States. The waste of means incident to the duplication of two extensive libraries at the seat of government is thus obviated, while the convenience and interests of scholars pursuing their researches are in the highest degree promoted by the consolidation.

The next great acquisition which came to enrich the library of Congress was the purchase of the private historical library of Peter Force, Esq., effected in 1867, about one year before the owner's decease. This extensive collection represented the assiduous labors, during forty-five years, of a specialist who devoted himself with great ability, enthusiasm, and success to the subject of American history. The collection embraced about 60,000 articles or titles in books, pamphlets, and manuscripts, while it was exceedingly rich in original and engraved American maps and military papers and journals of the Revolutionary period, besides the vast collection of manuscript, copied under the direction of Mr. Force, as materials for the Documentary History of the United States. This work, undertaken by Mr. Force in 1830 and discontinued in 1846, was projected on an ample scale, and designed to cover nothing less than all the public State papers, with liberal selections from private papers, narratives, and journals, as well as from newspapers, bearing upon the discovery, settlement, and history of the United States from 1492 to the adoption of the Constitution in 1789. Nine folio volumes of the work, covering only a part of the Revolutionary period, [1775-76,] were published. The appropriation of \$100,000 for the purchase of these manuscript materials and of the Force library, deemed reasonable and moderate by some of the best judges of values in this country, was made without a word of objection in either House of Congress, and this invaluable assemblage of the sources of American history was thus saved from dispersion by the timely action of our national legislature.

But it is to the function of the government library at Washington as the conservator of American literature that attention will chiefly be directed in generations to come. By the enactment of the copyright law of 1870, through which this library was made not only the custodian of the copyright records of the past and future, but also the repository of every publication in which exclusive property is claimed under the law of copyright, it has become, for the first time, possible to build up a library which shall include the whole product of the American press, so far as protected by copyright. As this includes not only nearly every original work, but a very large share of the best periodical literature of the country, the slightest reflection will show the reader how comprehensive and valuable must be the fruits accruing from the silent and steady operations of this provision through a series of years. Let it be considered what the country would have gained had the present provisions as to copyright deposit been in force ever since the enactment of the first law of copyright in 1790. The national library would now contain an approximately complete collection, including first editions and their successive improvements, of what the country has produced in every department of science and literature. No one who is familiar with the accidents and tendencies which cause so many books to disappear, no one who has sought through many libraries in vain for the sight of some rare and almost unknown volume, can fail to appreciate the benefit not only to authors, but to publishers and to American letters, of one full repository of the products of the press. At first sight, indeed, it may appear that the accumulation of minor literature and the less useful class of publications is objectionable, as filling the library with too much rubbish ; and there will be found those who would have a committee of censors constituted to weed out the national library, rejecting the trash and preserving only the valuable. But more careful consideration of the question must give force to the suggestion that it is eminently desirable, if not indispensable, to have in every country one comprehensive library which shall preserve with sedulous care all the books which the country produces. It is no great paradox to assert that if there is no other value in a worthless book, it should at least be preserved somewhere as a model to be avoided ; and in the republic of letters no censor can possibly exist whose judgments as to what should be saved and what abandoned to destruction would stand for a moment. Let all other libraries be exclusive, but let

the library of the nation be inclusive, and contain all the literature of the nation, to be handed down to the men of the future. It is no new doctrine that posterity may possibly be more interested in the "trash" which falls with such profusion from the press than those contemporary with it. The national libraries of Europe have been for years buying up, at something like their weight in gold, the chap-books, pamphlets, broadsides, etc., of their respective countries, printed in centuries that are gone. It is the unconsidered trifles that teem from the press which help to illustrate the character and spirit of their epoch. It is to these that the most philosophical of modern historians have been largely indebted for the new light which they have shed upon the annals of the past.

Besides the books and periodicals which the operation of the copyright law assembles at Washington, there is steadily growing a great collection of maps, charts, photographs, engravings, and chromos, which will in time furnish a most extensive and instructive gallery to illustrate the progress of the arts of design in this country. Scarcely inferior in interest are some of the graphic illustrations of party politics and hits at passing events. Who that has studied the British political caricatures of the last century, or even those of what may be termed the Jackson period in American politics, but will recognize the importance of preserving those curious contemporary illustrations of the spirit, the persons, and the temper of the age?

No national library can be too large, for it is stored up for the use and reference not of one generation only, but of all generations that are to come. It is unhappily true that in no one library in the country could an adequate history of American literature be written, because no library possesses facilities for a complete survey of the materials from which alone such a history can be compiled. To take away this reproach, so far as regards the literature of this generation, at least, and its preservation, the enactment of the existing copyright law was a wise and timely provision.

Readers who are eager for statistics may seek to know something of the pecuniary value of the collection of books which the people own at Washington. The expenditure upon the library of the government, if compared with its extent and value, has not been great. The sum total of the appropriations of Congress for books from 1800 to 1878 has not exceeded \$640,000, and this is inclusive of the cost of all the volumes destroyed in two conflagrations. The British Museum Library, which numbers 1,100,000

volumes, is supposed to have cost about three millions of dollars (£630,000) ; but as not only this collection, but all the great government libraries of Europe, are rich in rare and early-printed books, as well as in manuscripts, and many of them in costly engravings, there can be no just basis for a comparison between them and a collection so modern in its origin as well as its principal contents as our own. The library of the British Museum, moreover, has enjoyed for more than a century the benefit of the copy tax, bringing in free of cost all the publications of the British and colonial press. The library at Washington, though founded in the beginning of the century, really dates from 1852, when only 20,000 volumes were saved from the flames. Quite unreasonable would it be to expect that an American national library should rival those of the Old World in those collections of *incunabula* and precious manuscripts which centuries of opportunity have enabled them to assemble. There are now twelve libraries in Europe outnumbering the Library of Congress in the books upon their shelves ; yet the growth of our national library has been so rapid as to have twice doubled the numerical extent of the collection in fifteen years. In 1863 the library of Congress contained 72,000 volumes ; in 1867, 165,000 ; and in 1878 the collection had risen to 340,000 volumes, besides pamphlets. The Boston Public Library alone among American collections approximates it in size, and even a little exceeds it, if we count the books contained in its seven branches in the suburbs of Boston, which, however, are duplicates of the parent collection. But the numerical standard is far from furnishing an adequate test of the true value of any collection of books, save in the presumption it furnishes that the largest collections will contain the best works printed in every field. It may be said of the Library of Congress that in the main its stores have been selected with a view to the highest utility, and with some general unity of plan. It has not, like the British Museum Library, the Boston Public Library, and some other large institutions, been the recipient of extensive donations or bequests, which, while greatly enriching the collections, tend also to the multiplication of duplicates. It were to be wished that all authors of books, and especially of pamphlets, should bear in mind that this great collection at Washington is the representative library of the country, and by placing in it copies of their productions, whether protected by copyright or not, secure to their thought a place where it will be sure of transmission to that pos-

terity which may care to examine it. All pamphlets coming to this library are treated with the same honor as books, acknowledged, catalogued, separately bound (instead of having their identity merged with others in incongruous volumes), and classified in their proper relation upon the shelves.

Congress has now before it, with a strong probability of reaching a final decision at the next session, plans for providing a new building for this fast increasing collection of books, manuscripts, and works of graphic art. The idea, so long hopefully clung to, that the Library of the United States could be permanently housed in the Capitol has been reluctantly abandoned by most persons. When we consider the fact that the growth of literature is, from the nature of the case, illimitable; that the library, which now numbers 340,000 books, besides 120,000 pamphlets, will, by steady accretion, and without any extraordinary accessions, number half a million within ten years, one million within forty years, and two million long before the close of a century, it becomes apparent that any architectural addition to the Capitol for its accommodation must end in abandoning it, at last, for a separate edifice, after burdening the country with the cost of two library constructions. It would be easy to leave within the Capitol an admirably selected parliamentary library, to include jurisprudence, works of reference, and historical and miscellaneous books, to the number of 50,000 volumes or upward, so that Congress should have under its own roof every book likely to be called for in its daily labors. The residue of the collection, with the extensive copyright department, should be accommodated elsewhere in a fire-proof building of ample size, planned with careful regard to use, convenience, permanence, and safety. As an office of public record, and the permanent repository of all the evidences of literary property, and the deposits of publications connected therewith, this building should be conveniently and centrally located.

These considerations are wholly independent of any obligation on the part of Congress to render this priceless repository of knowledge in the widest degree useful to the country. As the only library which contains even an approximate collection of the entire product of the American mind as found in books, gathered, too, in great part without cost to the government, it may well be considered whether it is not due to the people that its stores should be made as accessible as is consistent with its safety and preservation. Congress has taken in charge, also, the rich scientific library

of the Smithsonian Institution, with the contingent responsibility of making its stores contribute to the diffusion of knowledge among men. There are in the employ of the government at Washington several thousand officers and clerks, none of whom can draw books from the government library, or have access to it during hours not devoted to their daily duties. It would be neither safe nor expedient to make of this national collection a circulating library ; but it might prove of incalculable benefit to the public intelligence, and even tend to the improvement of the government service, were these rich stores of information thrown freely open during the evening hours for the use and reference of all. Such an extension of the benefits of the library could not be made available within the Capitol. Yet that we should continue to see this great library, as a means of education and enlightenment, so confined and limited in its uses, cannot fail to be viewed with regret by every liberal mind. It is true that there is almost no work within the vast range of literature and science which may not at some time prove useful to the legislature of a great nation in their manifold and responsible duties ; and therefore it is not strictly true that this library has grown altogether beyond the wants of Congress. But it is true that, in a republic which rests upon the popular intelligence, and one of whose cardinal glories is its literature, a great national collection of books, while formed primarily for the uses of the legislative and judicial branches of the government, ought to be utilized by a far wider circle of readers.

To believe that Congress, which has so liberally provided marble palaces for the current business of post-offices and custom-houses in so many cities of the country, will neglect to provide with proper foresight for this great repository of a nation's learning and art, would be to charge upon it a degree of illiberality not justified by the history of that body.

THE FINAL PHILOSOPHY.¹

THE title of this book might easily mislead. The author does not offer to mankind a system which is to close out all inquiry and all need of it forever. That achievement he expects only as the work of many minds through coming generations. All that he aims at is to point out the way in which, in the long-run, philosophy, mediating between science and religion, will present to men one harmonious body of truth. The philosophy that will do that will be "final;" it will be "the theory and art of perfect knowledge." Dr. Shields modestly proposes to indicate the features by which it will be marked, and the steps by which the candid and the thoughtful must move towards its realization.

The Introduction—an eloquent and comprehensive chapter—we judge from internal evidence to have been in substance the inaugural lecture with which the author unfolded the plan since pursued in his academic labors; and it is easy to see with what usefulness such a plan may be attended in a university course. The sense of power and of acquisition, with possibilities apparently unlimited, in the wide fields of natural science, may easily indispose the youthful mind to reverent regard to that revelation whose "mysteries" baffle, and whose words never flatter, the human mind. And when the teachers, who impart so much that they have newly gathered on the fields of nature, come into collision, even apparent, with old revelation, it is not strange if in the pupil defective reverence sometimes hardens into incredulity and suspicion. At such a crisis in the history of a vigorous mind it is of the last importance that moderation should be learned from the history of opinion, that a too hasty judgment should be checked by the candid statement of former differences deemed irreconcilable, yet which have been harmonized with enlarged knowledge on the one side or the other. Whatever may be thought of the skill or of the success with which

¹ The Final Philosophy: System of Perfectible Knowledge issuing from the Harmony of Science and Religion. By Charles Woodruff Shields, D.D., Professor in Princeton College, etc. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1877.

the author completes his task, there can be but one opinion as to the need and the nobleness of the undertaking.

Dr. Shields seems to think that scientific and religious learning once constituted a compact Christian philosophy, the two component parts of which have been gradually parting company. It is doubtful, however, if any period of scholastic culture presents the happy spectacle of men intelligently pursuing the two concurrent lines of revelation and science with clear ideas of their independence, and unconscious relations to one another. With expanding knowledge and growing earnestness, studious men must (as our author plainly thinks, p. 576), under a sense of life's shortness and the breadth of the field, become more and more specialists. The theologian is too busy, if he covers the ground of exegesis, doctrine, and its systematic statement, to become, for example, an exact chemist; on the other hand, how can a busy toiler on the wide field of nature hope to master the niceties of historical theology, and the ever-increasing volume of critical and exegetical material? Hodge can not also be Huxley, and Huxley can not also be Hodge. Tyndall is not expected to rival Oosterzee on his own field, and Oosterzee would not command much attention as a theologian if he had spent his time in Tyndall's laboratory. Science and religion both find more earnest and energetic servants in the present state of things on this basis, and it only remains that the two classes of laborers cultivate candor, mutual respect, and confidence in the honesty of each other. And if, on the borderland between them, undisciplined and zealous privates should come into collision, the most that can be hoped is that there will be found competent friends of intellectual "law and order" to forbid the strife, and arrange the terms of honorable peace. Of the importance of this pacification our author is profoundly sensible when, on page 13, he vividly paints the dark age when religion filled the whole horizon and science was neglected; and when, on the other hand, he sees in the darker days of modern France what society becomes in impiety and sensuality, when religion is excluded and science "reigns alone."

In order to present a fair view of the present condition of parties on the relations of science and religion, our author thinks it necessary to review the history of former conflicts, running as far back as the early Grecian philosophy, say five centuries before the Christian era. This appears an ambitious, but we think it is a wise course. It affords opportunity to use such widely separated laborers in the fields of history as Neander, Ueberweg, Sismondi; and in

the display of positions held and abandoned on both sides it furnishes good reason for slow and charitable judgments, and for most hopeful assurances regarding the fate of truth in the future. We are not sure, however, that any such spirit as we represent by the word "bigotry" actuated Aristophanes when he satirized Socrates. Aristophanes laughed at any thing which he thought laughable in the eyes of the people, as do most comedians. He attacked Cleon the demagogue, Euripides, and in "Plutus" the silly imitations of the Dorians, the arbiters of fashion at the time. Nor do we quite concur in our author's estimate of early Christian opposition to philosophy, which contemplated, not so much the investigation of truth, as the tone and the traditions of heathenism associated with that form of human effort. It was the spirit of Paul in reference to dinners, good enough in themselves, but preceded by homage to idols; and of many modern and not contemptible Protestants in relation to usages in themselves of little consequence morally or religiously, but on which ages of consecration to superstition have impressed an evil significance.

In Dr. Shields' rapid review of the patristic science, it is interesting to note that misconceptions of Bible statements on the great themes of Geology, Astronomy, and the origin of the earth placed religion and science in antagonism then as now, and the merit of absurdity in the later light of knowledge is about equally divided between them. The crystalline spheres of the Ptolemaic theory have disappeared in the light along with the *Topographia Christiana*. No language can be too strong to deplore the suppression of all free thought during the scholastic age, when the Church prescribed men's philosophy as it did their fasts and penances. It is to be borne in mind, however, that the Church, so-called, was itself a product, in part, of the wisdom of this world, and if philosophy suffered at its hand, it was punished in the way of its sin. The church of the middle ages became possible, because the authority of the Book had been set aside. But for the tendency of men to put the human, that is their own, above the divine, it had never been in the power of Peter Lombard to set the Church above the Scriptures, and so secure the thralldom of the human intellect to a proud and corrupt corporation which arrogated a sacred name. Once more we find the odious charges of "pantheism" freely flung around, alike against the intrepid Irishman, John Scotus, and the head of the Nominalists, William of Champeaux, admonishing us that we may now charge certain reasoners with holding our deductions from

their arguments, with the same arbitrary unreason that marked Nicholas I. and the opponents of Peter Abelard. In the review of the long and dreary struggle in which Galileo is the type of the suffering scientists, there appears to be some forgetfulness of the fact that not churchmen only, but the whole array of brother scientists, frowned upon the daring innovators. The intolerance was not in the Church only: it was everywhere. It is just to Roman Catholics to remember that Sylvester II. was so good a physicist that he was thought to have reached the pontificate by magic. Yet he was not persecuted, for they made him pope. They did not repress men simply because they were learned in science, but because they set themselves, in their honest belief, against what was deemed wholesome and established; and scientists and Christians shared in the hostility. This we could wish to see more distinctly noted in the able and often eloquent pages of the "Final Philosophy." If the early Christian fathers claimed too much for revelation as compared with philosophy, it is to be remembered that philosophy had not only failed, but, in the current levity of spirit, confessed its failure. And if any one alleges that the hostility of religion, as such, to science, as such, in the ages before Christianity is characteristic, let it be borne in mind that the religion of that time embodied the science of the time. The worshipper of Jupiter and Apollo deferred to the science of his time, and if he did not change his views as rapidly as the scientist, it is only because the multitude always moves more slowly than the individual.

That this is the author's conviction is apparent when we come to his account of the more violent conflict in astronomy and other kindred lines of investigation, including anthropology and sociology. He is clear that the antagonism is apparent rather than real, only temporary, often salutary. His division of the thinkers who would divorce science and religion we believe he makes good, and illustrates with great fullness and ability. They are: 1st. The Extremists, in whose judgment these forces are by their nature foes to the death; 2d. The Indifferents, who take no heed of their relations; 3d. The Impatients or Eclectics, who desire to combine them prematurely; and, 4th. The Despondents or skeptics, who would abandon them, or rather the effort to harmonize them, as contradictory and irreconcilable, and who have much in common with the Extremists. On the second of these Dr. Shields lays out most of his strength, devoting to it a couple of hundred pages, under the name of the "truces of sciolists and dogmatists in the sciences, in philosophy,

and in civilization" (pp. 94-319). In harmony with the views already stated, we should read in a different fashion not a few of the truces here touched, and make the whole a proof that for many things now repudiated with lofty scorn by science, she and religion had for long enough a common responsibility; and it is hardly fair for Madame Science, when the common error is discovered, to put her arms a-kimbo, and declare to meek and blushing Religion, "I told you so."

On the "Eclectics" we think our author a little severe. They would claim to be making their contribution in their way, and according to their light, to the Final Philosophy, and entering their protest against the skepticism which, of course, he strongly repudiates. The human mind can not well help trying to bring into harmony, as far as it can, what it deems important. Of course, the error begins when the "Eclectic" pronounces his truce a permanent treaty, never to be reviewed. But it is impossible for the religionist to hold his peace when science produces her facts and marshals them in hostile array.

To the positive statement of the remedy our author gives less space than to the diagnosis and statement of the malady. His argument is compressed into one hundred and thirty pages, also in five chapters of unequal length. The first of these he entitles the "Umpirage of Philosophy," the need of which is apparent from the admitted antagonism of great doctrines in the traditions and beliefs of religion, to certain findings in the physical and psychical sciences, which yet can not be said to be complete, or indeed much more than problems raised. But as between these two departments neither can be a judge in its own cause. Philosophy can be the disinterested arbiter, can stand unembarrassed by relations with either, and mediate with moral authority. Positivism can not be met with theological arguments, for it disowns revelation. Metaphysics it supposes itself to have outgrown. It must be met on its own ground, which it claims is only an extension of that covered by Bacon's inductive method. There it can be met. Furthermore, the order of triple evolution in human thinking, as first theological, then metaphysical, then scientific, Dr. Shields thinks it proper to examine. His chapter devoted to the discussion of this attractively simple programme for the race is able, animated, and instinct with the sense of strength and victory. No such order is seen in the individual or the nation. The most advanced peoples have not left theology and metaphysics behind as children leave playthings and

fairy tales. It is possible at once to own God and to own law. The more scientific knowledge and perception of law, the louder the mind's demand for a law-giver. Positivism is by its assumption and its insufficiency a plea for the umpirage urged. One can not keep to science and ignore religious elements. One can not keep to religion and ignore intellect. Both lines of thought and examination are possible in a mediating philosophy. Such, if we understand Dr. Shields, it is his aim to show in a chapter which, even detached altogether from its connection, is worth examining in relation to this arrogant, self-asserting system.

Take the Philosophy of the Absolute again (Chap. III.): can it stand independently with science on one side, or with religion on the other? Can its questions be detached from either? Examine its problems—they touch both departments. Can we discuss the points it raises—the conceivableness, credibility, cognition, revealableness, and proof of the Absolute, and ignore religion? Certainly not. "What we have been taught respecting God in our creed, we find proved in nature by our science" (p. 530).

Here, then, is the point of hope. The Positive Philosophy ignores revelation where it touches the department of metaphysic. The Philosophy of the Absolute supersedes it in the same region. But there is (p. 534) a possible philosophy in which reason in man shall run alongside, as far as its nature permits, revelation, and our science shall harmonize with God's omniscience. In a combination of the good and true of these two philosophies, both rooted in human advancing history—a combination adapted to lead to perfect knowledge, and of which there are hopeful signs in our time, our author finds the Final Philosophy of which he hopes so highly. The indications of its attainment he exhibits in the departments of thought and inquiry from astronomy to theology, over which he has already traveled in a different connection. Nor does he despair of seeing this combination work well in the "metaphysical and philosophical sciences." It is here, it seems to us, that our author is obliged to regard with some favor what among his "Eclectics" his argument requires him to disparage. "Why, my dear sir," they might urge, "what you say is to be done, will be done, will be done finally and conclusively, is what we have been doing as we best could with the materials we have in hand." But this, no doubt, our author could explain.

Perhaps, indeed, he would say that his last chapter is the vindication of his consistency. To the crowd of sciences, real or alleged,

the Baconian treatment of alleged facts must be applied. The sciences, "falsely so called," must be eliminated; the remainder must be classified. Their mutual relations must be fixed, and a theory of the sciences must be framed. We confess to the feeling that for this we have to wait long, as we contemplate the careful and detailed ground-plan, so to speak, of this superstructure, in the bare contemplation of which, not unnaturally, the writer's mind kindles, and his style glows and sparkles, so that the exact idea at times all but evades our sight, as on p. 570, for example: "But when the seriate sciences shall be shedding forth their seriate arts, and all human societies be growing together in the knowledge and mastery of their own phenomena, and of the cosmical phenomena upon which they act, until they are brought into harmony with nature and with God, then will a regenerate race be installed as the living head of the whole terrestrial organism, and the reins of the orb be exultingly gathered in its hands as it careers in the Olympic race of worlds."

It is a part of our author's conviction that the Eastern hemisphere can not be the theatre of this philosophy's inauguration, and of his hope that it may find its seat here with us in America, where the Oriental and Occidental can meet after six thousand years of separate life, on this new and neutral soil. And it is natural that a professor in a foremost college should find in the academic curriculum the means of realizing his expectation. The "professions and the press" but distribute knowledge, and are shaken with the wind. The "quiet thinkers and scholars, who prize truth for her own sake" (we presume on being detached from the professions and the press), must originate the movement. It is a most attractive task, and every lover of peace must long for its consummation; and though he be only a "reflector, not a manufacturer, of opinions," only a "pastor, a lawyer, or a physician" (p. 576), he can not fail to throw into the "quiet circle of thinkers and scholars" his word of sympathy and encouragement.

Only one word as to the style of this treatise, which represents much hard and useful work. While generally attractive in a high degree, it is occasionally florid to an extent that suggests pruning. Words are over-abundant—never coarse or vulgar, indeed, but occasionally suggesting in style what over-dress suggests in society. The illustration in its rich drapery of speech is sometimes harder of comprehension than the thing to be illustrated. One can hardly help smiling as in the opening of Chapter I. he is put on "an emi-

nence of faith and hope, overlooking the vast battle-field of modern philosophy," on which he had been looking at the close of the "Introduction." The opening paragraph of Chapter II. gives him a "view of a distant battle-field," with all the attendant and impressive phenomena. At the beginning of Chapter III. he has "a truce between two great armies on the brink of battle;" but it is of short duration, for in the same place in Chapter IV. he finds "two great armies meeting in the shock of battle," though both retire from the hard-fought field, "neither left master" of it. And so in Chapter V. the opening paragraph gives us the "dismal spectacle after the glory of battle has collapsed in rout and panic." Now these pictures are graphic. The descriptions are quite eloquent (and remarkable as coming out of the "quiet circle of thinkers and scholars"), but to a reader impatient to get within sight of the Final Philosophy they are like a long round of "fancy" and unsatisfying courses to a hungry man eager for roast beef or something else substantial. "Sanguinary sunsets," "pallid moons," "beaten chieftains" and "fallen leaders, sitting apart in sullen gloom" (p. 399), do not aid one, and relief is felt when the accomplished and thoughtful writer comes down and says (p. 27), "In plainer words," etc.

This slight peculiarity, however, we do not emphasize. To a master of the English language and its literature the temptation is great to gratify one's tastes by the way. The richness of language does not detract from the charm—to many, perhaps, will enhance it—of a book which represents very wide reading, very just thinking, and a devout and elevated spirit, intent on the noblest aims, from the beginning to the end.

SUCCESSFUL MEDIOCRITY.

AN illustrious American traveling in China met a deposed statesman of that country, who had for a time been its leading minister, but whose far-seeing views had led to his disgrace. The American told the venerable and broken statesman that the Chinese were already beginning to acknowledge those views to be correct. The follower of Confucius replied that the statesman was often a leader who, climbing to the top of a hill, left the throng behind him in the valley ; from his elevation he could see what was beyond which was denied to the people behind him in the valley, and they pulled him down and called him an impostor. In time, after laborious climbing, they also reached the eminence and saw what was beyond, but when they made the discovery it was too late for the leader : he was already on the confines of the grave or in it.

What was true in the case of the statesman in China is true in some of the departments of art and science in America, and indeed in nations generally. It is, of course, seldom that a genius remains undiscovered until the end of his life, however tardy the discovery may be ; but his recognition is not generally accompanied with that prosperity which seems to wait on the man of respectable talents. It is an interesting inquiry to try and learn wherein the deficiency lies in the man of genius, and wherein the sufficiency lies in the man of mediocre abilities, although such inquiry may result in hardly any thing more than speculation.

The word successful in this connection naturally takes the meaning popularly given to it, embracing distinction, happiness, and wealth, for all agree that the man who possesses these is successful : that is, happy in his marriage, in his children, in the admirers who look up to him and give him praise for good work, in his material life, in being surrounded by all the comforts which fortune can bestow, and in the absence of mental and physical pain.

Such success the man of fair talents generally attains to, unless handicapped with extraordinary vices. One of the reasons for this is probably in the closer relations which must exist between him and

those who admire his work, whatever it may be, and in the more thorough appreciation growing out of mutual understanding. The art of a great artist may be understood by lovers of art, but may not be understood by those who know nothing of art. Such art may be taken on trust by those who do not understand it, through the opinions of those who do ; but there is no genuine admiration for the artist or his work. In the lower stratum of society, a chromo is as good as a Meissonnier ; and in the middle stratum, comprising the great body of society, an ordinary picture, such as a hundred men can paint in America, is equal to the production of the master named, the difference between good and very good appearing very faint or not at all. The sentiment in a picture of Corot is not revealed to the admirer of the chromo. This, in a word, is *caviare* to the multitude, and even to the Philistines who have houses, lands, stocks, and pens. One of the most striking illustrations of the height to which mediocrity will rise under favorable conditions is furnished in the case of Benjamin West, who, through the protection of a king of limited lights, became President of the Royal Academy. There was also contemporary admiration in this country for the work of this fame-crowned painter, and especial enthusiasm expressed over that lifeless production called "Death on the Pale Horse," which was sent over the country as a show picture. Mr. West, chaired in the presidential seat of an institution created to honor men of genius, may be regarded as the apotheosis of mediocrity in the history of painting. A contemporaneous illustration is furnished on this side of the Atlantic. While the ruler of a kingdom was binding laurels around the head of the Philadelphia Quaker, the rulers of the republic here were doing the same for Colonel Trumbull, who left in the panels of the rotunda of the Capitol several of his pictures, which attest to-day the triumph of mediocrity. Indeed, all the pictures of the Capitol, with perhaps one exception, bear witness to the same kind of triumph. The two men named were the artistic idols of their time, who reaped the fruits of their success ; but the after-coming, iconoclastic critic shattered them and their pretensions, and thus partially righted the wrongs of some more deserving men.

Another reason for the good relations existing between the Philistine and the mediocrity is probably in a mutual appreciation of character in other respects than where the special art is concerned. The respectable mediocrity can enter into the feelings of such a patron and friend with a natural aptitude denied to the man

of genius living in another world. The admirer and the admired share to some extent the same views of life, which establish bonds of sympathy. The man of talent is apt to have method, to be routinary, to keep clear of social and financial disaster, to have an eye to the main chance, and lay up against a contingent rainy day. These are traits of character which belong to the Philistine as well, and are of course appreciated at their highest value.

Such a man talks to the Philistine in a language he can understand, for he is mundane to the marrow—mundane even in his religion, although he does not intend to be. Of such a man the Philistine says he “always knows where to find him.” He is never in the depths of depression nor in the heights of enjoyment, but poised midway between.

To be provident, to be regular in the performance of private and public duty, to be circumspect in talk and act, to have something in the bank, to be respectably connected by blood and marriage—these are virtues which do not usually belong to the man of genius. That concentration of all his faculties on a given subject, which is the most distinguished mark of genius, is apt to absorb him to the exclusion of other matters, and to lead him to undervalue their importance. His tendency is to take large and generous views of life, which, on account of their breadth and novelty, are apt to be startling to the Philistine. The routinary painstaking of the latter in providing himself with sources of pleasure, present and future, appears to him something approaching to meanness, and the energies of a life devoted to the acquisition of property for personal use, selfish.

The consequence is, that the man of genius usually suffers for the absence of those mundane qualities which procure happy surroundings, and for his inability to cope with the man of the world, of which the Philistine is the type. This is generally the price he pays for the gift of creation with which he is endowed. He invents a labor-saving machine which makes other men rich, and he dies in poverty. Powerful in mind, he falls a victim to the schemes of men who in mental stature are pigmies alongside of him.

One of the characteristics of a creative mind is not only what the Philistine would call a lack of common-sense, but sometimes a tendency to fall into vices, which, however, are generally an excess of virtues. A too expansive nature and an extreme conviviality, in such cases, are apt to end in dissipation and drunkenness. A too generous impulse impels the man to give what does not belong to

him, as Balzac did with the white horse he never owned. A rose-colored hope in the future induces him to contract debts he can never pay. These tendencies become vices, entangle him, and hold him for life. Yet his fine organization is less fitted to withstand the shock of these results than the ordinary man, and to fly from them he too often gives himself over to the temporary consolations of Bacchus, and after every such bout that exquisite tone and creative power of his mind, in which he differs from the ordinary man, are impaired.

The great man of the Philistine in the same field of art or science is generally free from such vices. He is rather a man of negative virtues. He does not make debts he can not pay, he does not covet his neighbor's wife, he does not promise what he can not fulfill, he does not give away his possessions through love or charity, he does not overtask himself in work, he does not eat food that he can not digest, he does not drink liquor in sufficient quantity to make him drunk, because he has calculated the effect of these things, and knows that his happiness lies in abstention. Such wisdom challenges our tardy admiration, but we can not love the man so destitute of warmth. Our heart rather turns toward him whose nature glows with a heat that often burns us—the man with vices; and in doing so we are constrained to acknowledge, according to accepted doctrines of morality, that we are wrong.

Not unfrequently there is an antagonism between the great man of the Philistine and the man who creates. The former holds that the latter is indolent, to say nothing of other vices; for to the Philistine's man work is a matter of habit, he being able at stated hours to perform an allotted task. When he who creates avers that he can not do as much, it is put down to wilful idleness.

The creative mind is subject to moods and passions which constitute its most powerful auxiliaries in production. Its tone is affected by environing conditions to the point of rendering it sterile. The possessor of it feels with greater intensity than another, which is one reason why he can describe what he feels with more intensity than another. His pains and his pleasures are utilized in his work; and while engaged upon it his mind is at a white heat.

There was a time when the Proverbial Philosophy of Martin F. Tupper was found on the table of almost every reading family in England and the United States. To-day, the enthusiasm which once existed for this high-priest of platitudes seems something phenomenal. Ten men on this side of the Atlantic, probably, have

read the worn *banalités* of Tupper to one who has read the vigorous and healthy thoughts of Ralph Waldo Emerson ; and although the readers of Tupper are now rather ashamed of their favorite author on account of the puncture of his pretensions by the critics, they, and those of the generation following them, have transferred their interest to other teachers and writers on ethics who are not much better than the now antiquated Tupper. An Emerson is too far off to be *en rapport* with the average reader, but a Tupper takes him by the hand and trudges alongside in easy and comprehensive stages, being a brother in mind, sympathy, and aspiration.

Even in France, where genius is perhaps more highly appreciated than elsewhere, the men of mediocrity not unfrequently get into the places that belong to the men who create. In that country an institution exists for the especial purpose of honoring men who accomplish extraordinary work in the arts and sciences, and particularly in belles-lettres—the French Academy—which contains the “forty immortals.” There are many instances where the institution has not been true to its mission in electing men to membership who had no right to it, to the exclusion of men who had. Of the distinguished men of France who were not members of the Academy, may be named Descartes, Malebranche, Molière, Pascal, J. B. Rousseau, Bayle, Saint Simon, La Rochefoucauld, Le Sage, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Diderot, Mirabeau, Beaumarchais, André Chenier, Lamennais, Honoré de Balzac, Béranger, Michelet, Alexandre Dumas, Sr., Théophile Gautier. Among contemporaries, Frenchmen generally agree that Ernest Renan, Hippolyte Taine, and Edmond About, who do not belong to the Academy, desire to belong. Renan is the most gifted writer on biblical and Oriental literature, and the Père Hyacinthe is the greatest orator of the pulpit in France, and it is improbable that either of them will ever occupy seats among the forty. Taine and About, who are at the head of their respective branches of art, have knocked in vain at the door of this temple.

A chief obstacle to membership in a gifted man is that he is so conspicuous as to have given umbrage to the man of talent in some particular department of work, and the latter, uniting with others of his like, too often succeeds in keeping the door shut. Although Victor Hugo is now a member of the Academy, when he first offered himself, in the height of his fame, he was defeated by another candidate bearing the unknown name of Emmanuel Dupaty. De Vigny was defeated by another of the unknowns

called M. Empis. Some of the gifted men of the body have favored the election of ordinary men, either on the score of friendship, or because they were acting in accordance with that proverbial wisdom which holds that in the kingdom of the one-eyed, the two-eyed are kings.

The twenty-one voters, which is the majority of the forty, have a conception of the model Academician, which is not unlike the man of negative virtues already described. A digger in Greek roots, or the author of a book on the Greek participle; a purist, respectable in morality and attainments, respectable in his social commerce and mode of life; a man who has not broached any startling theory nor said and written severe words in defense of it—of such an Academician the twenty-one say with the Philistine, "You know where to find him."

There is mediocrity in politics. The first condition of success is to know how to secure an election. The machinery of party is so organized, that those who are not active participants have little chance of being selected. It becomes a joint-stock company, in which the directors reap the principal advantages and the stockholders the minor ones. The way leading up to such direction is usually lined with duties and associations which men of character and great ability, generally, will not undertake, such as assenting to the violation of long-held principles, breaking faith with men to whom solemn promises have been made, and handshakings and intimacies with men of unclean hands and unclean lives. The contemplation of such a career is generally sufficient to dwarf political aspiration, and the reins of power pass into the hands of men ordinary in character, morality, and talent.

The license allowed to tongue and pen also prevents unknown statesmen from entering the political field, they preferring to forego the exercise of power rather than run the gauntlet of invective which usually awaits the candidate who asks for the suffrages of his fellow-citizens.

On this account the representation in Congress does not represent the nation at large, for the people of no other country are as well educated as the people of the United States. In England and France the people are more ignorant than they are here, yet their representation is higher, their delegates in council being composed of the best men of the nation. The distance intellectually which separates the Congressman from his constituent is

slight, while that which separates the Member of Parliament from his constituent is so great that they may never change places.

There are men here who attain to a relatively high position in politics with a meager intellectual capital, and retain it through life, their following being impressed with an idea of their intellectual riches. The discovery of their almost bankrupt condition appears to be confined to a few, and however clearly these may show this to be the case, the followers do not seem to lose faith in the mental resources of their chiefs. This faculty of persuading constituencies to take them at their own value may be considered as one of the characteristics of the mediocral representatives. An interesting group in Congress might be named in illustration, but this may not be done for a reason that will easily be understood. As it is, the names of some of these representative men will probably suggest themselves to the reader if he is familiar with the character of the politicians of the day. On the other hand, there are gifted men known to a few that have made of the science of government a study, who never seem to be found out.

C. is a graceful mediocrity, who stands in the pulpit and tells the way of life to a fashionable congregation ; pliable and evasive on doctrines of faith, he doubles the capes of difficult situations with adroitness. There is no individuality which ever thrusts him beyond the line of strict orthodoxy. He is the man of the tea-party, and the sacerdotal sore throat which requires an occasional trip to Europe. He is even in character well-mannered, and an especial favorite with the women of the congregation, in whose hands the destinies of the clergyman are usually held. To the layman of robust manhood he hardly seems to have a sex, although inclining to that of the woman, his opinions on the affairs of life being rather womanly than manly. He is a gentle shepherd, who leads his flock along the primrose paths of peace. He does not abandon one flock except to take charge of a larger and better-conditioned one, and this is done only after prayerful meditation, when he is persuaded that such a course meets with divine sanction.

D. is not in such proximity to silk and satin. He is far from the peals of a grand organ and the variegated lights of magnificent windows. He may find favor at the highest tribunal, but he would not before such a congregation as that over which C. presides. He is hardly popular in any religious body over which he may have spiritual charge. His individuality is obtrusive, and his manner

of presenting his opinions is unfortunate. He is hardly safe in doctrines of faith, for his mind is active in continuous search after new truths. He is still more unfortunate out of the pulpit, not being equal to the social requirements of his people, especially the women. His conception of duty is to appear in the family only as the great events of life occur, such as birth, malady, disaster, marriage, and death. This priest, in consequence, encounters some of the thorns which encircled the brow of his Master.

A. the prima-donna does her work before the footlights with complacency, under the approving eye of a correct mother standing behind the wing, ready, with pattens, to take her offspring home at the end of the performance. Here is furnished an exemplification of the proprieties of private life joined to the discharge of artistic duty—a pleasing tableau, which the enterprising manager does not fail to make known to the public. The notes are sung according to the score lying before the conductor of the orchestra, and the drama is played according to the traditional rules. The Philistine says she is perfect, and applauds noisily and often. Prima-donna B. sings the same music with a passion and a harmony that are electrifying, and he applauds with less fervor than in the case of A. There is no prudent mother standing at the wing to conduct B. to a home of propriety, and there are whisperings in the boxes of certain of her indiscretions not of a character to grace domestic life. This settles the matter in the mind of the Philistine, and he pronounces in favor of A., and artistic execution is thus weighted with private sin.

Away from this operatic atmosphere, in the midst of the masses, the appreciation of song is naturally still more primitive. Between exhortations to a higher and spiritual life, a lone voice is raised to the tune of "Ring the Bells of Heaven," or "Ninety and Nine," which is hung upon with delight, and whose notes would be rejected by any conservatory of Europe. The same head-voice in secular quarters elicits from hearers with like ears the same enthusiastic indorsement. They deserve no reproach for this deficiency, except in so far as they have neglected their opportunities to learn better. Otherwise it is their misfortune; it is also the misfortune of him who fills their ears with his voice to forever dwell in darkness as to the artistic virtue of an *ut de poitrine*. Happily there are other ears besides those belonging to his public, for if there were not, the harmonies of Meyerbeer and Mozart would become a lost art. And yet the followers of such masters

do not greet their wondrous work with the enthusiasm of the past, whilst the mediocrities, and less than mediocrities, swell in numbers and applause over the jingling notes of the opera bouffe and the plaintive solos of the negro minstrel. In a word, the age is unheroic and art is retrograding. The clever devices of Lecoque are preferred to the heroic sentiment of masters who rose to a height unattainable to the men of to-day. The rattling, sparkling bits of music of the school of Offenbach—very well in their way—are strung together without the continuity and harmony of the real opera, where the composition as a whole is never lost sight of.

It is the same in respect to art in painting. There is no longer the grand grouping which belongs to the past, or if it is attempted, results in failure from want of training, if not from capacity. Hence are painters given over to the easel picture, in which art finds its easiest expression—a boy riding a donkey, a girl picking strawberries, or what not, which is very far from the grouping of a score of figures in striking attitudes by a master like Géricault. The patrons of art are naturally responsible for the prevailing taste; were they to demand the expression of passion in a historical composition, painters would probably be educated to satisfy the demand. As long as the easel picture is in vogue, the prospect of improvement in high art is remote.

There is a certain tendency to vagabondism inseparably connected with genius, which reveals itself from time to time. The bohemian is concealed behind the man with the divine afflatus. A notable illustration was Thackeray. His sojourn in Paris, his delight in the society of the bohemians of the Latin Quarter, his love of the true and the beautiful, his boyishness and conviviality, are all indications pointing to it. He has been known to ask two or three grave men with whom he sat in the Century Club if they thought there would be any impropriety in his rising to do the double-shuffle. One can fancy the surprise with which such a proposition was received.

He was a frequenter of the house of the Countess of Blessington, whose hospitality was dispensed to many other men of note. When that house fell, for it was built upon sand, of all the band who had taken pleasure under its roof, Thackeray was the only one who came to condole with its hostess. There are good and bad bohemians. He was a good one. He paid his score at the feast, and owed no man a shilling.

There was, too, the incident with his tailor in Paris, who not

only furnished the poor author clothes, but lent him money, in gratitude for which the latter dedicated to him his book. One can fancy how Major Pendennis would have stood aghast at such a proceeding had he witnessed it ; even his nephew, affecting a light touch of bohemianism as he did, would never have had the courage to thus proclaim his obligations and gratitude to a humble worker of garments, as his creator did.

Yet the life and work of this typical bohemian do not come up to the requirements of the correct moralist of platitudes. There are grievances against him. He twice turned that roystering French song, "Le Roi d'Yvetot," into English verse. He sang a lilting rhyme about dipping his nose into Gascon wine. He wrote of the joys of the vagabond—of his gypsy wanderings, his indolent lolling in the sunshine, his perfect freedom. He dwelt with loving interest over the up-and-down literary life of Warrington in chambers, and the professional secrets of the Fotheringay and old Bows. As an artist, he showed an affectionate interest in guileful Becky Sharp, and bade her almost a pathetic adieu, the last time he saw her in that aristocratic society into which she had penetrated for a brief day. He hung on the memories of the succulent things of the French kitchen, and discussed the merits of a *poulet à l'estragon* as if it were a question of state. All this was bohemianism, and, according to the judge named, reprehensible.

All bohemians are not men of genius, but all men of genius are more or less bohemians, and to these last undoubtedly belonged Thackeray. Although the latter part of his life was prosperous, he had been subjected to those vicissitudes which appear to be the inheritance of men like him. A few years before his death, the need of money pressed upon him with painful urgency, when he turned his steps to this land, and it became our privilege and pleasure to make him comfortable for the rest of his life.

It is not necessary to cross the Atlantic to find instances of gifted literary men unable to take care of themselves, as our own country furnishes a number. Among these, the most conspicuous example is that of Edgar A. Poe. His genius remains unquestioned, but his bohemianism was of the wicked kind. He was hurtful to others as well as to himself. His nature was weird, morbid, and unsympathetic, but his art was beautiful. A realistic epitaph over this perturbed soul might have been thus written :

"Here lie the remains of the man who wrote the 'Raven,' the 'Goldbug,' the 'Facts in the Case of Mr. Valdemar,' and

who was unable to provide himself with the daily necessities of life."

There have been other men of song and creation whose flight has not been as lofty as that of Poe, and who under more favorable conditions would have done better than they did. Their improvidence, and that characteristic inability to take care of themselves, kept them down, and carried them away to early graves.

The popular taste for the work of the inferior novelist is shown in the kind of novels usually given out in the public libraries. A score of the books of an ordinary author are in demand to one of Thackeray, Hawthorne, Dickens, or Bret Harte. This is one of the strongest arguments of the popular preference for mediocrity. Perhaps thirty or forty individuals read a story by Mrs. Southworth to one who reads a story by Nathaniel Hawthorne. They turn away from the grace, strength, and imagination of the *Marble Faun*, to fasten on some clumsily constructed story told in violation of the rules of art and of language. They see nothing of the strange power and weird, elfish fancy of the "*Scarlet Letter*," and are not wrought upon by its dramatic situations.

It is the same, in point of numbers, as to circulation. Twenty indifferent novels are printed where one good one is printed, and not unfrequently the artist in novel-writing is asked by the publisher why he does not produce a work like one of these enjoying a great circulation. As to how the artist feels at such a suggestion must be left to the imagination of those who know something about an artistic temperament.

There is one kind of tale which finds especial favor among the novel-readers which might be called the Christian story, containing as it does some of the characteristics of the tract. There can be no objection to conveying a lesson in ethics in a story, if done in accordance with the rules of art. On the contrary, work that will do any thing toward elevating the moral and Christian tone of society should meet with encouragement. The power for good exerted in this way is sometimes remarkable, as was shown in the results accomplished by the narrative of *Uncle Tom*, but the requirements of art must not be set aside, even for such an aim. Platitudinous precepts on spiritual life can hardly compensate for ill-constructed plot, incomplete delineation of character, and faulty style. Such work, in a word, is a violation of the proprieties of

art, which can not be condoned by a reader of taste, however good the motive may be.

An author of acknowledged ability, to whom the foregoing suggestion was made by his publisher, asked for the popular novel of a religious tone, then in vogue in the publisher's house. It was given to him with the information that if he, the author, would make something like it, the work would be remunerative. The writer took it home to read, as he expressed it, "to learn the trick." With some difficulty he read the volume through to the end, but was quite convinced that the story could not be popular. With Molière's idea in his mind of testing his plays on his servant, he tried the novel on two persons in the household as an unbiased public, one of whom was a girl of thirteen, and the other a simple old lady, partially educated. They were both interested in the volume from beginning to end, laughing over its elephantine fun, and weeping over its sloppy pathos!

It was a marketable book with a moral purpose, designed to be profitable to the reader, the publisher, and the writer. The hero, as in most of the books of the kind, is a solemn prig, who is the mouthpiece for the bits of sermon strung throughout the volume. This pious lay-figure is faithful in the performance of every duty himself, and in enjoining the same upon others. His bald commonplaces impede whatever action there is in the story. He is "goody" to a degree wearing to the patience of a reader who has made serious studies of nature. Each time that this pragmatistical person appears, and it is often, he preaches as if he were in the pulpit, instead of attending to his business of the heroic lover, for which he is intended. While he should be occupied in bestowing flowers on the beloved, and telling her that she is an angel, he solemnly speaks to her about the law and the terrible consequences which must follow the breaking of it. The moral is pointed on every page. The reader can not escape from it. In every act and speech it is rubbed into the most obtuse understanding.

In this respect, and indeed in any other, how different is the work of a master like Bret Harte! In his shorter stories particularly, the natural action and *dénoûment* furnish the moral without a word of explanation. With wonderful distinctness the history of John Oakhurst is traced, and through the germ of virtue in the gambler's breast the ending becomes logical. The dramatic effect is heightened by antithesis: a social outcast, guilty of crimes, is made susceptible of gentle and virtuous influences.

It has been said that this author should have made further comment on the sinfulness of some of his characters ; had he done so he would have taken away from his work one of its most attractive features, without which it would be incomplete, inharmonious, and contrary to nature. It is one of the secrets of his power, as it was that of Hawthorne and Balzac, to stand beyond the circle of sympathy, and describe impassively as a historian the incidents and situations of his story.

Prose has not been adequate for a complete history of the baby, and Pegasus has been lassoed into the service. The rhyme thus reeled off is of the same character as the prose, being the same expression of the maternal instinct, from laughter, with intervening phases, down to tears. The obituary verses over the lost babe may not be dwelt upon, for the blurred eyes of a bereaved mother can not see as others see, and even the critic can not do otherwise than drop over them the mantle of charity.

Bret Harte, in his treatment of the baby, shows himself to be as much of an artist as in that of boys. He saw that there was but little in the baby *per se*—that is, let me hasten to add to indignant mothers, in an artistic sense—except in its helplessness ; and it is this feature of the little one around which are grouped the incidents of “Roaring Camp,” and which develops that ray of gentleness that fell athwart the hearts of the rude men of that place, and finally the climax scene of the expiring Kentuck, when he, “clinging to the frail babe as a drowning man is said to cling to a straw, drifted away into the shadowy river that flows forever to the unknown sea.”

There is a kind of domestic story which has a popularity equal if not greater than the nursery story. In it figure the mother-in-law, the husband, the aunt, the boy, and so on, each being designated on the title-page with the definitive adjective *that*. This is wearisome trash, beneath criticism, and as such is not within the scope of this article.

It is one of the characteristics of the common mind to have every thing explained beyond peradventure. The poetic charm of uncertainty in the *dénouement* is not pleasing. The final scene must be a tribunal of justice, where the loving and meritorious are given in marriage, the bad man is sentenced to prison or death, and the good man is crowned with riches and honor.

Even where poetic justice is not thus administered, the desire of such a mind is to know the facts about the ending of each char-

acter. This was exemplified in the letters which Nathaniel Hawthorne received about the "Marble Faun." The cloud which the artist hung over the ending of his story for the purpose of heightening its effect the letter-writers wanted to have dispelled and the facts disclosed. They wanted to know what became of Miriam, etc. In a playful preface to the English edition the author makes answer to these questioners, which leaves them as much in the dark as ever. Such a desire is generally gratified by the authors of mediocrity. All doubts are cleared up, vice is punished and virtue is triumphant. Assurances are sometimes given of reward and punishment in other worlds. The sainted Maria Jane sorrowfully contemplates the bereaved lover from a celestial horizon, and the author of their terrestrial troubles writhes in the ever-burning flames of the brimstone region.

The public is more capable of understanding dramatic art than any other, for it tells its story in a way that no tongue nor pen can do. The idea is embodied, made a living thing, and put on the stage behind a bright light, where, with the aid of facial and voice expression, gestures, and action, and the interest of the story, it is easily understood and appreciated by the ordinary spectator. Yet even in this field the mediocral taste manifests itself: the journeyman actor is sometimes preferred to the artist, and the indifferent play to the good one. *Patric*, one of the best of Sardou's plays, which was represented for several hundred consecutive nights in Paris, and had none of the taints frequently found in French plays, was a failure in the United States; and a play called *Miss Multon*, which is one of the most inferior of French plays, still occupies the American stage. These are only two of many instances of the kind.

The religious training which forbids going to the theatre may have had something to do with the tardy education of the people in this respect, and probably still exercises an influence, although not as much as it has done in the past. Besides, the class of people influenced by such considerations of duty are usually of a certain intelligence and standing, whilst the class of ignorant, intemperate, and reckless people all frequent the theatre whenever their means permit. This prejudice, however, is passing away, and in the course of the next twenty years, probably, the voice of the preacher will rarely be raised against this kind of amusement.

The absence of any conscientious restriction has contributed to make the French the best playwrights and critics of plays in the

world. It never occurs to them to look for Satan behind the foot-lights, but they search with untiring diligence for the beauties of dramatic art, and finding, enjoy them as no other people do.

The art of making plays is still in its infancy in this country, and does not show signs of growing quickly out of it. This arises from a lack of natural aptitude in a measure, but more probably from the fact that good French plays are being constantly supplied, and not only good but tested ones. The American who has not yet learned to write plays—being still in his apprenticeship—can not compete with the accomplished French author, and he has to content himself with making a character-play to suit the characteristics of some home actor. Some such plays are *The Gilded Age* and *The Mighty Dollar*, which, from an artistic point of view, are worthless, but have served as vehicles to the special talents of two clever actors. A French public would not accept two such theatrical abortions, however good the acting of the leading rôle might be, and this illustrates the difference between the American and the French public.

Still, dramatic art is progressing in this country, although slowly. A comparison between what it is to-day and what it was fifteen or twenty years ago shows this. The rousing farce, but one remove from the fun of the circus, was then in vogue, and the bellowing tragedian, whose chief recommendation was a stentorian voice, was a favorite; men laughed unto tears over the cheap gags of the *Specter Bridegroom*, and had thrills down the vertebral column over a hand-to-hand encounter with the old basket-handled, dumpy swords, in which the combatants struck up and down with mechanical regularity. Although the spectators of those scenes may now be ashamed of their old delight, it is matter of doubt even to-day whether they have sufficient discernment to distinguish a good play from an indifferent one, otherwise some of the plays which they applaud, and which are successful, would never have been played but one night—the first and last.

Only a few of the departments of work of a higher kind are referred to in this paper, but enough probably to show that it is not the lowest nor the highest class of workers whose labors are crowned with success, but the middle one, in being surrounded by the conditions most favorable to morals, happiness, and respectability.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY.

WHEN about fifteen years ago Lassalle began his agitation among the German laborers, Socialism in Germany, even with the great majority of the educated, was an entirely new, unheard-of, and unintelligible phenomenon. Whoever at that time predicted a future for this movement, and apprehended from it any thing seriously menacing to political and social order, passed for a pessimistic dreamer. It is indeed very probable that Lassalle himself, when he found the results so small as compared with his gigantic efforts, finally lost faith in his own cause. When in August, 1864, he fell in a duel, then German Socialism, rather as aroused and nourished artificially than as a natural growth, arose to follow its mighty leader to the grave. It is now otherwise. Socialism to-day forms one of the most vital questions for the young German Empire, upon the decision of which its whole future hangs. This change has brought with it the necessity of other great national events—of a thorough transformation of the public spirit, which has shaken the existing political, religious, and social ideas; of a new legislation, which has led the nation by other ways upon the various provinces of life, and finally, also, of heavy financial crises.

By the annexations of 1866 the German princely dignity lost its sacredness in the minds of the people. The German princes wore, and still wear, their crowns by the grace of God, so that there exists no valid right to displace them; this can be done only by the right of force—the right of the stronger, and of the bully. If force could ever establish an actual right, then there would be no inherent right, for right would be but a transient and feeble order of things, dependent solely upon the relative power of parties, and worthy of as little reverence and honor as force itself. By an appeal to the right of conquest, or what is the same in effect, the right of force, the foundation of princely rule is subverted; for although this still exists to-day, it could rightfully exist only so long as it could maintain itself against forcible subjugation by a foreign conqueror or a revolution. Its fall would be but the accomplishment of a right.

There could be no way for the new-formed political order in Germany to win for itself a holy sanction, save by being regarded as flowing, by reason of the constitution of a unitary government and the reconstruction of the German Empire, out of the will and right of the nation, thus making the Emperor William to have been and to be but the organ to execute the popular will. But while attempting to establish such a right, a principle is announced and maintained which can form no treaty with those who are princes by divine right—that is, the principle of popular sovereignty. It is just this principle to which the maxims and traditions of the Prussian royal house are most decidedly opposed. King William, at the coronation at Königsberg, declared that the sovereigns of Prussia received their crowns from God's table, that this is the meaning of kingly power by God's grace, and that herein lies the sacredness of the unimpeachable crown.

If we still further consider the peculiar situation brought about by the establishment of the North German Confederation, and the later reconstruction of the German Empire after the war with France, both for those favorable to union and the separatists of the non-Prussian States, we shall perceive that the monarchical sentiment could not be strengthened thereby, since the unionists lost their loyalty towards the hereditary native prince whom they were attempting to set aside, and the separatists mistrusted and sought to reduce the right of the German Emperor. So it came to pass that the war of 1866 and the events connected with it made capital for the spirit of the democracy.

The credit and influence of the various Christian churches in Germany are deeply shaken, by the natural progress of events and developments and other causes. The Protestant Church appears at present as if at the point of dying out. Since the rise of rationalism in its theology, and under the influence of the philosophical and scientific ideas of the time, the educated circles have more and more turned away from it. The defection from Christianity, and indeed from religion itself, had already at the end of the last and opening of the present century made such progress, that Schleiermacher ventured only with reserve in his "Discourses on Religion" to address himself to the educated among its despisers, and by a wholly pantheistic explanation of the nature of religion to secure for it still a degree of respect and recognition. The union between the Lutheran and Reformed churches effected by a Prussian Cabinet decree—a union which would indeed have horrified the founders

of these religious parties—inflicted a death-blow upon the regard which had been cherished in the hearts of the lower classes for church doctrines ; for now it became evident that the church with its doctrines did not stand upon firm and sacred ground, but was controlled by political considerations and princely caprices, and even degraded to the rank of a tool for the purposes of the state and the police. The whole truth of the church doctrines must in this way become suspected. Gradually the criticism of the Protestant theology placed the genuineness of the original evangelical records in doubt, and thus removed the foundation of the Protestant Church as accepted and firmly held in the Bible. And when now, again, in this extremity, there was found a middle party in theology, which successfully contested the extreme views and inferences of the Tübingen school, and by earnest and honest inquiry sought to secure the historical germ of biblical literature and open a way for reconciling the educated classes with the Christian views of philosophy, this party is still not able to accept the Bible as an incorrupt and sure fountain of divine revelation, and so offer to the people a firm security for their religious views and hopes. It promotes only personal religious feeling, and so contributes to the dissolution of all ecclesiastical communion. Neither has its creature, the Protestant Union, therefore, had any special success : the number of its adherents is constantly declining, and its contributions are so pitifully small as scarcely to cover its most pressing needs. Where the preachers of this tendency stand in the pulpit, the churches are sadly empty ; for if the people are left quite free to shape their religious creed according to their sense of need, the centrifugal tendency becomes overwhelming. The Prussian Government has simply in the Protestant Union and its clerical adherents one perpetual source of trouble. When, indeed, Government recently adorned itself with the halo of liberalism, the Liberals properly demanded that it favor this free religious tendency ; they demanded the confirming and naming of preachers who declare the evangelical history, or at least the most of it, a myth. In its dilemma between these demands and the opposition of the party of a positive faith, the Prussian Government plays no enviable, but, on the contrary, a degrading part. Though there are still in Germany countries and provinces where at least the rural population possess an honest belief in Christ, yet they are constantly losing this belief under the influence of contact with city life, and with the free-thinking literature which is everywhere circulated. In cities with a Protestant population it has widely become a standing

complaint that the number of unbaptized children, and of marriages and burials without the aid of a clergyman, is ever on the increase. In Berlin, the Socialist Most need not to have prosecuted his wild and blundering agitation for a separation from the state church, since this separation, though indeed without noise, is nevertheless constantly and in an ever-swelling procession taking place. The new Prussian ecclesiastical laws have themselves thrown the gates wide open for all those who desire to leave the church. The Emperor William was indeed right when with urgent words he pointed out the need of cherishing the religious sentiment of the people; but from whom at this time shall a new mission of the religious spirit go forth? Where are the forces and means for keeping up its well-nigh extinguished light, or kindling a new and brighter one? Does the Roman Catholic Church perhaps still possess the strength to solve this problem? Will that Ultramontane prediction, uttered at the expulsion of the Jesuits from the German Empire, perchance be fulfilled—that they will in a few years be recalled to Berlin?

Certainly the Roman Catholic appears stronger than the Protestant Church in Germany. As the former is more democratic in form than the latter, and a better feeling towards it exists in the popular mind, so it still maintains an unbroken dominion over great masses. It has not been injured in the contest of reform, but has rather by the power of resistance to the state which it has developed won the admiration and respect of its enemies, who have been taught thereby that this church is a moral power of the first rank, with which every government and political party must settle its accounts. We learn at this hour from the mouth of the most violent reformers of yesterday that it is time to make peace with Rome. The Chancellor of the German Empire himself, who has for years been striving against all hints of this kind from the Court at Berlin, appears now to have become of this opinion. Those would deceive themselves, however, who should ascribe to the Catholic Church alone all the power of resistance which it has shown in the contest with the Imperial and Prussian governments; under its flag have been gathered all the opposing elements of the empire—Prussia's irreconcilable enemies in her Rhenish provinces, the irritated Particularists, the Democrats, and even the Socialists. These all recognized in Rome their leader against the consolidated and despotic military state. One thing further: the brutal stupidity of the Prussian bureaucracy, which, in ignorance and sovereign contempt of its enemy, thought to dispose of him by the summary

process of a corporal's staff, achieved nothing but to produce supreme disgust of the whole matter, even in those who acknowledged and represented the government in this contest. If the Pope should really triumph in this struggle—and this he will do if the Imperial Government shall in any way yield to the Court of Rome the right of a voice in the imperial legislation; for this would limit the independence and sovereignty of the empire—still this triumph of the papacy would be by no means equivalent to a renewal of its strength and religious authority in Germany; for, as in the whole social life of the time, so also inside the sphere of German Catholicism, the alienation from the church and from Christianity itself is widespread, and no plan can be formed to check its further progress. The sacrifice of the intellect (*sacrificio dell' intelletto*) which the Jesuit order has enjoined is a desperate measure, which is daily becoming more distasteful to our people. Up to the second half of the present century, efforts were in progress within the field of Catholic theology for reconciling the faith with the knowledge, the dogmatic teaching with the scientific thought, of the time. A succession of systems of a Catholic philosophy arose, which found in the doctrine of the church profound ideas, which were indeed acceptable to the reason, and maintained an intellectual connection between the church and educated Catholics. Without regard to Rome, a freer and more ideal view of Catholicism made its appearance, and even theologians were thoughtless and simple enough to hope for the approval of the Roman Court. The condemnation of Hermes by the Holy See in 1835 should have opened their eyes. But the intolerant spirit of Rome revealed itself without disguise after the revolution of 1848. Then were inaugurated new measures by so-called Catholic philosophers, and also by free-thinking theologians; then the scholastic philosophy, and especially the "*Summa Theologiæ*," of Thomas Aquinas, was declared the only expression of Catholic philosophical ideas, and the panacea for the errors, doubts, and negations of the time; then was issued in the *Syllabus* a severe condemnation of every kind of liberalism; and finally the proclamation of the dogma of Papal Infallibility sealed the reaction of Rome against the freer action of intellect both inside and outside of Catholicism. The strengthening of the papal authority is but one thing in the constitution of the church effected by the Vatican Council; the decrees of this body contributed in other respects to give to the disaffection towards the Catholic Church a wider and mightier

impulse. From its bosom withdrew an opposition which in a latent state had long been present there—Old Catholicism,¹ which declared the new dogmas a corruption of the old doctrine of the church, and in a sharp controversy, carried on with great historical learning, accumulating its reproaches against the Romish system, and holding up before it with a bitter indiscriminateness the mirror of the past, sought to bring discredit upon it, both in its scientific and its moral aspects. All Germany followed the contest with breathless attention and increasing interest. It seemed to involve nothing less than the renouncement by the German Catholics of their allegiance to Rome, and the constituting of a new German national church, in which the true spirit of the Gospel and of the ancient church should have a resurrection, and become a new and active leaven in the present state of religious decay. The Prussian Government was too late in identifying itself with this movement, and when it did so, sustained it by feeble and pitiful measures. Other German governments were dilatory and reserved in their positions, acting only on the defensive against Rome's excesses. The leaders of the Old Catholic movement showed both in oral and written efforts an untiring activity; but they could not remove the stone which obstructed their way. The Roman Catholic clergy as a body stood firm with the Papal See, and soon succeeded in making the new dogmas plausible in the eyes of the people, and in making them distrustful of Old Catholicism. In the circles of the educated Catholics religious indifference and opposition to Christianity in general both arrayed themselves against its dissemination. The liberal Catholics, indeed, felt pleased to see the storm beating against the rock of St. Peter, and gladly joined in the crusade against the priesthood; but they were too enlightened and too far advanced in their ideas to unite in constituting a German National Church. And, in fact, Darwinism is both the secret and the open creed of the higher classes; when David Strauss in his last publication frankly accepted this as the foundation of the new faith, a cordial assent came from all sides. Christianity and religion were declared to be vanquished, and from such an intellectual height Old Catholicism was greeted with a smile of derision for its half-way action. Thus this has been able as yet to produce but slender results; the contests and exertions of its leaders and

¹ Dr. Huber is himself the popular leader of this movement in Bavaria, and ten years before this time his work on "The Philosophy of the Church Fathers" had been placed on the list of books prohibited by the Pope.—ED.

authors have hitherto chiefly served only the cause of religious skepticism and negation.

To these religious parties which arose within the ecclesiastical communions came from without the critical science of the day, especially natural science, questioning the last and highest convictions of faith as to God, freedom, and immortality, and making religion the birth of ignorance and terror, and Christianity an imposture and an institution for stupefying and enslaving humanity. A formal atheistic propagandism was opened ; many of our learned men began the spread of materialism as a business—as, for instance, Carl Vogt, who went from city to city in Germany, in order, by his lectures on the original history of man, to expel religious superstition, and thereby raise the means to procure for himself a splendid country-seat on the Lake of Geneva. In this way, Ludwig Büchner, Moleschott, Feuerbach, and finally Ernest Haeckel, have been and are still enlightening the people ; and what these hatch out, our Liberal and Socialistic press repeats to its readers. One of the most widely-circulated illustrated sheets, the famed *Gartenlaube*, published in Leipsic, carries this illumination into every family, and is already poisoning the minds of our daughters with it. Instead of religion, hitherto the chief source of the common people's ideas and the support of their morality, these philosophers of the study, such as Strauss, recommend that they employ themselves upon our literary and musical classics, as if enjoyment could be gained from these works without a higher culture, and as if such culture could be secured without larger material resources than our laboring classes possess. Nothing is too high for our German philosophers' theories ! Our misfortune is that we can no longer enjoy religious thought in the form in which the church offers it, and can procure no other ; that in the shattering of this form the substance itself is to the majority lost, and thus follows an entire absence of all religion, nay, a materialistic utilitarianism, to which all thought of whatever kind is but an illusion. Already our youth breathe this spirit as a miasma pervading the air.

The great and righteous principles of liberalism—freedom of speech and the pen, the right of association, the universal right of direct ballot, and the like—became weapons for the agitation of Socialistic ideas, and have been forwarded by the liberal social legislation which has begun since the founding of the North German Confederation. In this the Liberal party has pressed the

demands of natural right and of freedom to their extremest consequences. The undoubted right of each man to live by his labor required freedom of business and migration.¹ But as business became free, our burgher class must lose its stability ; for every day it receives new accessions from the fourth class, and every day some fall from it into this latter class. The burgher class has become fluctuating, it is daily receiving new elements, and so can no longer support definite political and social ideas, nor can governments hereafter reckon upon it. It is in no respect any longer a firm foundation ; it is fickle as drifting sand. When Ludwig Bamberger thought himself justified in predicting that the burgher class had before it a future as the support of political liberalism in Germany, he was mired in a peculiar fanaticism and an entire ignorance of what was transpiring before his own eyes. The so-called third class is becoming with each day more difficult to distinguish : it is being dissolved in the large proprietors and the lowest class ; for the small manufacturers can not compete with the great industries which are forcing forward their business and its products. Germany scarcely any longer possesses a respectable hereditary nobility ; the spiritual aristocracy, since the secularizations, has also died out, and it will soon also lose its ancient burghers, or middle class ; and it becomes a question then where the monarchy can successfully seek its supports.

The freedom of the prosecution of business brings with it a rapid transition from one kind of pursuit and enterprise to another ; for whoever does not succeed in his first undertaking makes trial of a second. The spirit of wild speculation in this way is set free and spread abroad. He who fails of support from the trade he has learned, becomes shop-keeper, inn-keeper, or trader. Thus ale-houses are multiplied in Germany, and in the sad inclination of the Germans to drink, these furnish also the allurements to debauch. Small trade is not favorable to the promotion of honest industry. As each may gain his support from any legally permitted trade or occupation, so the pursuit of a business can no longer be connected with an examination ; for who could stand

¹ The right to carry on business in Germany has until recently been inherited or purchased. This has been one of the most difficult questions for German governments to deal with, for in making business free, they rendered valueless the concessions which they had sold, and which had been transmitted from father to son. So, also, no one had a right without permission to remove from the place of his birth to any other.—ED.

such a one for all kinds of business pursuits? The want of any claim for performance from the laborer, who wishes to be independent, must affect unfavorably his technical education; everywhere with us there are complaints that labor is not well performed. Indeed, the emancipation which liberalism has wrought reaches even down to apprentices, who learn from the very beginning to confound freedom with reckless disregard of all obligation. Our legislation has finally made the various business pursuits free, which, viewed in relation to the public morality, awakens the most serious apprehensions.

The right to found families¹ is conceded in the most liberal manner, but by this encouragement is given to thoughtless and hasty marriages, and distress is invited by increasing the proletary class, to grow up without the restraints of morality and become a charge to the parish.

Freedom of migration, the necessary correlate of freedom of business, crowds together in the great cities the gypsy-like masses, entices the rural laboring forces from the country into the city, and by reducing these, raises the price of rural labor and of the necessities of life. These new-comers into the cities seek an employment as little laborious as possible; the female portion of them soon overstock the market for servants, and increase the contingent of prostitution. If the population of the cities reduced to rags return to the country, they do not help to establish good morals, but rather with their love of pleasure and their vices infect the peasants also, who, becoming wanton and indolent, incur indebtedness, in which condition the repeal of the usury laws throws them defenceless into the hands of unscrupulous speculators. As our burgher class is falling asunder, so our peasant class is threatened, bankrupt sales have been for years increasing, and the large and magnificent farming establishments are being broken up.

Since 1866 the power of the National Liberal party has been on the increase, and has given itself out as the government party. Although it was not quite of the view of the Imperial Chancellor in relation to internal politics, he needed its aid in behalf of his national projects; for it was this party which everywhere combated the separatists and supported the unity of the empire.

¹ Until quite recently, a great portion of the lower classes could not obtain permission to marry, but they anticipated this relation, and multiplied an illegitimate offspring almost without restraint. It remains to be seen whether Dr. Huber's apprehensions are finally to be realized.—ED.

That Bismarck would shake it off when he could no longer use it, was doubted by no one who would but bear in mind the past political career of this mighty man. But the Liberal party diligently employed every moment of their day of power; they procured a series of laws in their own spirit, and especially in the province of economy and finance they brought their principles into force. Bismarck even declared himself a dilettante in financial matters, and left this report entirely in the hands of Delbrück, who in turn received his instructions from a member of the Manchester party. The Manchester theory passed for an infallible canon; capital and enterprise should be emancipated, every possible liberty should be allowed in trade and the transmission of goods. "While the charters of the gambling banks were repealed," says Otto Glagau, "and attempts made to set aside the state lottery as immoral and dangerous to the common weal, M. Michaelis was defending 'on scientific grounds' the speculations on margin in stocks and produce, and stock-gambling; and the pockets of the German people were allowed to be robbed of hundreds of millions by exchange swindle." The law in regard to stock companies proved to be especially corrupting; for it favored those great and corrupt foundations by which numberless families in Germany have been robbed of their property. Unfortunately the prominent leaders of the various political parties participated in these foul transactions. In 1870-73, there sat among the 432 members of the Prussian House of Delegates about 80 of the founders—that is, original bondholders and counsellors together; and in 1870-78 there were in the Prussian and Imperial parliaments together nearly 300 delegates who had a hand in these foundations. Otto Glagau, doubtless under the inspiration of the former "familiar spirit"¹ of Prince Bismarck, the now disaffected Von Wagner, has laid bare the colossal orgies of this swindle, and, so far as I can perceive, not one of those attacked has been able as yet to produce any real defense. The Imperial Government took the swindle under its protection so far as this, that M. Von Camphausen advertised the state loans, and thereby urged capital, which was becoming free, to seek investment in these foundations, which the press pompously proclaimed and praised. There was still a part of the war indemnification and the invalid fund of 183,000,000 thalers invested in bad stocks. When now the inevitable crash came, not only

¹ In the German text the Latin phrase "*spiritus familiaris*" is used.—TRANSLATOR.

were hitherto affluent families impoverished, but the spare pfenning of many an industrious laborer were gone. The speculators had amassed great fortunes over-night, but faith in the sacredness of property received from these events a violent shock, if not its death-blow. During the period of inflation there was abundance of work at high wages. Our laborers were pleasure-seeking, insolent, and indolent ; and when the intoxication was over they had accustomed themselves to higher living, and in the returning distress must suffer from dejection and revolutionary sentiments. For five years a fearful crisis has been devastating Germany, and we can not as yet foresee its end. The French milliards, thanks to the free-trade system, have long since gone abroad, commerce and industry are crippled, and the loss of capital by the stock companies and other swindles is estimated at 1,500,000,000 to 2,000,000,000 thalers—a sum greater than the French war indemnity. In addition to this, we are oppressed by the burden of a military system, which swallows up four fifths of all the revenues of the state, and which Moltke supposes must be borne for half a century to come.

Under these circumstances it takes no spirit of dark and exaggerated foreboding to look for the outbreak of a fearful revolution. Bismarck himself seems to have been seized with this fear, and to have been moved thereby to a sudden change of policy.

As elsewhere, so also in Germany, Socialism first appeared in plans of good and honest systems of finance. In the last century, the philosopher J. G. Fichte led off in this direction. In his "Foundation of Natural Right" he declared it man's inalienable property that he be able to live, and demanded therefore from the state the right of labor. The state must see to it that to the right of one part of the citizens to prepare certain work should correspond the obligation of the other part to purchase the products of this labor ; for to him who could not live by his labor would not be left the enjoyment of his own absolute property—that is, his life—and he would thenceforth not be obligated to acknowledge the property of any other man, since the contract of the state to secure to every one his own property had been violated. In order, then, that this insecurity of property through him may not arise, all must in such case of right and in pursuance of the citizens' contract give of their own to this man until he should be able to live. From the instant at which any one begins to suffer need, that part of another's property which may be requisite to rescue him from that need belongs no

more to himself, but to the sufferer. The poor citizen has an absolute and enforcible right to his support. Fichte further demands from the state that it provide a sufficient amount of the necessities of life, keep up the right relation of production and consumption, and tolerate no idlers. In his work entitled "The Closed Commercial State"¹ (1800), he drew a detailed picture of his imaginary "Reason State,"² in which he gives to each, together with the needed material basis of life, also the possibility of developing his mental nature. These views were so little understood that they did not even awaken the anxiety of the judicial authorities. As the principles of natural law run into Socialism, so in the treatment of this theme by other German philosophers it could not but be that socialistic ideas should have been examined by them, as occurs in the "Philosophy of Right" by Ahrens, and the "Ethics" of the younger Fichte.

After the July revolution of 1830, Germans began to give their attention to the socialistic systems and efforts in France. Heine, who, living in Paris, saw this movement right about him, apprehended it at once in all its earnestness, and expected from it violent catastrophes for the future. German journeymen who served in France and in Paris, and had there become acquainted with the doctrines of Cabet and other Socialists, sowed them here and there in the minds of our laboring class. Socialism has since 1840 been more active in Switzerland, where Weitling, the tailor of Magdeburg, offered the prospect of a solution of all the social difficulties in the forming of a universal laborers' association, without state, church, individual property, difference of rank, nationality, or country. By the writing of short articles, as well as by the founding of a multitude of laborers' unions, he effected such a rising against the ruling and proprietary classes that the authorities took measures for placing the agitator for a time in prison, and finally banished him. Also in North Germany, where, since the founding of the Customs Union,³ a great industrial activity had risen, and wrought a change in productive resources, concentrating laborers there in masses, socialistic ideas began, although without clearness or intensity, to be mooted among the laborers. In 1845, Carl Grün, who in Paris had stood in intimate relations with Proudhon, published his letters and studies on "The Social Movement in France and Belgium;" and finally Lorenz Stein opened in his larger

¹ "Der geschlossene Handelsstaat."

² "Vernunftstaat."

³ Zollverein.

works on the history of the social movement in France (1848-1850) a more perfect insight into the socialistic tendencies, and an understanding of those problems of the science of the state and of society which had hitherto been overlooked.

In the mean time, scholars among the Germans themselves, of Hegel's philosophical school, especially Karl Marx and Fred-eric Engels, went over to the socialistic camp. Marx, born at Treves in 1818, of Jewish parents, devoted himself to a wide range of studies in the province of jurisprudence, political economy, history, and philosophy, and was early won over by intercourse with the French Socialists to their ideas. Exiled from both Germany and France, he labored for a time in Brussels and then in London, where he took up his permanent residence, and in 1848 published in connection with Engels the work "On the Condition of the Laboring Classes in England"—a gloomy, though not an exaggerated, picture of the real facts. Marx had but the year before published a polemic work against Proudhon's "Philosophy of Misery,"¹ under the title of "Misery of Philosophy,"² in which he gave expression to a new materialistic exposition of history, the common discovery of himself and Engels. Engels and Marx had renounced Hegel's idealism, and with it the principle of the original and absolute idea developing itself in nature and history, and also the doctrine of final causes in history. Not the "why" but only the "whence" of events should be inquired after; and it would turn out that the final cause which conditions every thing is to be sought in the material supports of life of the successive epochs. From this idea the whole range of human culture, state, society, science, art, and religion should in the last instance be derived; the question should be simply how the men of an age can render the material offered them subservient to the purposes of life; in *one* word: "Every thing depends," says Marx, "upon material production and the distribution of its results. The system on which the material life is sustained is the condition of the whole process of life, social, political, and intellectual. It is not the consciousness of man which controls his existence, but, on the contrary, his social existence which controls his consciousness." From this point of view all history is construed as a conflict of classes, and the classes themselves as resulting from the systems of production and com-

¹ "Philosophie de la Misère."

² "Misère de la Philosophie."

merce. Marx and Engels both sought to make good this view by various articles and essays, among which the work of the former entitled "The 18 of Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" (1852), and of the latter that entitled "Study of the German Peasant War," are of most importance. The most prominent and important work which Marx and Engels undertook in common is their "Manifest of the Communists," published in 1848. In this they give the great outline features of their philosophy of history from the days of the middle-age slavery to those of present contrasts of class and property, and attempt to show that each epoch, the present as well as others, begets and educates its own destroyers. According to this exposition, our current relations and the whole present dominion of the burghers are pressing on to complete the contrast between a few millionaires and millions of overtaxed and disinherited proletarians. But such a contrast can not remain: it must lead to a dispossession of the former proprietors, and the founding of the social-democratic state. The triumph of Socialism is therefore only a question of time.

The political revolution of 1848 in Germany was originated and carried on chiefly by the burgher class; the proletarians took part, indeed, as they were able, but without as yet thinking of their own interests. The red spectre appeared first in the June fight of 1848 upon the barricades of Paris, but even in the distance this filled our burgher class with so deep a concern that they provided a strong civil and military power as a protection of property, and began to praise the reaction and shape themselves to it. It was then that Professor Victor Aimé Huber appeared in Germany. He was a nobleman, possessed of a warm sympathy with the oppressed and needy. He took up the social question while traveling in France, Belgium, and England, where he observed the condition of laborers, and whatever he found here in aims and methods which promised usefulness he commended for imitation by German capitalists and laborers. He called the special attention of the latter to the principle of association, which was then working so benignly in England. He at the same time urged a care for Christian morality among the laborers—a matter which by other and later social reformers has been rather thrown into the lumber-room. On the Catholic side, Catholic journeymen's unions were everywhere founded and maintained, in which Kolping especially won distinction; but in these unions the question was less in regard to a material im-

provement of the condition of laborers, than in regard to leading and preserving them in the discipline and duties of the church.

The great material prosperity in production and commerce which arose in Prussia after the Crimean war encouraged the burgher class to new political action. The Liberal party, which for some time had taken little part in the elections of district and parish, now renewed their activity, at first by informing the masses of the people by means of instructive lectures regarding all the provinces of human knowledge, striving to enlist them in the war against political and ecclesiastical servitude. With the beginning of the regency of the prince of Prussia in 1858, Liberalism finally gained the upper hand, succeeded in the Prussian House of Delegates again in maintaining its majority, and, having moderated its claims, constituted in 1861 the Party of Progress, and soon brought the government into straits. In 1862 the king placed Bismarck at the head of government, and, doubtless with reference to the great political end which was afterwards realized, prosecuted the increase and reorganization of the army. The Party of Progress opposed these demands, and a military conflict ensued. They demanded that the king dissolve the ministry and form one from their ranks. Numerous addresses and deputations from all parts of the land supported the Party of Progress, and especially the great mercantile class stood firmly by it. But Bismarck was not the man to be frightened ; he knew how to help himself without the intervention of the people. In this contest of the liberal burgher class with the government it seemed as if the laboring population might become important. The Progress party at least attempted at once to attach this element to them ; and Bismarck, certainly not without an eye to making the government independent of the burgher class, issued the decree giving the universal direct right of suffrage for members of the Imperial Parliament.

Hitherto the German laborers had stood aloof from politics ; now they were supposed to have received overtures for enlistment in the Liberal army. But still they were only to act the part of volunteer servants, not that of equals in the Liberal camp. For when in 1862 they demanded admission to the National Union, they were told that they could become members without taxation, indeed, but also without voice. The laborers expressed their thanks for the honor, but kept out of the union.

Schultze-Delitsch, born in 1808, who had been subjected to governmental proceedings on account of his action in 1848, and had

long occupied himself with the social question, formed the bond of union between the laborers and the Party of Progress. He offered himself as their social saviour, and attempted to open their way to a better future by forming unions of various kinds. He established credit and advance unions, in order to collect capital which might be loaned to small business establishments ; raw-material unions, to procure at low prices the raw materials for small manufactures ; shop unions, for the common sale of the labor products of the members ; consumption, savings, and sick Bureaus, and health-restoring societies, for the procuring of cheaper medicines and medical attendance ; and finally, at the instance of Lassalle, productive associations. His darling child, however, appeared in the laborers'-culture unions, in which special attention was given to liberal politics and finance and to religious enlightenment, in which also other subjects of natural science and literary history were discussed. Schultze's activity was begun without further thought or deeper insight into the social problem, and had respect only to the small manufacturers, paying little or no attention to the lowest manufacturing and agricultural classes. The reproach against him was just—that he was only somewhat prolonging the agony of the class engaged in small business.

At first Schultze demanded nothing from the state but to hold itself towards the action of society and the commerce of life according to the principles of the Manchester theory. There should be free competition, all financial barriers should be removed, there should be unconditional freedom of industry, trade, migration, the press, association, etc. "Let go," was Schultze's financial watchword. The state should simply guarantee to all the free use of their powers, it could not help the laborer in a financial way : equality before the law ; a distribution of burdens, which should be as equal, just, and easy as possible ; the greatest attainable economy of the nation's resources ; and elevation of the common schools, by which the greatest good of the laborer might be procured—these the state could and should secure. But it could not solve the labor question, since financial evil must be met with financial weapons. The solution of the problem could begin only with the physical, mental, and moral culture of the laboring class itself. *Self-help* by culture and association was the solution by which Schultze hoped to accomplish his mission of social blessing. As

¹ "Laissez aller."

the reward of their political good behavior, Schultze held out to the laborers the future concession of universal suffrage.

The union of the laborers with the Party of Progress caused Lassalle's perpetual break with the latter.

Ferdinand Lassalle, the son of the rich Jewish merchant Lasal, was born at Breslau in 1825. He changed his name to Lassalle. Having no liking for the destined mercantile calling, he devoted himself to learned studies, and by his splendid gifts in a short time made rich acquisitions in philology, philosophy, and historical jurisprudence. In 1845 he came at Paris into the circle of the Socialists; and Heine, who then made his acquaintance, could not withhold an expression of the admiration with which he was smitten by the rare utterance and energy in a letter from this man. In 1849, while living in an independent private position at Düsseldorf, as champion of Count Hatzfeldt, he was occupied in organizing an armed resistance to the Prussian Government, which the National Assembly in Berlin had dissolved. Brought before the assizes in Düsseldorf, he defended himself and effected his acquittal. In his defensive speech he confessed that he was already an adherent of the Social Democratic Republic, and represented himself as a sworn enemy of the Prussian authority. "Many administrations," he said on this occasion, "have employed arbitrary power, and while they thrust the sword in our breast they still exclaim, 'This is justice.' And so it is—*Prussian* justice." Brandis, the Danish literary historian, has sketched a flattering picture of Lassalle's heroism, in which he makes of him the appropriate remark: "There was something of a Cæsar in this young man, whom uneasy burghers are said to have regarded as a Cataline. He was formed for power, he was stamped as a ruler; and as he was not born a prince or nobleman, but a child of the middle class and of a down-trodden race, so he became a thinker, a democrat, and an agitator, that he might in this way reach an element for which he was formed." By Humboldt's mediation, Lassalle was permitted to return to Berlin, which had been forbidden him, where he lived by turns in the excesses of a noisy youth and in earnest scientific labors. One fruit of the latter was a work in two volumes, "On the Philosophy of Heraclitus, the Unintelligible" (1857), in which he very learnedly and acutely treated one of the most difficult chapters of the Greek philosophy. As a pupil of J. G. Fichte and Hegel, he never deserted his masters; he remained true to the idealistic teleological pantheism which he had applied

in his exposition of history. In 1859, during the Italian war, when Prussia was pressed to take the field for Austria against France, he published his work entitled "The Italian War and Prussia's Position: a Voice from the Democracy," in which he showed from a people's right of internal self-government its right to pursue an independent foreign policy, justified the spirit of special nationality, and on this ground defended Italy's right of self-organization. In the separation of Italy from Austria—and according to his view that of Hungary would also follow—he recognized an event favorable to the restoration of the German Empire, and on this ground warned Prussia against espousing the cause of Austria. He thought that if a Frederic the Great occupied the throne of Prussia he would at once invade Austria and proclaim the German Empire, for "the German imperial crown," he said, "was again lying in the street." In his work, also in two volumes, entitled "The System of Acquired Rights: a Reconciliation of Positive and Philosophical Right" (1861), Lassalle touched upon the question of the foundation of right, and made the present mind of a people identical with just and moral views of the legitimate principle of legislation. If, then, a nation's conceptions are transformed, its legislative organ has the full right without indemnification to annul all constitutions and property titles. As in the North American Union slavery was abolished by a law of Congress, and that, too, without indemnifying the slaveholders, so also in relation to every historical right, views having been changed, the same could be rightly done, even to the abolition of private property, without indemnification, by legislative enactment.

In 1862, Lassalle delivered a lecture in Berlin on constitutions, in which he defined the constitution as the statutory expression of the existing power, and represented constitutional questions as questions of power and not of right, for which view he was applauded by the governmental party. He immediately produced the drama "Francis of Sickingen," which has no poetic merit, and is interesting only because the author utters in it his own political and social ideas, and draws his own picture in Ulrich von Hutten.

Lassalle had adopted entire Fichte's democratic views of German nationality and union: in his speech at the Fichte celebration of 1862, on the "Philosophy of Fichte and the Import of the German National Spirit," he represented it as the characteristic peculiarity of the German popular spirit to be original, and to produce

from itself a definite historical existence ; to create out of a common mental culture, secured by self-activity, a free and united Germany. As Fichte in his system regards the mind as the originator of all external existence, he is the most German of all philosophers.

Among those who at that time shared most largely in the friendship and views of Lassalle was Lothaire Buchner, now the confidential counselor of Prince Bismarck. Together with Buchner, he produced the pamphlet against the historian of German literature, Julian Schmidt, who became a kind of oracle for the burgher class, and exposed this author's great shallowness and shameless ignorance of history, as shown, for instance, in his regarding the "Sachsenspiegel" as a collection of mediæval myths and poems.

In his speech of April, 1862, on the "Connection of the Present Historical Period with the Idea of the Laboring Class," Lassalle attracted the attention of this class to himself. Here he expounded his philosophy of history, which connects itself with the ideas of Marx, and in the political and social development of the Christian period enumerates large landholding, movable property, and finally labor, as the successive holders of dominion ; suggesting that this last period began with the French revolution of February, 1848, which secured universal suffrage, and that this fourth class is distinguished from the nobles and citizens in that it does not pursue an interest antagonistic to the idea of the state, but its own interest agrees perfectly with that of a civilized state, and therefore with the progress of civilization and humanity.

With the philosophers Kant, Fichte, and Hegel, Lassalle also held that ethical idea of the civilized state according to which it should make the material and moral welfare of the subjects its end, and must therefore attain to the results of Socialism. "The purpose of the state," says he, "is not to protect the individual in his personal liberty and property, but, by the uniting of all the powers of the individuals, to enable them to gain such ends and reach such a stage of progress as would be impossible to the individual alone ; in other words, to secure an aggregate of culture, power, and freedom which could never be attained to by the body acting as individuals. The purpose, therefore, is to bring humanity to a positive and advancing development ; or to actualize the culture of which the race is capable—the education and progress of the human race towards freedom."

From this view he gained conclusive evidence that the state

may not regard with indifference the social struggle for existence in the competition of property and forces, in which millions of its subjects physically and mentally perish ; but must employ its power in this contest, and construct an order of society in which each can secure the right to an existence worthy of humanity. And so exclaimed Lassalle to the laborers : " Your cause is the cause of all men. You are in that happy state, that what forms your true personal interest beats in harmony with the throbbing pulse of history, with the life-principle which propels moral development. You can, therefore, resign yourselves with personal passion into the hands of historical development, and be sure that you will but stand more firmly there as this passion shall become more hot and consuming in your purely developed minds. . . . You are the rock upon which the church of the present time is to be built."

Such words could not but exert a kindling force upon the laborers. The government was not unaware of the danger from this agitator ; but if he should be beset with processes, it knew that he would by his passionate eloquence turn these into triumphs for himself and his cause, and even into occasions for propagating his ideas. To be convinced of this, one has but to read his forensic speech on " Science and the Laborers," in which he portrays a new epoch springing from the alliance of the prominent spirits of the nation with the healthy spirit of the laborer, and his utterance, so rich in statistics hitherto almost unknown, on the " Indirect Tax and the Laboring Classes," in which he attempts to show that pauperism in Prussia has unsuspected dimensions, and that the proletary class, although shamefully abridged of its right of suffrage by the division into three classes, has nevertheless to make by far the largest contribution to the state budget.

In 1863, when the German laborers were occupied with the plan of a general congress, in which were to be considered the questions of free industry, free migration, associations, and in general Schultze's ideas of reform, some laborers from Leipsic applied to Lassalle for his views of the social question. He answered, March 1st of the same year, in an open letter, in which he declared all the relief measures proposed by the Liberal party to be inadequate, and proposed in their place more radical ones. This letter was a declaration of war ; in it Lassalle recommended to the laborers to appear as an independent political party, and make universal and direct suffrage their chief watchword and banner. The laborers must strive for representation in the legislative body, and finally gain the majority ;

then they would be able legally to provide for their own interests. A powerful agitation in harmony with law must therefore be inaugurated at once for this purpose. "If universal suffrage is gained," said he, "then the social revolution comes in our time of itself, either in a perfectly legal way, with all the blessings of peace, if there should be the wisdom to accept this in time, and from the highest to the lowest—or, otherwise, it will in due time break in upon us amid violent convulsions, with hair wildly waving, and with brazen sandals upon its feet." Lassalle then discusses the "brazen financial law," which under the given circumstances fatally fixes the pay of labor by the supply and demand, and which consists in keeping the price of labor the very lowest that will maintain and perpetuate a people's life in harmony with their habits. Only transiently can the pay of labor rise above this point, because a rise will multiply laborers, and then, by the increased supply of labor, its price will fall; nor can it either remain permanently below this point, for in that case the laboring population would perish, and a smaller force must be better paid. So then, as the laborer can save nothing, it is better that he accustom himself to a better living, since he really needs this, and thus he will in the end compel an increase of pay.

Lassalle's thoughts on social organization may be summed up as follows: The laboring class should set up business for themselves, and thus save the employer's profits, or, in other words, receive the full value of their labor. This is possible only by founding producers' associations. But as the laborers in their penury could not establish these, since it requires capital or credit to obtain buildings, machinery, tools, and raw material, so the state should take them into its arms, procure for them the needed credit, by securing to the creditors of these associations the payment of the interest on their capital, as it has done in case of numerous railroad enterprises of the burgher class. This is the import of Lassalle's much mooted "state help." Further, Lassalle thought that the state, without playing dictator to these companies, should have the right of statutory approval, and so far control their business as to secure its own interest. For the beginning, perhaps, a hundred million thalers would be enough. The production associations should then gradually take in all their hired laborers, and all the companies should form among themselves a credit assurance. The relation of production and consumption should be controlled by the state, and overproduction prevented. This principle should be applied not only

to the industrial and manufacturing, but also to the rural laborers, and to all the villagers. Lassalle attempted to make it plausible that such an organization would win over the lower class of burghers and public servants. He thought that if his plan should be realized, it would so change the world that in fifty years it would not be recognized as the same world. Still this did not solve the social question : it was but a preparation for its solution.

Lassalle had interviews with Bismarck, who did not then shut himself up on the vital question, but was even open to experiments in it. Either because he became better informed as to Bismarck's political processes of thought, or because of his own deeper insight into the necessary course of political development in Germany, in his defense of March 12th, 1864, in which, having been arraigned for designing by agitating the question of universal suffrage to overthrow the constitution, he justified himself, Lassalle made the following declaration—at which, however, his judges doubtless shook their heads in incredulity : “ Now, gentlemen, although I am but a private man, I can say to you, it is not only my design to overthrow the constitution, but perhaps not another year will pass before I shall have overthrown it. Not another year perhaps will pass, and universal suffrage will be granted. Great games, gentlemen, can be played ; the cards are upon the table. That is the strongest diplomacy which needs not to shroud its plans in secrecy, since they are founded in brazen necessity. And so I proclaim to you in this solemn place : ‘ Perhaps not another year will transpire, and Herr von Bismarck will have played the rôle of Robert Peel and proclaimed universal and direct suffrage. ’ ”

After his answer to the Leipsic laborers, Lassalle began that course of agitation for which he was formed by nature. Indeed, his person, tall, slender, and pale-faced, was attractive. In the opening of his speeches he wandered and even stammered, but when the inspiration seized and impelled him, he unfolded a powerful rhetoric, which placed at his command not only the right word, but that one which was most forcible and pregnant in meaning. He never appeared, indeed, quite unprepared, but in the direct and responsive address before the court, and in defense against attack, he exhibited great power of unstudied eloquence. It was really a herculean labor into which he now threw himself. His health, besides having been undermined by free living in his youth, would not, as his physicians said, have borne many years longer his great exertions. At first he founded the Universal German Laborers’

Union, and was at once elected its president for five years. He made it his duty to deliver addresses everywhere, to conduct a large correspondence, to keep his eye upon events on every side, constantly to teach the newly-won members of the party, and gather them in harmony around him. To this were added a feverish literary activity—from 1862 to 1864 he wrote twenty works—and a perpetual conflict with the courts, in which he had to defend his own freedom. When, with all his efforts, his cause did not succeed to his wish, hours of bitter depression lowered over him. Still, as between his adherents and those without, he did not allow these feelings to be observed, but, on the contrary, appeared hopeful and contented. He had some time before projected a great work under the title of "Outlines of a Scientific National Economy," for which he had doubtless made some preparation. This seems now to have been realized in part in the work entitled "M. Bastiat-Schultze, the Economical Julian; or, Capital and Labor." Here Lassalle brought out, together with the telling blows of his polemic sledgehammer directed against Schultze, a series of financial views, and showed himself in these to be of the school of Marx. Capital, property, and the rights of inheritance and the family he designates as historical categories, *i.e.*, as institutions which rise and fall at the bidding of history. He maintained that capital originates in labor not paid for, or in deductions from the pay. His wish in appearing as canvasser in this cause was to make labor independent of this income of the capitalist, and to prevent the constant increase of labor by others than the capitalist himself. Capital is pre-eminently money. Its source is the physical and mental labor of man; the capitalist, however, puts but a part of the proceeds of the labor of others into his pocket. Lassalle regards with infinite derision the idea of the burgher finance, that the savings are foundations of capital. He also attempted to break the force of the doctrine that the interest of capital is the reward of mental labor. The whole idea of the state as held by Schultze and his followers he called the "Night-watchman idea," because it made it the duty of the state merely to guard against violence and robbery. And in an appendix to this work, entitled "Melancholy Meditations," a merited verdict was pronounced against our Liberal commonalty, who no longer read our great thinkers and poets, but profess to supply their daily need of thought from the liberal press, and in this way, sinking down into idiocy, pass against themselves sentence of extinction. He hoped, however, in the future to quicken the slow

movement of the laborers' battalion, now struggling for a renewal of the state and the elevation of the national mind.

In 1863, in a journey in the Rhenish provinces, which he designates as his army review, Lassalle enjoyed a brief intoxication of fortune. Laborers followed him by thousands, and crowded around his tribune. The stars shone still more brilliantly upon him in the spring of 1864, when he again made the tour of this same section, where the laborers received him as their Messiah, with serenades, triumphal arches, inscriptions, and infinite jubilation. When on the 23d of May he delivered his address in Ronsdorf, he stood upon the pinnacle of his effective power. While he referred to the fact that laborers, scholars, bishops, and even King William himself—who had promised a deputation of Silesian weavers direct help out of their distress—had become witnesses for the truth of his doctrine, he could at the same time cast off care for himself and his cause, which feeling appears also in the closing words of his address. "However strong *one* may be," said he, "placed face to face with a certain degree of exasperation, he is lost. This disturbs me little. I have, as ye may well think, not seized this banner without distinctly foreseeing that personally I may perish as the result. The feelings which penetrate me at the thought that I may be put out of the way in person I can not better express than in the words of the Roman poet: 'Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor!'—in English, 'If I shall be put out of the way, may some avenger and successor arise from my bones!' May this mighty national movement in the interests of civilization not perish with me! May the conflagration which I have kindled spread wider and wider, so long as a single one of you breathes! Make me this promise, and, as a sign of it, raise your right hands." In about three months from this time Lassalle was a corpse. His death awakened the most painful sensation in the circles of his adherents, who celebrated his funeral solemnities with fanatical grief, deified him, and placed him on a level with the founder of the Christian religion.

In Lassalle, German Socialism remained national patriotism; this form was to be changed under the influence of Marx and the Internationals.

A few weeks after Lassalle's death, on the 28th of September, occurred the public meeting of English, French, Germans, Italians, and Poles in St. Martin's Hall in London, which then became the birthplace of the Internationals. Here the laborers discussed

their political and social interests ; on all sides were uttered the same complaints and wishes, and the founding of an International Association for the furtherance of the common purposes was determined. The central council, afterwards called the general council, composed of various nationalities, and having its seat in London, was chosen ; it was to take in hand the work of founding and carrying on the International Association, and for this purpose to prepare an inaugural address and a draft of statutes. Mazzini and his party, who would not engage in the war of the classes, made the strongest opposition ; Karl Marx, however, knew how to break the force of this, and to him the task of preparing this inaugural and the draft of statutes was confided.

In the former he began with a statistical and historical representation of the distress of the laboring classes in the United Kingdom of Great Britain, and drew in bold outline a horrible picture. He showed how fabulously the income of the nation had increased since 1842, without, however, bringing any advantage to the proletary class, which had only become more miserable. Labor developed to national dimensions could alone bring deliverance to the laboring class, and this end must be attained by means furnished by the state, and these could come into the hands of the laborers only when they gained political power. They possessed an element of success in their great numbers, but " numbers," said he, " weigh heavy in the scale only when united and employed for a conscious purpose. Therefore, proletarians of all lands, unite."

The statutes were accepted by the first International Congress at Geneva in 1866 ; they proposed to effect a firm and universal organization of the laboring classes of both hemispheres. At the head of the association was placed a general council simply as an *executive* ; the legislative organ is the general congress. Every member had for the year 1867 to pay thirty centimes (six cents), thereafter ten centimes (two cents) yearly, into the treasury ; in addition, however, other sums, which might be considerable, found their way to the treasuries of the various branches in which the International was grouped ; there were also special collections.

In 1867, Marx published the first volume of his widely circulated work entitled " Capital : Critic of Political Economy." This book is deemed the scientific justification of Socialism ; it combines religious, political, and social radicalism. Marx, as to his philosophy, is a materialist. " With me," says he, " the ideal is simply matter transformed and translated in the human head."

Religion he explains as opium for the people. As Proudhon had once flung out the words, "Property is theft" ("La propriété c'est le vol"), so Marx attempted scientifically to show in his book, by expounding the history of the formation of the great capitals in England, that capital has been accumulated by declaring dividends on human beings, by violence and trickery—that is, by immoral and illegal measures—and is still so accumulated.

The first part of the work is occupied with an abstract and logical discussion of the idea and origin of capital in general. According to this, capital arises by the employer's obtaining labor cheaper and selling it dearer than its actual value, and then pocketing the difference. The starving proletarian has no wares but his power to labor, and this he sells at the cost of production, that is, for the nourishment necessary for acquiring and perpetuating this power. The employer seeks to lengthen the day, and so make the laborer expend more of his strength than his pay will reproduce. The owner of money goes ahead as capitalist, the owner of laborers follows as his laborer, the one pompously smiling and full of business, the other shy and reluctant, as if he had carried his own hide to market and had to wait for nothing but to have it curried.

So from unpaid labor, from dividends declared on human beings, the gains and riches of employers arise.

Then in the second part the history of the rise of capital, especially as it took place in England, is continued, and an attempt made to prove historically that the great landholding in England grew up by the plunder of the church property and state domains, and the annexation of the free parish lands, and therefore by unjust seizures—always to the injury of the peasantry; that then the great money capital grew up by declaring increasing dividends upon the laboring force of the breadless peasantry, in connection with the great industry carried on by machinery. Thus the fate of the laborer grew worse to that degree that he must now, in order to live, throw his whole family into the factory, sell his wife and children to it, and become a slaveholder. In this way arose also the relative over-population, the male population, by the employment of women and children in the factories, becoming redundant, and so emigrating. Hence the excess of women in England. If the city industry should exhaust and annihilate the laborer, the great industry would become dangerous to agriculture, as it would extinguish the peasantry and substitute hired labor, and not only this, but would exhaust the soil also. Then the great production

would become a vampire, which would exhaust and destroy the two sources of wealth, nay of human existence itself—the laboring power of man and the soil.

In his third part Marx sketches from state documents the statistics of suffering in England, portrays the physical and moral degeneracy of the factory and farm laborers, and maintains that this appalling state of things is sanctioned and confirmed by legislation, which proceeds from property-owners, and says: “Capital comes into existence bleeding from head to foot and dropping with filth.” Looking to the future, he thinks he can give assurance that the present system of society will annihilate itself, and put the socialistic state in its place.

“The great industries absorb the small, and the small property of the many passes over to the hands of the few; one capitalist kills another; capitalists become fewer, but larger; at the same time servitude and misery increase, as does also the rising of the laboring class, the number of which is ever on the increase, united, organized, and, by the mechanical process of production, better schooled. Finally the proprietary rights of those who have seized the property of others will be vacated; the property of the individual will be re-established, and that too upon the basis of conquest made by the modern system of production. A union of free laborers is taking place, which the soil and the productive resources procured by labor possess in common.

Whether this regeneration shall be peaceably or forcibly effected, depends upon circumstances. Marx only says: “Force is the midwife of each old social system when about to be delivered of a new one;” and as the American War of Independence in the eighteenth century sounded the alarm-bell for the European middle class, so has the American civil war of the nineteenth century sounded this alarm for the laboring class of Europe.

The International has held its congresses since 1866, but in those at the Hague in 1872, and at Geneva in 1873, grave differences arose. There was complaint of the autocratic power exercised by the general council, and by Marx in that council; in England, Belgium, Italy, Spain, and Switzerland, entire auxiliary bodies withdrew. At the Hague, Marx succeeded in quieting the storm. In his speech on this occasion, the passage is worthy of note in which he says that perhaps in America, England, and Holland the laboring classes may peaceably gain their end, but that in most of the Continental countries appeal must at the proper time be made to force.

Marx, for the quieting of the mutinous parties, withdrew from the general council, and the seat of this was transferred to New York, under the plea that America was pre-eminently the laborer's world, since half a million laborers emigrate thither yearly, and the International must thrive in a soil where laborers rule.

In the congress of 1873 at Geneva, two parties of the Internationals were arrayed in opposition—the adherents of Marx and the secessionists. They held separate meetings, and the latter determined no longer to be governed by the general council, to transfer the care of their interests to the social democratic parties of the several countries, and to keep up and govern the connection of the whole social democratic laboring class by an international correspondence—that is, they gave to the Internationals, in place of their united monarchical form, that of a federative anarchy. Since this separation, the Internationals, especially as governments have labored to check their spread, have constantly diminished in numbers; but the spread of the spirit of the social democracy has not suffered thereby. The question is not as to the numbers of members on their lists, but as to the number of men who inwardly favor these revolutionary ideas. In the day of bloody decision, thousands may gather around the red flag who had till then passed for good citizens of the state.

Of Marx's action as official head of the Internationals there remains the one important point to be noticed, that the plan of himself and his associates evidently went so far, immediately after the revolution of 1870 in Paris, as to excite socialistic insurrections in nearly all the countries of Europe, and, while the German troops were in France, to proclaim the Commune in the great cities of Germany. As this did not succeed, Marx perceived the hopelessness of a socialistic insurrection in Paris, and opposed the Commune. So it can not be maintained that this was a work of the Internationals, though in its council sat some of their members. The Commune was a spontaneous product springing from the bosom of the intensely revolutionary Parisian population, to which foreign elements were attracted. Revolutionary agents played but a secondary part. After the overthrow of the Commune, Marx issued, in the name of the General Council in London, an address to the International Laborers' Association, on "The Civil War in France," one of the most remarkable documents of modern history, in which he showed himself familiar with the most secret working of this

movement, so that it might seem as if he had his spies in princes' cabinets, ministers' councils, and police bureaus.

Upon the movement of the German laborers the greatest hopes of both Marx and Engels were hung ; the latter, after the parliamentary elections of the empire in 1874, could not withhold the declaration that this success of the German Social Democracy stood alone in the history of modern laborers' movements, and perfectly justified the astonishment which it had called forth in Europe.

After Lassalle's death the German laborers' unions formed by him had to struggle with adverse fortunes. The number of their members had scarcely reached 3000 in Lassalle's time, and now from the want of a prominent leader and the consequent want of union in the party, and still further from the great political events in progress, it seemed as if the union itself was near its dissolution. As presidents, Bernard Becker, Tölke, and Perl were successively elected—men quite incapable, against whom Countess Hatzfeld, unwilling that her friend's work should perish, was constantly intriguing, either because they were not sufficiently obedient to her, or because they were led by other motives than the interests of the movement. So it came in the end to what might be called a female branch of Lassalle's organization, governed by the creatures of the countess. In 1867, the party obtained again in Schweitzer, who, by the publication of the *Social Democrat* (since 1865), had won great notoriety, a leader of ability. What may have moved this scion of a patrician family of Frankfort to assume this task, is not clear. His earlier efforts had been rather in poetry than in politics. Perhaps, as a bloated sensualist, who had defiled himself by unnatural vices, he desired to find new excitement for his blunted nerves. His enemies among the Social Democrats suspected him to be a paid agent of Bismarck to bring the laborers over to the side of the Prussian Government ; and indeed Schweitzer openly accepted the principles of Bismarck's policy. He also won great desert from the party by restoring strict discipline and thorough organization. It was doubtless he who saved it from dissolution and preserved it to a better time, which indeed came with the concession of universal suffrage. Schweitzer was already in 1867 a candidate for Elberfeld and Barmen in the election to the constitutional parliament of the North German Confederation, and received against Bismarck nearly 5000 votes. In the indecisive election which followed, the Socialists gave their votes to Bismarck in gratitude for their new elective right ; but as he did not accept, it

came to a third election, in which Gneist was opposed to Schweitzer, and the latter received 8000 votes. In September of the same year, however, the latter, elected in the same district by nearly 9000 votes, took his seat in the North German Parliament ; with him sat these six others, if not yet openly so declared, yet members really of the socialist party—Reinicke, Foersterling, Bebel, Liebknecht, Mende, and Hasenclever. To the place of the first Fritzsche soon succeeded. Further, the Socialists obtained significant minorities in several electoral districts ; their candidates received in all 40,000 votes, although the union had scarcely over 3000 enrolled members.

With the forming of the North German Confederation fell away a series of restrictions which had hitherto embarrassed financial life. Free emigration set the masses of laborers in motion, and led them to the cities. Strikes began. Schweitzer, however, although opposed by Marx, because he resisted the tendencies of the Internationals, and desired to hold the Social Democracy in the way of national patriotism, labored indefatigably to establish his party firmly in Berlin. Liebknecht, who had hitherto given himself out only as a strong enemy to Prussia, and a separatist democrat, and who had suffered hard treatment from the Prussian Government, stood, with Marx and the Internationals, aloof from Schweitzer, and sought first of all in secret to agitate. He succeeded in winning the machinist Bebel, who was much respected, possessed great weight of influence among the Germans, and had at first opposed Lassalle and Socialism itself, not only for these, but for the Internationals. At the meeting of the German (not yet socialistic, but progressive) Laborers' Union, held in Nüremberg in 1867, Bebel, who had been made chairman of the union committee, carried through the acceptance of the programme of the Internationals, and led over thousands of the members of the union into the socialistic camp. The assembly declared that the social question could be solved only by the attainment of political power, and that this could be conquered only through the International Association. The minority withdrew. In order to break Schweitzer's opposition, his political integrity was subjected to suspicion, in which Liebknecht was especially active, but Schweitzer avenged himself by representing his opposers as the hirelings of exiled German princes. In the congress at Eisenach in 1868, the Social Democratic party of laborers was formed under the lead of Bebel and Liebknecht, and the *Volkstaat* was founded as its official organ.

Adherents of Schweitzer appeared in order to break up the congress, but they were simply placed outside the door. From this time forward, Lassalle's Universal German Laborers' Union rapidly declined. Schweitzer himself who had begun to make concessions to the Internationals, perceived that he could no longer hold his party together, and resigned his presidency the last of June, 1871; to his place Hasenclever succeeded, who then started and edited the *New Social Democrat* as the organ of the union.

The opposition of the two socialistic labor parties could not continue, since the two were one in the principles, and where class enmity was preached, the national distinctions in regard to the social question of proprietors and non-proprietors must yield. The socialists of all nations have common interests and a common enemy—capital; while directing their attacks against this, all national differences vanish. Even Schweitzer reminded the laborers that their struggle could be successful only in case they allied themselves with their fellows in other lands.

The new socialistic party had a less monarchical constitution; over it was a committee of five, which conducted its affairs, under the oversight of a commission of control composed of eleven members. The seat of the committee was to be at Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, that of the commission at Hamburg. In order to escape the meshes of the union statutes, the party established no local unions, but the members of the party in every place assemble upon the basis of the right of assembly, and elect their representative to collect the contributions. Above all, the party undertook the founding of companies in which the carrying on of business was the pretense, the propagation of Socialism the motive.

The great events of 1870 crippled the movements of Socialism; the laborers of North Germany shared largely in the national inspiration; those of Central and South Germany, who expected little good from Prussia's triumphs, were more indifferent. After the overthrow of the French Empire there arose in the ranks of the German Socialists strong sympathies with the new republic proclaimed from Paris, and these led even to an open demand that a peace as favorable as possible should be made with France, and that Alsace-Lorraine should not be annexed, since the war was with Napoleon, and not with the French people. Upon this manifestation the governor-general, Vogel of Falkenstein, had the prominent members of the socialistic party in North Germany arrested for high treason; this occurred in Saxony with Bebel, Liebknecht, and

Hepner. The last-named was acquitted, the other two sentenced to several years' imprisonment. The North German leaders came off lightly. The two sections of the socialistic party, by their defense and praise of the Commune of Paris, awakened general repugnance.

With the year 1871 the movement began to rise again, and in a few years assumed fearful dimensions. In the elections in the empire in 1871, the Socialists polled 140,000 votes ; in 1874, 350,000 ; in 1877, 550,000. The number of Socialist electors might have been expected, in consequence of the reactions against the party, to be reduced in the elections of July and August, 1878 ; still, in spite of the energy with which the police and the employers have worked against Socialism, there has been no falling off in Berlin, where in the last election the number of their votes was 31,000—that is, nearly doubled. In 1874, the Berlin police, and the states-attorney, Tessendorf, inaugurated a persecution of the Socialists : their unions were definitively closed for Prussia ; their labor unions, which were either proved or supposed to have a connection with the Social Democratic party, were suppressed ; the houses of the leaders were searched, and various kinds of vexations were set in motion. The only result was, that the two sections of the party, driven by a common persecution, forgot their differences, and finally, in the Congress at Gotha in 1875, constituted and organized the Socialistic Labor Party of Germany. The programme which was determined upon by this meeting was as follows :

“ 1. Labor is the source of all wealth and all culture, and as productive labor is possible only in and through society, so the proceeds of labor belong without reduction and with equal right to all the members of society.

“ In the society of the present day the capitalists monopolize the control of labor, and the dependence of the laboring class produced thereby is the cause of misery and servitude in all their forms. In order to make labor free, its control and regulation, with the distribution of its proceeds, must become the common property of society. The work of setting labor free belongs to the laboring class, which, relatively to all other classes, is but a reactionary mass. The laboring class works for its own freedom chiefly within the bounds of states as they now exist, conscious, however, that the necessary result of their effort, which is common to the laborers of all civilized lands, will be an international fraternization.

“ 2. Starting out from these principles, the German Labor Party

labors to secure the free state and the socialistic organization of society, the abolition of the wages-system with its brazen wages law, and the dividend system in every form, and the removal of all social and political inequality."

And now the party make financial and political demands in order to prepare the way for the solution of the social question. As financial, they lay the greatest stress upon the founding of productive associations, with state aid, under the democratic control of the laboring people. These associations are designed to call industry and agriculture into life to such extent, that from them shall arise the socialistic organization of all labor.

The political demands are : Universal, direct, and secret suffrage for all men from the age of twenty-one years, for all elections in state and parish ; direct legislation by the people, with the right of proposing and rejecting ; universal military duty and defense by the militia instead of a standing army ; decisions as to war and peace by a representation of the people ; the repeal of discriminating laws, especially those relating to the press, associations, and assemblies ; judicial decisions by the people, and gratuitous administration of justice ; universal and equal popular education by the state, with forced attendance at school and instruction free ; freedom of science and of conscience ; finally, one graduated income-tax for state and parish instead of the present, and especially the indirect, tax.

Finally, in order to protect the laboring class against the power of capital in the society of the day, it was further demanded that there should be freedom of forming companies, a normal day of labor, and no Sunday labor ; that the labor of women should be limited, and that of children forbidden ; oversight by the state of industry, whether carried on in factories or at home ; a regulation of prison labor, and an effective prison law.

The new organization of the union provided again a presidency of five persons, who should reside at the same place, and a commission of control of seven members, with like restriction as to residence. The first president receives for his labor 65 thalers monthly, his representative 15, each of the two secretaries 50, and the treasurer 35 thalers. As first president Hasenclever was elected, and as a new party organ *The Advance* (*Vorwärts*) was established by a union of the *New Social Democrat* and the *Volksstaat*.

It is now time to take a view of the institutions of Schultze-Delitsch. The Party of Progress did not cease to meddle with the

solution of the social question ; the problem only changed somewhat its form, the party no longer organizing its battalions of laborers against the government, but against Socialism itself. Especially in this respect, in addition to Schultze, the Berlin booksellers Duncker and Max Hirsch distinguished themselves. The former of these applied himself to the founding of associations, and by his published reports the impression of considerable success and constant progress of the work is made. The report for the year 1875, although it could not but open with complaints of the pressure of the present financial crisis, shows the forming of about 4700 companies in Germany and Austria, of which 294 were productive companies for manufactures and agriculture. The number of members is estimated at 1,360,000 ; the amount of the business done by these associations is put at 2,600,000,000, and the amount of capital collected by them in reserve shares is given at 160,000,000 to 170,000,000 marks.

This sounds exceedingly well ; but it is a pity that the political spirit in these associations is not that of Herr Schultze, but chiefly that of the Social Democracy. Nor do all the unions reported belong even nominally to the " general system of German industrial and financial self-aid associations," under the lead of Schultze, but only 1150 of them. It comes to this, that all these organizations are nothing but a preparation for the socialistic state, since they carry out the principle of association, and attempt nothing but the accomplishment of socialistic ideas—that is, the emancipation of labor from capital. The production associations, in which the laborers are at the same time the managers, are decidedly socialistic ; and as Schultze, although with a scowl, went on to establish such, and remarked indeed that 60,000 to 100,000 thalers had been placed in his hands by wealthy people for this purpose, he himself passed over to Lassalle's position—that is, to the principle that the social question is to be solved by means of production associations, with help from outside. As he had from the beginning made universal direct suffrage a part of his programme, all distinction between him and his opposers become gradually imperceptible. In order to prepare the way for more effective socialistic progress than Schultze's labors had achieved, some members of the Party of Progress conceived the thought of transplanting the English trades-unions into Germany, thinking that they might thereby cherish and promote their own interests, as the English do, rather by a firm alliance of laborers in the same branches of industry, than by politi-

cal power and intrigue. Duncker sent young Dr. Max Hirsch to England to study the organization and history of these unions ; soon after Brentano published a thorough work on this subject.

Before Hirsch's return, Schweitzer had decided to organize such unions under his party, and as in September, 1868, he held in Berlin a great meeting for this purpose, Hirsch and his associates must look on and see the whole idea seized and turned against Socialism. Still the Progress party took strong hold of the work, and had good success in the outset. All the associations formed entered into the alliance of the German unions with a central council at the head, and an annual meeting for legislative purposes. Schweitzer also arranged for the centralization of his formations. The first movement in the undertaking of the Progress party was the strike which it provoked on the 1st of December, 1869, among the miners at Waldenburg, in which the laborers gained nothing, and the employers found new ground for suspicion. But since 1871 a decided decline has appeared in this movement. Soon the miners under Hirsch's lead did not number two thousand members, and now, Duncker having failed and withdrawn from the work, Hirsch has become a laughingstock, and their adherents will soon need to be sought with Diogenes' lantern. In the very beginning the *Volksstaat* tauntingly remarked that these unions were only drilling grounds or fields for their manœuvres, upon which the soldiers of Socialism received their training. And this is indeed true.

In the meantime Schultze-Delitsch began to make addresses, as Lassalle had done. In commending the unions, he expressed himself in a meeting of laborers in Berlin in January, 1869, as follows : " This wrong exists, that a small minority of laborers live from their sweat—still labor has not its just reward. The laborers must appear in close ranks as a power to force the elevation of their social position ; for whoever has power, political as well as financial, will never voluntarily part with it, and will vacate a place by his side only for those who likewise show that they have the power to live. Therefore, gentlemen, discipline and organize yourselves ; for only when you feel yourselves shoulder to shoulder are you a power to which all classes of society will pay the tribute of recognition." Max Hirsch also expressed himself in the same manner. In the meeting of the Hirsch-Dunckler unions in the matter of the distress in Berlin, on the 18th of February, 1877, he declared that the self-help of the laborers in the present stress was quite impossible, and therefore the state and commune were bound to come to their

aid; that the Imperial Government, too, was bound earnestly to consider the industrial future of Germany, as it had since the war entirely neglected industrial interests, and applied the milliards to financial gambling.

After the Party of Progress, with Schultze-Delitsch as fore-runner, had in such manner prepared and extended Socialism in Germany, we need not wonder that the government press, and the *North German Allgemeine Zeitung* at its head, fell upon it and charged it with producing the revolutionary spirit in the German laboring classes. In the last elections, Max Hirsch, who had represented a Berlin district in the Imperial Parliament, was not re-elected. Schultze, on the contrary, after receiving a gratuity of 50,000 thalers for his solution of the social question, stands as attorney for the alliance of his unions, and receives for this the yearly sum of 2400 thalers. He has at least in the forming of his unions made the best speculation for himself.

In course of this year the court preachers and pastors of Berlin began the forming of a Christian social party, which has as yet, however, had little success, and has awakened the scorn, not only of the Socialists, who think it does not go far enough, and who wish no longer to know any thing of religious principles, but also the opposition and apprehension of the wealthy burghers, because it brings out dangerous doctrines on the question of property. Christianity and royalty are the two dogmas of the new party which must not be questioned, from which two it hopes for the happy termination of the present crisis.

The two attempts upon the life of the Emperor William, which took place in quick succession, called forth in every part of Germany horror and shuddering. When even the sacred person of the valiant and venerable emperor is no longer safe against the daring hand of the abject, an abyss of depravity is revealed which had not as yet been suspected, and a fear is awakened that our whole morality and culture may be swallowed up. The judgment was rashly formed that the attempts were the work of socialistic conspiracy, and as rashly the Imperial Government, by laying before the parliament the draft of a statute discriminating against the Socialists, notified them of their annihilation. As is well known, the majority of parliament did not concur in the view of the government, in accordance with which not only the Socialists but also still other matters should be yielded to its discretionary power; and so Prince Bismarck, who had long desired to procure for his

reactionary plans of internal policy a new and strong party in parliament, replied by its dissolution. Whether the new election will effect his purposes remains to be known. Socialism will no more be put down by force than was Ultramontaniam so put down. A connection of the two assassins with the Socialists is not yet confirmed. All that has as yet been disseminated in this regard is made up of the unscrupulous lies of the reptile press. The present Minister of the Interior, Count Eulenburg, expressed to a prominent South German member of the Imperial Parliament, that so far as any judicial investigations had as yet disclosed in regard to Nobeling, there was no thread leading to Socialism or to the Internationals. Hödel and Nobeling are phenomena which grow up not unfrequently from the bog of the present society, poisoned as it is throughout with materialism and nihilism; both these men were utterly hollow and bankrupt of all ideal views and principles, defiling with the sneer of cold scorn every thing which men deem sacred, each, however, with the impress of the social circle to which he belonged. These people, by whom life and death are valued alike—that is, at zero—are not affected by any horror. Whoever will exercise such atrocities as were committed by these knaves must first of all see to it that the German people be not bereft, as for years past they have been, of their religious morality.

Socialism numbers adherents of a more or less decided type in the German learned world. Feuerbach has gone over to it formally; three of our most influential modern philosophers, F. A. Lange, Hartmann, and Dühring, border upon it. Especially, however, has a very recent tendency among our younger national economists decidedly broken with the doctrines of the Manchester school, and declared itself for the interference of the state in the social and financial movement. Indeed, a few of them have let fall intimations as to the necessity of a reform of the institution of property, the advantage of an abolition of private property in the soil, and a transfer of the same to the parish or state. This tendency, to which Oppenheim has given the name of Catheder Socialists,¹ have formed a society of their own for social reform, and held congresses to which Bismarck himself has sent representatives. As the most prominent of the Catheder Socialists may be named Adolph Wagner, of Berlin, the only professor of political economy

¹ This may be interpreted to mean Socialists of the professor's chair—perhaps a sarcasm, on its being confined to scholastic teaching.

in the university there, and held in high esteem by the government ; and L. Brentano in Breslau, Rösler in Rostock, Schmoller in Strasburg, Schönberg in Freiburg in Breisgau, Held in Bonn, Scheel in Berlin, and others. Especially, however, Schaffle, the late Austrian Minister, occupies a position very closely approaching socialism.

The authors of the Socialistic party may be divided into various ranks. Marx and Engels belong to the first rank ; next following these are Liebknecht, Leopold Jacoby, Stamm, Dulk, Douay, and Bernard Becker, all of whom are men of classical training. For a short time the party has had two scientific reviews—the *Zukunft* (*Future*) and the *Gesellschaft* (*Society*), in which a long line of hitherto unknown writers, some of them also graduates, share the labor. Of the lowest rank, as to their literary productions, are T. Most, Blos, Bebel, Hillmann, Klemich, Schramm, Geyser, Rohleder, Brocke, Sack, T. P. Becker, and others. One of the most interesting phenomena, however, is Dietzgau, a thrifty tanner, who with much skill labors upon articles on philosophical subjects. The above-named writers occupy themselves chiefly with the discussion of political, financial, social, philosophical, educational, and religious themes, as those also of natural science ; but there come forth out of the bosom of the party also poets, such as Schweitzer, Walster, Schweichel, Geib, Hasselmann, Hasenclever, Klaper, and others. There is already in Germany a socialistic literature in romances and novels, and socialistic dramatic and lyric poetry. The latter were indeed preceded by Heine, Herwegh, Freiligrath, and Strodttmann ; but these masters are not at all in demand among the Socialists now, but instead of their poetic feeling and ideal thought, revolutionary feeling reigns, rising even to a sickening pathos. T. P. Becker's rhymes, entitled "New Hours of Devotion," are but a prosaic and cynical sneer at Christian doctrine. Following the lead of Marx and Engels, the whole body of German Socialism has attached itself to the so-called realistic or materialistic view of the world, according to which blind forces without teleological determination work in the universe, the world springing from chaos returns to chaos again, mind is but a function of the brain, freedom and immortality a delusion, and all morality is without any fixed laws, which remain everywhere and always in force. The collection of poems which Most has published has this couplet :

“Only a vagabond will humbly own
There is a God—with word and pen.”

The entire negation with which our science meets the religious systems and theistic conceptions of the universe has penetrated the lowest strata of society, and produced here a barren nihilism. The party almanacs are worthy of note: the “People’s Almanac” and the “Poor Conrad” are published perhaps in editions of 50,000 copies, in which, instead of the apocryphal saints, are placed the names of the great men of the revolution, of science and of invention, and which are stuck full of radical aphorisms. In 1869 there were six Social Democratic papers; now they spring up as mushrooms from the earth, and though they often have but an ephemeral existence, they may now be put at fifty. Doubtless 100,000 copies of these journals are struck off, which find perhaps five times that number of readers, as they are handed from one to another. The illustrated journal, *Die Neue Welt* (*The New World*), which had the last year 17,000 subscribers, had already in its second year risen to 35,000. One thing I must say to the praise of the whole daily socialistic press—it has been careful to preserve the spirit of decency, and has kept itself free from all obscene stories and advertisements, of which the Liberal papers are full. The central organ is the *Vorwärts*, already mentioned, with 12,000 subscribers; the most versatile and best written journal of the party is the *Berlin Free Press*, behind the nominal editorial staff of which stand a file of collaborators belonging to the higher circles of culture. The smaller pamphlets, especially those of Lassalle, are disseminated by hundreds of thousands. The office of the *Vorwärts* sends out about 150,000 party publications, and the catalogue of Brocke’s bookstore at Brunswick contains a great number of these.

At the Congress in Gotha in 1876, Auer made a report in regard to the state of the agitation. At that time the party had, according to this report, 68 paid and 77 unpaid lecturers circulating throughout Germany, and holding meetings with the attendance of the masses. In their own educational courses at Hamburg and Berlin, young and talented laborers have been instructed in the doctrines of Socialism and rhetorically trained. Even into the circle of the women the movement has forced its way: in Hamburg the women

¹ “Der ist ein Lump, der eines Gottes Namen,
In Wort und Schrift demüthig anerkennt.”

The dignity of the translation is quite equal to that of the original.

have a union of their own, and in Berlin Mesdames Hahn and Stägemann have presided at meetings of women, which brought to mind similar occurrences of the days of the Commune of Paris. In the *Berlin Free Press* it was recently stated that in addition to the nearly 115,000 men belonging to the socialistic ranks of that city were also 5000 women. We do not inquire how much of truth there is in this statement, but it is certain that the capital of the German Empire is quite undermined by Socialism. When, during the present year, on two occasions socialistic funeral processions with 15,000 to 20,000 people in attendance moved through the streets of Berlin, even the most unconcerned of the burgher Philistines felt an uncomfortable dread, as if in the presence of great catastrophes now coming upon them, from which there was no escape.

The historian Sybel says, at the close of an essay on Socialism, that it requires all the exertions of human wisdom and love to ward off the danger with which it now threatens the interests of society and of culture.

JOHANNES HUBER.

SOISY SOUS ETIOLLES, August 19, 1878.

Y^E POET HYS EPITAPH.

THYNKE not of mee,
that I am in y^e graue, and this foole's hande
that graspt a scribblynge quille hath fallen to duste
beneath y^e rotted tissue of a shroude.
Catch thou y^e daie! go laughynge thro' y^e lande,
whiles y^e sunne shines for thee; recke not of cloude
nor storm; ne deem y^e worm that gnaws mee must
revell one daie in thee!

Not for mine eye
y^e paynted imagery of a poet's brain,
drawne in thy daie by some new lord of songe;
Not for mine ear y^e harmonys to break
in unborn yeares from Musicke's conynge trayne;
Albeit if aught of mine hath liued to wake
a chaunce response thy reveries among,
Contente mine ashes lye.

J. WASTIE GREEN.

AFTER SPECIE RESUMPTION—WHAT?

TWO months hence the Secretary of the Treasury will be required by law to redeem in coin the legal-tender notes of the United States commonly called greenbacks, at the office of the Assistant Treasurer in New York, when presented in sums not less than fifty dollars. In the way of preparation the Secretary has on hand about \$140,000,000 of gold,¹ or more than 40 per cent of the existing legal-tender notes. The gold premium is now only one half of one per cent, and the balance of trade with foreign countries is still heavily in our favor, showing an excess of \$289,629,154 of exports over imports of merchandise during the twelve months ending August 31st.

Meanwhile there has been placed upon the statute-book a law making 412½ grains of coined silver a dollar, and requiring the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase and coin enough silver every month to produce at least two millions of such dollars. He is not required to make any particular use of these dollars, but he is at liberty to use them as he uses any other legal-tender coin. He may use them, so far as they will go, for the redemption of greenbacks; he may pile them up in the Treasury vaults; he may pay the interest on the public debt with them; he may use them for the purchase of silver bullion to make more dollars of the same kind; and after the 1st of January, if not before, he may pay them out for all warrants drawn upon the Treasury—that is, for salaries, pensions, services, and supplies of every description. These dollars in the hands of the public are legal tender within the United States for all purposes whatsoever.

This bill, which was passed under stress of high excitement and in spite of the Presidential veto, was the most mischievous piece of

¹ The Treasury balance-sheet for October 1st shows coin on hand, less coin liabilities, \$176,338,696, but included in this sum is \$64,552,503, "deposits held by national bank depositories." As this is three times the amount of coin actually reported by the banks of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia as being in their vaults on the same date, it probably consists of promises to pay gold on the part of the institutions which are selling the 4 per cent bonds—being merely a matter of book-keeping between the banks and the Treasury.

legislation that could have been devised to embarrass and jeopardize the intended resumption of specie payments. Without it the 1st of January would find us with an enormous stock of gold, with no export demand for it, and with practically no gold premium—that is, no incentive to any body to draw coin from the Treasury. All the conditions of resumption would be fulfilled—the greenbacks, the bank-notes, and the bank deposits being all resolvable into gold at the option of the holder or the depositor. What will be the state of things with the Silver Bill in operation?

The revenue and the expenditures of the government, the outgo and the income, are intended to be equal to each other, and may therefore be cast out of the reckoning at present. Then we have the government in the attitude of a debtor owing \$346,000,000 in demand notes, holding \$140,000,000 of gold coin and \$12,000,000 of silver coin, and required (as the law now stands) to reissue the notes as fast as they are redeemed. The gold coin is worth for purposes of foreign trade, say, 14 per cent more than the silver coin, but there is at present no use for either kind of coin for foreign trade, it being more profitable to export wheat, cotton, petroleum, etc., for that purpose. The remaining element is the peremptory requirement of law that the government shall purchase and coin enough silver bullion to make at least two millions of silver dollars per month. Beginning with a capital of two millions, the coin resulting from the first month's operations may be used to buy enough for the second month and two hundred thousand dollars more, and so on—the coined dollar being worth as legal-tender more than its equivalent weight of bullion.

Resumption now begins, and the Secretary of the Treasury is prepared to pay gold or silver. If he is wise he will give the public—*i.e.*, the note-holders—the option of taking either gold or silver. Otherwise he will discredit himself and provoke a run, and establish a premium in favor of the metal most in demand. The public having the option of gold or silver will prefer gold on account of its greater convenience, and because they have more confidence in its stability of value. But they may not immediately, or very soon, desire any great quantity of either metal. Nevertheless the holders of greenbacks will keep a sleepless watch upon the operations of the mint and the effect of such operations upon the government's gold reserve.

Twelve millions of silver dollars, or twenty millions as the case may be on the 1st of January, is a small matter in the aggregate

resources of the government. Nevertheless it amounts to one tenth of the coin on hand, and has the peculiar property of increasing at a certain fixed rate. What is worse, it increases at the expense of the gold reserve, operating upon it

“ Like a mildewed ear,
Blasting his wholesome brother.”

Beginning with a capital of two millions, as already stated, the Treasury purchases and coins that number of silver dollars. It then buys silver bullion with the resulting coin, and the coin immediately comes back into the Treasury in the payment of duties. Why does it not stay out? Because it is an inconvenient article—something not wanted by the public if they can possibly get on without it. It is as good to pay duties with as any thing else, but not as good for any other commercial purpose. Consequently it flows directly back to the Treasury, and will continue to do so after resumption exactly as before. Whenever the Treasury takes in a silver dollar it loses a gold dollar, because in the absence of silver the duties would be paid wholly in gold. The disbursements, whether for redemption of greenbacks or for interest on the public debt, will be exclusively of gold, unless the Treasury itself claims and exercises the option of paying silver, in which case a premium on gold will be at once established and a run incited. Therefore it is a question of months merely how long gold resumption can be maintained if the process above described continues. Long before the gold reserve is exhausted in the natural way the holders of greenbacks will take fright and draw out the remainder, leaving the Treasury nothing but silver for future disbursements. How soon the drain will begin can be determined only by experiment.

Is there no way to avert this unhappy climax? International action for a common ratio between silver and gold has been sought and has completely failed. It is customary to say that the Paris Conference resulted in nothing; but it really made an end of bi-metalism and the double standard—or rather, seeing that this thing had in fact come to an end some years ago, the conference extinguished the hopes of those who sought to resuscitate it. When the European delegates solemnly negatived the idea of a common engagement to maintain a fixed ratio between the two metals at their mints, there was nothing more to be said. The answer of our representatives to their decision was merely an essay in dialectics, and not particularly diverting, and so far as it holds out the hope

or expectation of a future reversal of that decision is wholly delusive. There is no help for us in that quarter. If we are, as the Hon. Mr. Groesbeck, one of our commissioners to the conference, asserts, "strong enough to uphold and maintain any policy intrinsically sound and just," we shall soon have abundant opportunity to demonstrate it. Eventually the coinage of these silver dollars must be stopped—*will be stopped* by an outcry of the people more vociferous than that which preceded the remonetizing bill. Since the passage of this bill the price of silver bullion has fallen from 54 pence to 49½ pence per ounce, notwithstanding we have bought and taken off the market nearly five hundred tons. The depreciation has been nearly 8 per cent, and the total depreciation from our legal ratio of 16 to 1 is 14 per cent. This is the best possible evidence that in the course of time, if the coinage of silver dollars continues, we shall have, not the double standard, but the single silver standard, in this country. Against this I venture to predict that commerce will rebel, and rebel effectually, and that the mass of the people will likewise rebel as soon as they have practical experience of it.

Meanwhile it is possible for the Secretary of the Treasury to withdraw from circulation all the notes of less denomination than five dollars; and thus create a use for perhaps fifty millions of silver dollars. Whatever number should be needed for the smaller transactions of the people would circulate at par like the English crowns, the French five-franc pieces, and the German thalers. They would be a nuisance of course on account of their weight; and that is an excellent reason for forcing them into circulation. The objection which the civilized world has raised against silver is that it is too bulky and heavy for the requirements of modern commerce. *Our* people have voted that this is not so—that it is all a conspiracy of the creditors against the debtors, of capital against labor, of the rich against the poor. There is no way to bring the matter to a test so effectually as to give the public the thing they have so loudly demanded. If they can not take fifty millions of these dollars to their homes and hearts, they do not want silver very badly. No change of existing laws is required to enable the Secretary to withdraw the small notes, and thus get rid of his present load of silver and considerably more. About two years' coinage could be disposed of in this way, and the impending crisis postponed, if not averted entirely, by the popular disgust which the actual handling of silver dollars would breed, leading to a discontinuance of such coinage.

If indecision and political cowardice stand in the way of such heroic treatment of the silver disease, it is still possible to pile up the new dollars in the Treasury vaults, and do nothing with them. They will pile themselves up fast enough, and it is only a question of leaving them where they fall. Nobody will want to disturb them. Unless room is made for them by withdrawing the small notes, every dollar will come back, like the bottle-imp. It will be impossible for the Secretary to throw one of them so far that it will not shortly find its way to the custom-house or the excise office, and thus into the Treasury. Piling silver dollars up in this manner is only a question of taxing the people two million dollars per month more than is necessary. If the country is so determined to have the mints working on silver that it will pay this price for the spectacle, it can enjoy the game so long as it is considered to be worth the candle.

Send his silver dollars out in such fashion that they can not come back, or hold them so close that they can not get out—one or the other must the Secretary do in order to keep his two kinds of dollars on a par with each other and prevent a run for gold. It should be remarked, however, that his means of accumulating gold in case of a run are not yet exhausted. He is still empowered to sell bonds without limit for this purpose.

But in whatever light we look at it, silver is an obstacle and a danger to resumption, and can not possibly be an aid to it—Secretary Sherman to the contrary notwithstanding. When Mr. Sherman stated to the Senate Finance Committee that it would not be a hindrance but might be of service and assistance to resumption, he ceased to be the master of the situation—that is, he shook the confidence that had hitherto been reposed in him as a man clearly seeing the end in view and capable of adapting his means to it. From that fatal admission to the present time he has been losing ground continually. The moral vantage which he gained by his Mansfield speech of August 17th, 1877, has been gradually lost, until now we find him engaged in an unjustifiable contest with the Eastern banks on the subject of central redemption of national-bank notes, placing an obstruction in the way of such redemption by requiring parties who send such notes to Washington for redemption to pay their own express charges instead of assessing the cost *pro rata* upon the banks whose notes are so redeemed. This is virtually attempting to compel the Eastern banks to transact business with uncurrent funds. The national banks of Texas and Minnesota, like

those of New York and Massachusetts, are required by law to keep a fund of greenbacks, equal to five per cent of their circulation, in Washington for the redemption of their notes, and to pay the cost of transporting and assorting the same. It is in this way that all national-bank notes are kept at par everywhere. To interpose an obstacle to such central redemption is to establish a difference in value between the notes of one bank and those of another. Groping darkly for a reason for this step, which is contrary to the spirit if not to the letter of the National Banking Act,¹ I can find nothing but this: that since the five per cent redemption fund consists of greenbacks in the custody of the Treasury, any action which shall hold them fast in the place where they now are will diminish the coin liabilities of the government on resumption day by just that amount.

If this is the true interpretation of the order it is a weak makeshift, akin to that suggested by the Secretary when he told the Senate Finance Committee how silver might be made an aid to resumption. He said that inasmuch as it is a bulky article and not easy to handle, it might operate as a check upon the demand for coin. This was an unworthy suggestion, and one well calculated to discredit the whole scheme of resumption and produce the very run which it was intended to discountenance and prevent. In the first place, any thing which puts an obstacle in the way of the *solvency* of the entire mass of paper currency and bank deposits, defeats resumption, converts it into a juggle, "keeps the word of promise to the ear and breaks it to the hope." Offering silver to those who want to have their notes redeemed, or requiring them to pay express charges for sending uncurrent funds to Washington, is the same thing in effect as establishing a bank of issue in the midst of a morass, or on the summit of a mountain, or a long dis-

¹ After requiring a deposit in the Treasury of lawful money of the United States, equal to 5 per cent of its circulation, from each national bank, for the twofold purpose of redeeming any of its notes sent in for redemption, and for replacing worn-out and mutilated notes with new ones, the law provides "that each of said [national banking] associations shall reimburse to the Treasury the charges for transportation and the costs for assorting such notes, . . . and the amount assessed upon each association shall be in proportion to the circulation *redeemed*, and be charged to the fund on deposit with the Treasurer." The interpretation now put upon the law by the Secretary would result in a double charge for the transportation of the notes to be redeemed—one to be paid by the party sending them in, and the other to be assessed upon the bank whose notes are redeemed. What disposition is to be made of the fund accruing from the second charge is not indicated in the Secretary's letter on this subject to the New York Clearing-House Committee.

tance from any railway or navigable stream. Such expedients have never been found to add to the credit or to prolong the existence of the institution so located; for when the public find an intention existing to defeat their rightful demands upon a bank, they make extra exertions to collect what is owing to them, and refuse to take any more of its paper thereafter. Let us hope that the practices of "wild-cat" and "red-dog" banking are not to be imitated by the Treasury of the United States.

Secretary Sherman is not responsible for the Silver Bill, nor can he do otherwise than obey its mandates, but no duty is imposed upon him to tell the public that it is not such a bad thing after all, and that it may prove to be an aid to resumption; the truth being that it is as bad as it was ever represented to be, that it is the only existing obstacle to resumption, and that it contains mischief enough to utterly defeat resumption unless resort be had eventually to new ways and means for the purpose of maintaining it. How soon its baleful influence will be felt it is impossible to predict, but certain it is that every quota of monthly coinage of silver brings the crisis nearer. It is a constant incentive and warning to the holders of greenbacks. It says to them, "The government can pay you gold if you take it now, but if you wait you may get nothing but silver." Neither Mr. Bland of Missouri nor Senator Jones of Nevada would be absent from the procession at the sub-treasury if they should have ten thousand dollars of paper money on hand at the time when the alternative is presented of taking gold for greenbacks now, or waiting a while and taking silver.

But it may be said, The government is not required to redeem in gold exclusively. After the gold is all paid out, or even before, it may pay in silver, and thus resumption may go on indefinitely. This brings up the question, what resumption consists of, and why it is desirable to resume at all. The writer has maintained in the pages of this REVIEW¹ that resumption in silver is *not* desirable, and that a greenback currency *limited in volume* would be preferable to it, being, according to the experience of recent years, more stable in value and decidedly more convenient. Since the double standard of gold and silver is no longer expected by any body, but instead of it the single silver standard is impending (so far as the law of Congress can establish a standard), to go into effect as soon as two millions per month of inferior money can crowd out the existing

* INTERNATIONAL REVIEW, November-December, 1877. Article "Present Phases of the Currency Question."

stock of superior—we are expected to go back to an old, discarded, and clumsy commercial tool (to wit, silver), which has been rejected by every specie-paying country in Europe (unless Holland be an exception), and which, by reason of such rejection, has become more unsuitable for commercial uses than it was before. Let us not be told again for the twentieth time that France, Belgium, and Switzerland have the double standard. They have *closed their mints to silver*, and that is all we ask to be done in the United States. The name of the thing is of no consequence. Double standard signifies nothing if you coin only one metal.

Resumption, as already stated, signifies bringing the whole mass of paper currency, bank checks, bills of exchange, deposits, book credits, every thing which goes by the name of money or performs its functions, to a fixed standard, instead of leaving them swinging in the wind of irredeemability. This whole mass is now within a small fraction of the gold standard—would probably have been quite to the gold standard ere this but for the menace of the Silver Bill, in which case specie payments would have been resumed to all intents and purposes without any action on the part of the Treasury. Is it desirable, *is it possible*, for this country, with the vast and increasing business relations that exist between it and the outer world, to set up for its standard a metal which all other commercial nations have either got rid of or are getting rid of as fast as possible? Evidently not. It has been previously suggested that the American people will be likely to rebel against silver whenever they come into immediate personal contact with it, but it is supposed that we can have the silver standard without silver, by the employment of bank-notes or government notes, or both. This is quite absurd, seeing that the government's own disbursements must be largely of silver, and that the recipients of it must pass it over to their creditors and customers, and that every holder will pay it out in preference to paying notes, the latter being more easily carried and stored. But there are graver obstacles to the silver standard in our foreign trade relations, and here the city of New York is so deeply concerned that her bankers will be under the necessity of taking decisive and concerted action in opposition to a monetary scheme which, if acquiesced in, will put them out of joint with the commercial world, and entail heavy losses upon them and their customers through the decline in the price of silver whenever a trade balance calls for the exportation of specie. Bills on London can now be bought at $\$4.86\frac{6}{10}$ to the pound sterling—a trifle more or

less according as exchange is above or below par. When the time comes, as come it will, whatever the circulating medium may be, that foreign exchange must be made by shipping specie, then if it consists of silver the pound sterling will cost about \$5.50, with the certainty that the first shipment, by depressing the price of silver still more, will cause the pound sterling to advance to a still higher figure. Commerce will not submit to such exactions, and even if silver becomes the legal standard gold will remain the actual standard.

The question now becomes pertinent and pressing whether the banks of the United States are willing to do business with two metallic standards varying widely in value. This question applies not merely to the national banks, but to all banks which have relations directly or indirectly with the clearing-house system now so generally in vogue. It would be interesting to show that the banks are merely reservoirs and conduits of the circulating capital of the country, and that what they contain is really the property of the whole community, from Mr. Vanderbilt down to the shoeblack, the coal-heaver, and the washerwoman; but the limits of this article do not permit such a demonstration. The function of the banks is to convert this property into *dollars*, and hold it all in solution, or "solvency," at all times, so that any person entitled to any part of it can tap it and draw off *dollars*. It is important to know, therefore, what is to be a bank dollar after resumption takes place, for into that dollar must all sales and purchases be converted. Debts may be paid with whatever is legal tender, but a bank dollar can only be what the banks themselves agree that it shall be. Shall the dollar of commerce after specie resumption consist of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains of silver or of $25\frac{8}{10}$ grains of gold, or of both—the latter plan involving the necessity of two sets of accounts with the banks' customers, and double book-keeping and double work at the clearing-houses? I have said double work, but that is not the true measure, since, for all purposes of transfer and manipulation and storage, silver requires sixteen times as much labor and room as gold.

I think that the banks of the United States, beginning with those of New York, have now a solemn duty to perform, and one which they can not easily avoid. Nobody but themselves can decide what funds shall be bankable on and after the 1st of January. It will then be in their power to possess themselves of enough gold to perform their clearings, and they can gradually accumulate enough for

their legal reserve, before the quantity of silver coined becomes very great. Having commenced clearing on a gold basis, and with gold in hand, it will be their own fault if they ever get upon any worse basis. They can drive a nail which will hold the business of the country firmly to the world's standard of value, and they will be guilty of a startling oversight and blunder if they neglect the opportunity. The question of standards—gold, silver, or paper—has been argued *ad nauseam*, and there is no end to argument. In every war of words a time finally comes for somebody to act. In the great currency dispute that time is now near at hand. The question, what is good money, can not be decided by popular majorities, but it can be decided by banks. That is what banks are intended for. That is what the first bank ever established in the world was established for. The Bank of Venice was put in operation expressly to decide what money was good and what bad among the heterogeneous and clipped coins in circulation, to make the bad money good and to keep the good from becoming bad. Whatever went into its hopper was obliged to come out wheat. I presume that no bank which is itself solvent would consent to receive on deposit the "fiat-money" which certain crazy people are threatening to impose upon the country through the forms of law. But if the banks do not receive it, it will never be money, though declared to be such by forty Congresses in succession. It may answer the single and sole purpose of paying existing debts—that is, of cheating all persons who happen to be creditors at the time the fiat-money bill passes—but its functions will end there. A shorter and equally honest measure to accomplish the same end would be to pass a law making every man's check a legal tender whether he has any money on deposit or not.

If the banks would not receive on deposit shavings, oyster shells, fiat-money, or any thing which is not real money, even though declared to be legal tender, is there any stronger reason why they should receive silver? None whatever. Bear in mind that a bank is not required in law to receive any thing on deposit, not even gold. It is subject to the law of legal tender the same as private individuals, and under the Silver Bill any debts due to the bank may be paid in silver, but if silver is not received on deposit—that is, if it is not bankable—the bank will say to the customer who tenders silver in payment of his note, "We will take it this time if you insist, but as silver is not bankable, we can not discount your paper again." Of course it is important to know whether the busi-

ness community will sustain such a policy. There can be no doubt of it whatever. The business community were not in favor of the Silver Bill before its passage, and have never acquiesced in it since. They will be still less in favor of it when it goes into operation.

There are no practical obstacles to the adoption of this policy by the banks. If the Secretary of the Treasury should seek to interpose obstacles he would surely be defeated. The only obstacle he could interpose would be to commence redemption of greenbacks in silver. The banks would simply draw out all his silver, pass it over to the importers to pay duties with, and continue drawing until they obtained as much gold as they might need for their clearings. In such a contest they would be much stronger than the government, because they are the agents of the whole business community, and have the entire circulating capital of the country in their hands, whereas the government represents only the politics of the country, and has no other resources than what it derives from taxation. It is not likely that Secretary Sherman would engage in any such foolish contest. He would be bound either to give the banks what gold they need or acknowledge that resumption had failed on his hands. The latter he can not do without violating the Resumption Act itself, since he holds near \$150,000,000 of coin and has authority to raise as much more as he needs by sale of bonds. The only real difficulty in the case arises from a possible failure to secure concert of action on the part of the banks themselves. But it is not necessary to hold a great bankers' convention to discuss the matter. The New York Clearing House can practically decide the question whether the standard shall be silver or gold. New York is the place where the balances of the country are adjusted, and the clearing-house is omnipotent over the question. The clearing-house has only to decide what is current funds at the place where the commercial balances of the country are struck. It has nothing to do with legal tender; all that belongs to the law-making power. But, on the other hand, the law-making power has nothing to do with the question what shall be the current funds of commerce. That is to say, Congress can not prescribe what shall be *valuable*. Its utmost powers are exhausted when it declares how an existing debt may be paid. It has no more power to declare on what basis a future debt shall be contracted than to enact at what ratio onions shall be exchanged for cabbages or sugar for cloth. The greenback movement in politics is a debtors' revolution, a revolt of the mortgaged. It does not look beyond scaling present debts and saving the equity of redemption

that may have survived to this time the collapse of the great speculative bubble of 1873. To accomplish this it is willing to bring chaos and black night upon the whole framework of society. It is no use to argue with such people. Their monetary scheme is impossible of realization, but they may do more or less mischief according as the banks are more or less mindful of the interests committed to them and vigilant in protecting them. It can not be too often repeated that the banks have the power to decide what shall be good money—not what shall be lawful money and legal tender, not what shall be payable into court on judgments, but what shall be, in the words of the Book of Genesis, “current money with the merchant.” They can put silver into the limbo of uncurrent funds where it belongs, and they will have to do so sooner or later. When they do so the threatened nuisance of fiat-money will be far less formidable than it is now, for every body will then see the impossibility of getting the bantling recognized after it is born. No doubt the fever will continue to rage in the field of politics. That can not be prevented, but the great and irreparable harm of planting the business edifice of the whole country, every body’s savings and every body’s earnings, upon the shifting sands of “absolute money” redeemable in nothing, can be averted beforehand by the banks in the manner indicated.

If the banks decline to receive silver on deposit, there will no doubt be a cry raised against them of want of patriotism. But seeing that the country is not engaged in war, and is menaced by no other peril than that of the silver men and the fiat-money men, the reproach will have no significance. Patriotism can not make silver worth 59 pence per ounce when it is worth only 49½ pence. Patriotism will not prompt Mr. Bland, Mr. Jones, Mr. Kelley, or General Butler, as individuals, to take silver dollars if they can get gold ones, or fiat dollars if they can get either silver or gold. Therefore patriotism has nothing to do with the matter.

If the government continues to coin silver and the banks decline to take it on deposit, it follows that the project of keeping the existing greenbacks in circulation will fail, because, being eventually redeemable in silver only, they will become uncurrent funds also. The only use that can be made of them, then, would be for government disbursements and for the payment of taxes. This is perhaps as good a way to settle that vexed question as could be devised. The plan of keeping the existing greenbacks in circulation after resumption on a gold basis contains nothing economically absurd,

but the political objections to it are, it must be conceded, fatal and insurmountable. Our form of government, or, at all events, the genius of our people, is not adapted to any scheme of public meddling with money beyond securing the people against cheats and counterfeits. They manage these things better in Canada, perhaps, where the government does systematically issue and redeem a portion of the paper circulation. But the events of the past year, and the noise going on at this moment in every State of the Union, except possibly California, prove that no such system would be safe among us.

The October elections have resulted, on the whole, disastrously to the Greenback party and its sympathizers. It has gained few votes, if any, in Ohio, and has elected no member of Congress from that State. In Indiana it has secured one member, and in Iowa two, by the aid of the Democratic party. These are very small results to show in the West after the unexpected success in Maine in September. As the strength of the party was supposed to reside almost wholly beyond the Alleghanies, it is impossible to resist the conclusion that some more potent influence than the greenback fever contributed to the defeat of the Republicans in Maine. Although the new party has given a beggarly account of itself at the ballot-box, it has demoralized the Democratic party, and caused it to lose control, at a critical time, of one of the most important States of the Union. For the second time within three years, the State of Ohio has been wrested from the hands of the Democrats on the currency issue. The proneness of this party to the gutter, whenever the public credit comes in question, is unmistakable, notwithstanding the efforts of some eminent leaders to keep it in the paths of honor. Although the Democrats have not the monopoly of indecency and folly, nor the Republicans that of good faith and common-sense, the latter have proved themselves in the present campaign much the safer of the two parties to deal with these questions. Only one of their public speakers, however, has assaulted the citadel of the anti-resumption party. Mr. Schurz, in his Cincinnati speech, attacked the Silver Bill, and although he did not show how it would operate to defeat resumption, he indicated pretty clearly that it would have to be repealed before we could enjoy a really sound currency. Mr. Blaine, on the other hand, in his speeches used the word "coin" as though gold, silver, and copper were synonymous terms, all meaning the same thing in substance, and that resumption in *coin* was the solution of all our

financial ills. "Nothing is ever settled," said Mr. Blaine, in his Chicago speech, "until it is settled right"—a maxim which will trouble him before he sees the end of this controversy. Secretary Sherman, too, thought it would be helpful to telegraph to a friend in Ohio, congratulating him upon the election in that State: "The Ohio idea that prevails is plenty of money always equal to coin"! *What kind of coin?* is a question that will be crowding upon the Secretary at an early day with importunate demands for an answer.

It is an additional and weighty reason why the banks should receive nothing on deposit except gold or its equivalent after the 1st of January, that the Secretary of the Treasury is required by law to reissue the redeemed greenbacks. Since the public revenues are equal to the public expenditures, he will be unable to do so without additional legislation, there being no law authorizing him to give away greenbacks for nothing. Such additional legislation the lobby which surrounds Congress will not be slow to provide. New railroads and canals, new river and harbor improvements, new steamship subsidies, and public buildings without number, will crowd forward to absorb these unused greenbacks. The cry will be raised everywhere that Congress ought to find labor for the unemployed; and with the unwonted spectacle of millions, perhaps a hundred millions, of legal-tender notes lying uncanceled in the Treasury, and with a law in force requiring them to be reissued, it will be very difficult for Congress to resist the temptation and the appeals that will be made to spend them. Such a proceeding involves not only an early re-suspension of specie payments and a practical realization of the idea of "fiat-money," but an endless succession of corrupt jobs at Washington—endless until the last grain of value has departed from the greenback, and the fire has subsided for want of fuel. If the contractors of the proposed new public works are notified by the action of the banks that the once-redeemed and now-reissued greenbacks will be treated as uncurrent funds, and taken for what they are worth in gold from day to day, and nothing more, the rush to get hold of them will not be so great, and the efforts of those who seek to stem the torrent of jobbery will be reinforced by at least one convincing argument.

A SHOCKING STORY.

I.

I HEAR that the “shocking story of my conduct” was widely circulated at the ball, and that public opinion (among the ladies) in every part of the room declared I had disgraced myself.

But there was one dissentient voice in this chorus of general condemnation. You spoke, Madam, with all the authority of your wide celebrity and your high rank. You said, “I am personally a stranger to the young lady who is the subject of remark—I am not even acquainted with her name. If I venture to interfere, it is only to remind you that there are two sides to every story. May I ask, in the interests of mercy, if you have waited to pass sentence on her until you have heard what she has to say in her own defence?”

These just and generous words produced (if I am correctly informed) a dead silence. Not one of the women who had condemned me had heard me in my own defence. Not one of them ventured to answer you.

How I may stand in the opinions of such persons as these is a matter of perfect indifference to me. Not because I am a woman of extraordinary fortitude, but because I shall soon be beyond the reach of London gossip and London scandal. My good husband has received a foreign appointment, which places us in an honorable and independent position. We leave England in a few days; and we are not likely to return to our own country for some years to come. Under these circumstances, may I speak of my heartfelt gratitude? may I own how anxious I am to stand well in *your* opinion? I can not contemplate my approaching departure without feeling eager to satisfy you that I am not unworthy of the interest you have taken in seeing justice done to a stranger. I shall be so proud of bearing away with me even the most trifling expression of your sympathy! Will you read my little story, and decide for yourself if I deserve the hard things that have been said of me? Yes, I am sure you will!

II.

WHO am I—to begin with?

I suppose I shall best answer that question by describing myself as one of the fortunate persons who are possessed of advantages of birth. My father was the second son of an English nobleman. My mother was the lineal descendant of one of the oldest families in South Germany. I lost both my parents when I was sixteen years old; and I went to live with my uncle (my father's younger brother), who was also appointed my guardian until I came of age. His wife (my aunt by marriage) brought him a handsome fortune. She too belonged to the higher rank of society.

You will find, as I go on, that I abstain from mentioning any family names. The motives which—if they did not absolutely lead to my marriage—did certainly hasten it, are connected with the discovery of an event which must never be traced to the persons concerned in it. For this reason I have marked my narrative “private;” and I trust to you not to let it be seen by other eyes than yours. If I mention my uncle by his military title as “the General,” and if I change my aunt's Christian name, I shall keep a secret which I feel bound by the strongest motives of gratitude and honor to respect—and, at the same time, I shall place my position before you unreservedly in its true aspect. To have done all the sooner with the troublesome question of names, I may add that I bear my German mother's Christian name, “Wilhelmina.” All my friends, in the days when I had friends, used to shorten this to “Mina.” Be my friend so far, and call me Mina too.

My troubles began with—what do you think? With nothing better and nothing worse than the engagement of a new groom.

This seems, no doubt, a very odd way of appealing to your interest at the outset of my story. Fortunately, I am writing to a just woman, who will suspend her opinion until she knows a little more of me.

We were in London for the season. At the time I am now speaking of, I had lived for five years under the protection of my uncle and aunt. When I think of the good General's fatherly kindness to me, I despair of writing about it in any adequate terms. To own the truth, the tears get into my eyes, and I can not write at all. As for my relations with Lady Catherine, I only do her justice if I say that she performed her duties towards me without the slightest pretension and in the most charming manner. At past forty years

old, she was still universally admired, though she had lost the one attraction which distinguished her before my time—the attraction of a perfectly beautiful figure. With fine hair and expressive eyes, she was otherwise a plain woman. Her unassuming cleverness and her fascinating manners were the qualities no doubt which made her popular everywhere. We never quarreled. Not because I was always amiable, but because Lady Catherine would not allow it. She managed me, as she managed her husband, with perfect tact. With certain occasional checks—exceptions which only proved the rule—she absolutely governed the General. There were eccentricities in his character which made him a man easily ruled by a clever woman. Deferring to his opinion, so far as appearances went, my aunt generally contrived to get her own way in the end. Except when he was at his club, happy in his gossip, his good dinners, and his whist, my excellent uncle lived under a despotism, in the happy delusion that he was master in his own house.

Prosperous and pleasant as it appears on the surface, my life had its sad side for a young woman.

In the commonplace routine of our existence as wealthy people in the upper rank, there was nothing to ripen the growth of the better and deeper capacities in my nature. Heartily as I loved and admired my uncle, he was neither of an age nor of a character to be the chosen depositary of my most secret thoughts, the friend of my inmost heart, who could show me how to make the best and the most of my life. With friends and admirers in plenty, I had found no one who could hold this position towards me. In the midst of society, I was, unconsciously, a lonely woman. My happiest moments were those moments when I took refuge in my music and my books. Out of the house, my one diversion, always welcome and always fresh, was riding. Without any false modesty, I may mention that I had lovers as well as admirers; but not one of them produced an impression on my heart. In all that related to the tender passion, as it is called, I was an undeveloped being. The influence that men have on women, *because* they are men, was really and truly a mystery to me. I was ashamed of my own coldness—I tried, honestly tried, to copy other girls; to feel my heart beating in the presence of the one chosen man, as it did certainly beat, for example, when I went out hunting with the General. But it was not to be done. When a man pressed my hand, I felt it in my rings instead of my heart.

Don't suppose I am writing in this way about myself out of

mere vanity. I am trying to prepare you for what is to come. If I can only enable you to see some of the defects and weaknesses of my character, as clearly as I can now see them myself, you will, I think, feel more indulgently towards me when I make my confession. And perhaps you will be all the readier to remember that I had neither mother nor sister to confide in, at a time when I most wanted a word of advice.

This said, I have now done with the past, and may get on to the strange events which have associated themselves with a later time.

III.

I HAVE mentioned that we were in London for the season. One morning, I went out riding with my uncle as usual in Hyde Park.

The General's service in the army had been in a cavalry regiment—service distinguished by merits which justified his rapid rise to the high places in his profession. In the hunting-field he was noted as one of the most daring and most accomplished riders in our county. He had always delighted in riding young and high-spirited horses; and the habit remained with him after he had quitted the active duties of his profession in later life. From first to last he had met with no accidents worth remembering until the unlucky morning when he went out with me. His horse, a fiery chestnut, ran away with him in that part of the Park Ride called Rotten Row. With the purpose of keeping clear of other riders, he spurred his runaway horse at the rail which divides the Row from the grassy inclosure at its side. The terrified animal swerved in taking the leap, and dashed him against a tree. He was dreadfully shaken and injured; but his strong constitution carried him through to recovery—with the serious drawback of an incurable lameness in one leg. The doctors, on taking leave of their patient, united in warning him (at his age, and bearing in mind his weakened leg) to ride no more restive horses. "A quiet cob, General," they all suggested. My uncle was sorely mortified and offended. "If I am fit for nothing but a quiet cob," he said bitterly, "I will ride no more." He kept his word. No one ever saw the General on horseback again.

Under these sad circumstances (and my aunt being no horse-woman), I had apparently no other choice than to give up riding also. But my kind-hearted uncle was not the man to let me be sacrificed to this disappointment. His own riding-groom had been one of his soldier-servants in the cavalry regiment—a quaint, sour-

tempered old man, not at all the sort of person to attend on a young lady taking her riding-exercise alone. "We must find a smart fellow who can be trusted," said the General. "I shall inquire at the club."

For a week afterwards, a succession of grooms, recommended by friends, applied for the vacant place.

The General found insurmountable objections to all of them. "I'll tell you what I have done," he announced one day, with the air of a man who had hit on a grand discovery; "I have advertised in the papers."

Lady Catherine looked up from her embroidery with the placid smile that was peculiar to her. "I don't quite like advertising for a servant," she said. "You are at the mercy of a stranger; you don't know that you are not engaging a drunkard or a thief."

"Or you may be deceived by a false character," I added, on my side. I seldom ventured, at domestic consultations, on giving my opinion unasked—but the new groom represented a subject in which I felt a strong personal interest. In a certain sense, he was to be *my* groom.

"I'm much obliged to you both for warning me that I am so easy to deceive," the General remarked satirically. "Unfortunately the mischief is done. Three men have answered my advertisement already. I expect them here to-morrow to be examined for the place."

Lady Catherine looked up from her embroidery again. "Are you going to see them yourself?" she asked softly. "I thought the steward—"

"I have hitherto considered myself a better judge of a groom than my steward," the General interposed. "However, don't be alarmed; I won't act on my own sole responsibility, after the hint you have given me. You and Mina shall lend me your valuable assistance, and discover whether they are thieves, drunkards, and what not, before I feel the smallest suspicion of it myself."

IV.

WE naturally supposed that the General was joking. No. This was one of those rare occasions on which my aunt's tact—infallible in matters of importance—proved to be at fault in a trifle. My uncle's self-esteem had been touched in a tender place, and he had resolved to make us feel it. The next morning a polite message

came, requesting our presence in the library to see the grooms. My aunt (always ready with her smile, but rarely tempted into laughing outright) did for once laugh heartily. "It is really too ridiculous!" she said. However, she pursued her policy of always yielding, in the first instance. We went together to the library.

The three grooms were received in the order in which they presented themselves for approval. Two of them bore the ineffaceable mark of the public-house so plainly written on their villainous faces that even I could see it. My uncle ironically asked us to favor him with our opinions. Lady Catherine answered with her sweetest smile, "Pardon me, General—we are here to learn." The words were nothing; but the manner in which they were spoken was perfect. Few men could have resisted that gentle influence—and the General was not one of the few. He stroked his moustache, and returned to his petticoat government. The two grooms were dismissed.

On the entry of the third and last man, we all three opened our eyes with the same sensation of surprise.

If the stranger's short coat and tight trousers had not proclaimed his vocation in life, we should have taken it for granted that there had been some mistake, and that we were favored with a visit from a gentleman unknown. He was between dark and light in complexion, with frank clear blue eyes; quiet, modest, intelligent-looking; slim in his figure; easy in his movements; respectful in his manner, but perfectly free from servility. "I say!" the General blurted out, addressing my aunt confidentially, "*he* looks as if he would do, doesn't he?"

I expected to see Lady Catherine's invariable smile. For once the smile seemed to be not ready. "It rests with you to decide," she answered in lower tones than usual.

"Step forward, my man," said the General. The groom advanced from the door, bowed, and stopped at the foot of the table—my uncle sitting at the head, with my aunt and myself on either side of him. The inevitable questions began.

"What is your name?"

"Michael Bloomfield."

"Your age?"

"Twenty-six."

My aunt's interest in the proceedings seemed to be slackening already. A little weary sigh escaped her. She leaned back resignedly in her chair.

The General went on with his questions : " What experience have you had as a groom ? "

" I began learning my work, sir, before I was twelve years old. "

" Yes ! yes ! I mean what private families have you served in ? "

" Two, sir. "

" How long have you been in your two situations ? "

" Four years in the first, and three in the second. "

The General looked agreeably surprised. " Seven years in only two situations is a good character in itself, " he remarked. " Who are your references ? "

The groom laid two papers on the table.

" I don't take written references, " said the General.

" Be pleased to read my papers, sir, " answered the groom.

My uncle looked sharply across the table. The groom sustained the look with respectful but unshaken composure. The General took up the papers, and seemed to be once more favorably impressed as he read them. " Personal references in each case if required, in support of strong written recommendations from both his employers, " he informed my aunt. " Copy the addresses, Mina. Very satisfactory, I must say. Don't you think so yourself ? " he resumed, turning again to my aunt.

Lady Catherine replied by a courteous bend of her head. She looked at the groom absently, like a person whose mind was otherwise occupied. The General went on with his questions. They related to the management of horses ; and they were answered to his complete satisfaction. " Michael Bloomfield, you know your business, " he said, " and you have a good character. Leave your address. When I have consulted your references, you shall hear from me. "

The groom took out a blank card, and wrote his name and address on it. I looked over my uncle's shoulder when he received the card. Another surprise ! The handwriting was simply irreproachable—the lines running perfectly straight, and every letter completely formed. As this perplexing person made his modest bow and withdrew, the General, struck by an after-thought, called him back from the door.

" One thing more, " said my uncle. " About friends and followers ? I consider it my duty to my servants to allow them to see their relations ; but I expect them to submit to certain conditions in return—"

"I beg your pardon, sir," the groom interposed. "I shall not give you any trouble on that score. I have no relations."

"No brothers or sisters?" asked the General.

"None, sir."

"Father and mother both dead?"

"I don't know, sir."

"You don't know! What does that mean?"

"I am telling you the plain truth, sir. I must have had a father and mother of course. But I never heard who they were—and I don't expect to hear now."

He said those words with a bitter composure which impressed me painfully. Lady Catherine was far from feeling it as I did. Her languid interest in the engagement of the groom seemed to be completely exhausted—and that was all. She rose in her easy graceful way, and looked out of window at the courtyard and fountain, the house-dog in his kennel, and the stable doors beyond. My uncle's eyes followed her; he asked if she were tired. Her back was turned on him, in the position which she now occupied. She only answered, "No," without looking round.

During this interval the groom remained near the table, respectfully waiting for his dismissal. The General spoke to him sharply for the first time. I could see that my good uncle had noticed the cruel tone of that passing reference to the parents, and thought of it as I did.

"One word more before you go," he said. "If I don't find you more mercifully inclined towards my horses than you seem to be towards your father and mother, you won't remain long in my service. You might have told me you had never heard who your parents were, without speaking as if you didn't care to hear."

"May I say a bold word, sir, in my own defense?"

He put the question very quietly, but, at the same time, so firmly that he even surprised my aunt. She looked round from the window—then turned back again, and stretched out her hand towards the curtain, intending, as I supposed, to alter the arrangement of it. The groom went on.

"May I ask, sir, why I should care about a father and mother who deserted me? Mind what you are about, my lady!" he cried, suddenly addressing my aunt. "There's a cat in the folds of that curtain; she might frighten you."

He had barely said the words before the housekeeper's large tabby cat, taking its noonday siesta in the looped-up fold of the cur-

tain, leaped out and made for the door. In spite of the warning, Lady Catherine *was* frightened. A faint cry escaped her; she sank into the nearest chair. "Let the creature out," she whispered to me. "This will not happen again," she added, reassuring the General by a faint smile. "The housekeeper shall give up her cat or give up her situation."

She rose, and, advancing to the table, addressed herself to the groom for the first time. Towards her inferiors in social position her manner was perfect; always considerate and kind, without ever touching the objectionable extremes of undue familiarity on one side, or of undue condescension on the other. When she spoke to the groom, she amazed me. She was so haughty and so ungracious that I declare I hardly recognized her!

"Did you see the cat?" she asked.

"No, my lady."

"Then how did you know the creature was in the curtain?"

For the first time since he had entered the room, the groom looked a little confused. "It's a sort of presumption for a man in my position to be subject to a nervous infirmity," he answered. "I am one of those persons (the weakness is not uncommon, as your ladyship is aware) who know by their own unpleasant sensations when a cat is in the room. I believe the 'antipathy,' as the gentle-folks call it, must have been born in me. As long as I can remember—"

My aunt turned to the General, without attempting to conceal that she took no sort of interest in the groom's remembrances. "Haven't you done with the man yet?" she asked. The General started at the unusual abruptness of her tone, and gave the groom his dismissal. "You shall hear from me in three days' time. Good-morning."

Michael Bloomfield looked at my aunt for a moment with steady attention, and left the room.

V.

"YOU don't mean to engage that man?" said Lady Catherine, as the door closed.

"Why not?" asked my uncle, looking very much surprised.

"I have taken a dislike to him."

This short sharp answer was so entirely out of the character of my aunt that the General took her kindly by the hand, and said, "I am afraid you are not well."

She irritably withdrew her hand. "I don't feel well. It doesn't matter."

"It does matter, Catherine. What can I do for you?"

"Write to the man—" She paused, and smiled contemptuously. "Imagine a groom with an antipathy to cats!" she said, turning to me. "Write," she resumed, addressing her husband, "and tell him to look for another place."

"What objection can I make to him?" the General asked helplessly.

"Good heavens! can't you make an excuse? Say he is too young."

My uncle looked at me in expressive silence—walked slowly to the writing-table—and glanced at his wife, in the faint hope that she might change her mind. Their eyes met—and she seemed to recover the command of her temper. The famous smile that fascinated everybody made its appearance again. She put her hand caressingly on the General's shoulder. "I remember the time," she said softly, "when any caprice of mine was a command to you. Ah, I was younger then!"

The General's reception of this little advance was thoroughly characteristic of him. He first kissed Lady Catherine's hand, and then he wrote the letter. My aunt rewarded him by a look, and left the library.

"What the deuce is the matter with her?" my uncle said to me, when we were alone. "Do you dislike the man too?"

"Certainly not. So far as I can judge, he appears to be just the sort of person we want."

"And knows thoroughly well how to manage horses, my dear. What *can* be Lady Catherine's objection to him?"

As the words passed his lips, Lady Catherine opened the library door.

"I am so ashamed of myself," she said sweetly. "At my age, I have been behaving like a spoiled child. How good you are to me, General! Let me try to make amends for my misconduct. Will you permit me?"

She took up the General's letter, without waiting for permission; tore it to pieces, smiling pleasantly all the while; and threw the fragments into the waste-paper basket. "As if you didn't know better than I do!" she said, kissing him on the forehead. "Engage the man by all means."

She left the room for the second time. For the second time, my uncle looked at me in blank perplexity—and I looked back at him in the same condition of mind. The sound of the luncheon-bell was equally a relief to both of us. Not a word more was spoken on the subject of the new groom. His references were verified ; and he entered the General's service in three days' time.

VI.

ALWAYS careful in any thing that concerned my welfare, no matter how trifling it might be, my uncle did not trust me alone with the new groom when he first entered our service. Two old friends of the General accompanied me, at his special request, and reported the man to be perfectly competent and trustworthy. After that, Michael rode out with me alone ; my friends among young ladies seldom caring to accompany me when I abandoned the Park for the quiet country roads on the north and west of London. Was it wrong in me to talk to him on these expeditions ? It would surely have been treating a man like a brute never to take the smallest notice of him—especially as his conduct was uniformly respectful towards me. Not once, by word or look, did he presume on the position which my favor permitted him to occupy.

Ought I to blush when I confess (though he was only a groom) that he interested me ?

In the first place, there was something romantic in the very blankness of the story of his life. He had been left in his infancy in the stables of a gentleman living in Kent, near the highroad between Gravesend and Rochester. The same day the stable-boy had met a woman running out of the yard, pursued by the dog. She was a stranger, and was not well dressed. While the boy was protecting her by chaining the dog to his kennel, she was quick enough to place herself beyond the reach of pursuit. The infant's clothing proved, on examination, to be of the finest linen. He was warmly wrapped in a beautiful shawl of some foreign manufacture, entirely unknown to all the persons present, including the master and mistress of the house. Among the folds of the shawl there was discovered a letter, without date, signature, or address, which it was presumed the woman must have forgotten. Like the shawl, the paper was of foreign manufacture. The handwriting presented a strongly marked character ; and the composition plainly revealed

the mistakes of a person imperfectly acquainted with the English language. The contents of the letter merely related to the means supplied for the support of the child. Instead of paying the money by installments, the writer had committed the folly of inclosing a sum of a hundred pounds in one remittance. At the close of the letter, an appointment was made for a meeting in six months' time, on the eastward side of London Bridge. The stable-boy's description of the woman who had passed him showed that she belonged to the lower class. To such a person a hundred pounds would be a fortune. She had no doubt abandoned the child and made off with the money. No trace of her was ever found. On the day of the appointment the police watched the eastward side of London Bridge without making any discovery. Through the kindness of the gentleman in whose stables he had been found, the first ten years of the boy's life were passed under the protection of a charitable asylum. They gave him the name of one of the little inmates who had died ; and they sent him out to service before he was eleven years old. He was harshly treated, and ran away ; wandered to some training-stables near Newmarket ; attracted the favorable notice of the head-groom, was employed among the other boys, and liked the occupation. Growing up to manhood, he had taken service in private families as a groom. Such was the record of twenty-six years of his life !

Taking him, apart from his story, there was something in the man himself which attracted attention, and made one think of him in his absence.

For example, there was a spirit of resistance to his destiny in him, which is very rarely found in serving-men of his order. I might never have known this if the General had not asked me to accompany him in one of his periodical visits of inspection to the stables. He was so well satisfied that he proposed extending his investigations to the groom's own room. "If you don't object, Michael?" he added, with his customary consideration for the self-respect of all persons in his employment. Michael's color rose a little ; he looked at me. "I am afraid the young lady will not find my room quite so tidy as it ought to be," he said, as he opened the door for us.

The only disorder in the groom's room was produced, to our surprise, by the groom's books and papers. Cheap editions of the English poets, translations of Latin and Greek classics, handbooks for teaching French and German "without a master," selections

from the great French and German writers, carefully written "exercises" in both languages, manuals of shorthand, with more "exercises" in that art, were scattered over the table, round the central object of a reading-lamp, which spoke plainly of studies by night. "Why, what is all this?" cried the General. "Are you going to leave me, Michael, and set up a school?" Michael answered in sad submissive tones. "I try to improve myself, sir—though I sometimes lose heart and hope." "Hope of what?" asked my uncle. "Are you not content to be a servant? Must you rise in the world, as the saying is?" The groom shrank a little at that abrupt question. "If I had relations to care for me and help me along the hard ways of life," he said, "I might be satisfied, sir, to remain as I am. As it is, I have no one to think about but myself—and I am fool enough sometimes to look beyond myself." So far, I had kept silence; but I could no longer resist giving him a word of encouragement—his confession was so sadly and so patiently made. "You speak too harshly of yourself," I said. "The best and greatest men have begun like you by looking beyond themselves." For a moment our eyes met. I admired the poor lonely fellow, trying so modestly and so bravely to teach himself—and I did not care to conceal it. He was the first to look away; some suppressed emotion turned him deadly pale. Was I the cause of it? I felt myself tremble as that bold question came into my mind. The General, with one sharp glance at me, diverted the talk (not very delicately as I thought) to the misfortune of Michael's birth. "I have heard of your being deserted in your infancy by some woman unknown," he said. "What has become of the things you were wrapped in, and the letter that was found on you? They might lead to a discovery one of these days." The groom smiled. "The last master I served thought of it as you do, sir. He was so good as to write to the gentleman who was first burdened with the care of me—and the things were sent to me in return." He took up an unlocked leather bag, which opened by touching a brass knob, and showed us the shawl, the linen (sadly faded by time), and the letter. We were puzzled by the shawl. My uncle, who had served in the East, thought it looked like a very rare kind of Persian work. We examined with interest the letter and the fine linen. When Michael quietly remarked, as we handed them back to him, "They keep the secret, you see," we could only look at each other, and own there was nothing more to be said.

VII.

THAT night, lying awake thinking, I made my first discovery of a great change that had come over me. I can only describe my sensations in the trite phrase—I felt like a new woman.

Never yet had my life been so enjoyable to me as it was now. I was conscious of a delicious lightness of heart. The simplest things pleased me; I was ready to be kind to everybody, and to admire every thing. Even the familiar scenery of my rides in the Park developed beauties which I had never noticed before. The enchantments of music affected me to tears. I was absolutely in love with my dogs and my birds—and, as for my maid, I bewildered the girl with presents, and gave her holidays almost before she could ask for them. In a bodily sense, I felt an extraordinary accession of strength and activity. I romped with the dear old General, and actually kissed Lady Catherine one morning, instead of letting her kiss me as usual. My friends noticed my new outburst of gayety and spirit—and wondered what had produced it. Is there any limit to the self-deception of which a human being is capable? I can honestly say that I wondered too! Only on that wakeful night which followed our visit to Michael's room, did I feel myself on the way to a clear understanding of the truth. The next morning completed the process of enlightenment. I went out riding as usual. The instant when Michael put his hand under my foot as I sprang into the saddle, his touch flew all over me like a flame. I knew who had made a new woman of me from that moment.

As to describing the first sense of confusion that overwhelmed me, even if I were a practised writer I should be incapable of doing it. I pulled down my veil, and rode on in a sort of trance. Fortunately for me, our house looked on the Park, and I had only to cross the road. Otherwise I should certainly have met with some accident among the passing vehicles. To this day, I don't know where I rode. The horse went his own way quietly—and the groom followed me.

The groom! There is, I suppose, no civilized human creature so free from the hateful and anti-Christian pride of rank as a woman who loves with all her heart and soul for the first time in her life. I only tell the truth (in however unfavorable a light it may place me) when I declare that my confusion was entirely due to the discovery that I was in love. I was not ashamed of myself for being

in love with the groom. I had given my heart to the *man*. What did the accident of his position matter? Put money into his pockets and a title before his name—by another accident. In speech, manners, and attainments, he would be a gentleman worthy of his wealth and worthy of his rank. Even the natural dread of what my relations and friends might say if they discovered my secret, seemed, in the entirely pure and entirely exalted state of my feelings, to be a sensation so unworthy of me and of him, that I looked round, and called to him to speak to me, and asked him questions about horses which kept him riding nearly side by side with me. Ah, how I enjoyed the gentle deference and respect of his manner as he answered me! He was hardly bold enough to raise his eyes to mine when I looked at him. Absorbed in the Paradise of my own making, I rode on slowly, and was only aware that friends had passed and recognized me by seeing him touch his hat. I looked round, and discovered the women smiling ironically as they rode by. That one circumstance roused me rudely from my dream. I let Michael fall back again to his proper place, and quickened my horse's pace; angry with myself, angry with the world in general—then suddenly changing, and being fool enough and child enough to feel ready to cry. How long these varying moods lasted, I don't know. On returning, I slipped off my horse without waiting for Michael to help me, and ran into the house without even wishing him "Good-day."

VIII.

AFTER taking off my riding-habit, and cooling my hot face with eau-de-cologne and water, I went down to the room which we called the morning-room. The piano there was my favorite instrument—and I had the idea of trying what music would do towards helping me to compose myself.

As I sat down before the piano, I heard the opening of the door of the breakfast-room (separated from me by a curtained archway), and the voice of Lady Catherine asking if Michael had returned to the stables. On the servant's reply in the affirmative, she desired that he might be sent to her immediately. No doubt, I ought either to have left the morning-room or to have let my aunt know of my presence there. I did neither the one nor the other. The inveterate dislike that she had taken to Michael had, to all appearance, subsided. She had once or twice actually taken oppor-

tunities of speaking to him kindly. I believed this was due to the caprice of the moment. The tone of her voice too suggested, on this occasion, that she had some spiteful object in view, in sending for him. I deliberately waited to hear what passed between them.

Lady Catherine began.

"You were out riding to-day with Miss Mina?"

"Yes, my lady."

"Turn to the light. I wish to see people when I speak to them. You were observed by some friends of mine; your conduct excited remark. Do you know your business as a lady's groom?"

"I have had seven years' experience, my lady."

"Your business is to ride at a certain distance behind your mistress. Has your experience taught you that?"

"Yes, my lady."

"You were not riding behind Miss Mina—your horse was almost side by side with hers. Do you deny it?"

"No, my lady."

"You behaved with the greatest impropriety—you were seen talking to Miss Mina. Do you deny that?"

"No, my lady."

"Leave the room. No! come back. Have you any excuse to make?"

"None, my lady."

"Your insolence is intolerable! I shall speak to the General."

The sound of the closing door followed. I knew now what the smiles meant on the false faces of those women-friends of mine who had met me in the Park. An ordinary man, in Michael's place, would have mentioned my own encouragement of him as a sufficient excuse. *He*, with the inbred delicacy and reticence of a gentleman, had taken all the blame on himself. Indignant and ashamed, I advanced to the breakfast-room, bent on instantly justifying him. Drawing aside the curtain, I was startled by a sound as of a person sobbing. I cautiously looked in. Lady Catherine was prostrate on the sofa, hiding her face in her hands, in a passion of tears.

I withdrew, completely bewildered. The extraordinary contradictions in my aunt's conduct were not at an end yet. Later in the day, I went to my uncle, resolved to set Michael right in *his* estimation, and to leave him to speak to Lady Catherine. The General was in the lowest spirits; he shook his head ominously the moment I mentioned the groom's name. "I dare say the man

meant no harm—but the thing has been observed. I can't have you made the subject of scandal, Mina. Lady Catherine makes a point of it—Michael must go."

"You don't mean to say that my aunt has insisted on your sending Michael away?"

Before he could answer me, a footman appeared with a message. "My lady wishes to see you, sir."

The General rose directly. My curiosity had got, by this time, beyond all restraint. I was actually indelicate enough to ask if I might go with him! He stared at me, as well he might. I persisted; I said I particularly wished to see Lady Catherine. My uncle's punctilious good breeding still resisted me. "Your aunt may wish to speak to me in private," he said. "Wait a moment, and I will send for you." My obstinacy was something superhuman; the bare idea that Michael might lose his place through my fault made me desperate, I suppose. "I won't trouble you to send for me," I persisted. "I will go with you at once as far as the door, and wait to hear if I may come in." The footman was still present, holding the door open; the General gave way. I kept so close behind him that my aunt saw me as her husband entered the room. "Come in, Mina," she said, speaking and looking like the charming Lady Catherine of every-day life. Was this the woman whom I had seen, crying her heart out on the sofa, hardly an hour ago?

"On second thought," she continued, turning to the General, "I fear I may have been a little hasty. Pardon me for troubling you about it again—have you spoken to Michael yet? No? Then let us err on the side of kindness; let us look over his misconduct this time."

My uncle was evidently relieved. I seized the opportunity of making my confession, and taking the whole blame on myself. Lady Catherine stopped me with the perfect grace of which she was mistress. "My good child, don't distress yourself! Don't make mountains out of mole-hills!" She patted me on the cheek with two plump white fingers, which felt deadly cold. "I was not always prudent, Mina, when I was your age. Besides, your curiosity was naturally excited about a servant who is—what shall I call him?—a foundling." She paused and fixed her eyes on me attentively. "Is it a very romantic story?" she asked.

The General began to fidget in his chair. If I had kept my attention on him, I should have seen in his face a warning to me to

be silent. But my interest at the moment was absorbed in my aunt. Encouraged by her amiable reception, I was not merely unsuspecting of the trap that she had set for me—I was actually foolish enough to think that I could improve Michael's position in her estimation (remember that I was in love with him!) by telling his story exactly as I have already told it in these pages. I spoke with fervor. Will you believe it?—her humor positively changed again! She flew into a passion with me for the first time in her life.

“Lies!” she cried. “Impudent lies on the face of them—invented to appeal to your interest. How dare you repeat them? General! if Mina had not brought it on herself, this man's audacity would justify you in instantly dismissing him. Don't you agree with me?”

The General's sense of fair play roused him for once into openly opposing his wife. “You are completely mistaken,” he said. “Mina and I have both had the shawl and the letter in our hands—and (what was there besides?)—ah, yes, the very linen the child was wrapped in.”

What there was in those words to check Lady Catherine's anger in its full flow I was quite unable to understand. If the General had put a pistol to her head, he could hardly have silenced her more effectually. She did not appear to be frightened or ashamed of her outbreak of rage—she sat vacant and speechless, with her eyes on her husband, and her hands crossed on her lap. After waiting a moment (wondering as I did what it meant) the General rose with his customary resignation and left her. I followed the General. He was unusually silent and thoughtful; not a word passed between us. I afterwards discovered that he was beginning to fear, poor man, that his wife's mind must be affected in some way, and was meditating a consultation with the physician who helped us in cases of need.

As for myself, I was either too stupid or too innocent to feel any forewarnings of the truth so far. Before the day was over, the first vague suspicions began to find their way into my mind.

The events which I have been relating happened (it may be necessary to remind you) in the first part of the day. After luncheon, while I was alone in the conservatory, my maid came to me from Michael, asking if I had any commands for him in the afternoon. I thought this rather odd; but it occurred to me that he might want some hours to himself. I made the inquiry. To my astonishment, the maid announced that Lady Catherine had

employed Michael to go on an errand for her. The nature of the errand was to take a letter to her bookseller, and to bring back the books which she had ordered. With three idle footmen in the house, whose business it was to perform such service as this, why had she taken the groom away from his work? The question obtained such complete possession of my mind—so worried me, in the ordinary phrase—that I actually summoned courage enough to go to my aunt, and ask if she saw any objection to sending one of the three indoor servants for her books, in Michael's place.

She received me with a strange hard stare, and answered with obstinate self-possession, "I wish Michael to go." No explanation followed. If I had planned to take a drive in my pony-carriage, Michael could easily deliver her letter later in the day. With reason or without it, agreeable to me or not agreeable to me, she wished the groom to go.

As she repeated those words, I felt my first suspicion of something wrong. I begged her pardon for interfering, and replied that I had not planned to drive out that day. She made no further remark. I left the room, determining to watch her. There is no defense for my conduct; it was mean and unbecoming, no doubt. I was drawn on by some force in me which I could not even attempt to resist. Indeed, indeed I am not a mean woman by nature!

At first I thought of speaking to Michael; not with any special motive or suspicion, but simply because I felt drawn towards him as the guide and helper in whom my heart trusted at this crisis in my life. A little consideration, however, suggested to me that I might be seen speaking to him, and might so do him an injury. While I was still hesitating, the thought came to me that Lady Catherine's motive for sending him to her bookseller's was to get him out of her way. Out of her way in the house? No: his place was not in the house. Out of her way in the stables? The next instant the idea flashed across my mind of watching the stable doors.

The best bedrooms, my room included, were all in front of the house. I went up to my maid's room, which looked on the courtyard; ready with my excuse if she happened to be there. She was not there. I placed myself at the window, in full view of the stables opposite.

An interval elapsed—long or short, I can not say which; I was too much excited to look at my watch. All I know is that I dis-

covered her ! She crossed the yard, after waiting to make sure that no one was there to see her ; and she entered the stables by the door that led to that part of the building occupied by Michael and by the two horses of which he had the special charge. This time I looked at my watch. Forty minutes passed before I saw her again. And then, instead of appearing at the door, she showed herself at the window of Michael's room ; throwing it wide open. I concealed myself behind the window curtain, just in time to escape discovery, as she looked up at the house. She next appeared in the yard, hurrying back. I waited a while, trying to compose myself, in case I met any one on the stairs. There was little danger of a meeting at that hour. The General was at his club ; the servants were at their tea. I reached my own room without being seen by any one, and locked myself in.

What had she been doing for forty minutes in Michael's room ? And why had she opened the window ?

I spare you my reflections on these perplexing questions. Let me only say that, even yet, I was not experienced enough to guess at the truth. A convenient headache saved me from the ordeal of meeting Lady Catherine at the dinner-table. I passed a restless and miserable night ; conscious that I had found my way blindly, as it were, to some terrible secret which might have its influence on my whole future life, and not knowing what to think, or what to do next. Even then, I shrank instinctively from speaking to my uncle. This was not wonderful. But I felt afraid to speak to Michael—and that perplexed and alarmed me. Consideration for Lady Catherine was certainly not the motive that kept me silent, after what I had seen.

The next morning, my pale face abundantly justified the assertion that I was still ill. My aunt, always doing her maternal duty towards me, came herself to inquire after my health before I was out of my room. So certain was she of not having been observed on the previous day—or so prodigious was her power of controlling herself—that she actually advised me to go out riding before lunch, and try what the fresh air and the exercise would do to relieve me ! Feeling that I must end in speaking to Michael, it struck me that this would be the one safe way of speaking to him in private. I accepted her advice, and had another approving pat on the cheek from the plump white fingers. They no longer struck cold on my skin ; the customary vital warmth had returned to them. Her ladyship's mind had recovered its tranquillity.

IX.

I LEFT the house for my morning ride.

Michael was not in his customary spirits. With some difficulty, I induced him to tell me the reason. He had decided on giving notice to leave his situation in the General's employment. As soon as I could command myself, I asked what had happened to justify this incomprehensible proceeding on his part. He silently offered me a letter. It was written by the master whom he had served before he came to us; and it announced that an employment as secretary was offered to him in the house of a gentleman who was "interested in his creditable efforts to improve his position in the world." What it cost me to preserve the outward appearance of composure as I handed back the letter, I am ashamed to tell. I spoke to him with some bitterness. "Your wishes are gratified," I said; "I don't wonder that you are eager to leave your place." He reined back his horse, and repeated my words, "Eager to leave my place? I am heart-broken at leaving it." I was reckless enough to ask why. His head sank. "I daren't tell you," he said. I went on from one imprudence to another. "What are you afraid of?" I asked. He suddenly looked up at me. His eyes answered, "*You.*"

Can you fathom the folly of a woman in love? Can you imagine the enormous importance which the veriest trifles assume in her poor little mind? I was perfectly satisfied—even perfectly happy after that one look. I rode on briskly for a minute or two—then the forgotten scene at the stables recurred to my memory. I resumed a foot-pace, and beckoned to him to speak to me.

"Lady Catherine's bookseller lives in the city, doesn't he?" I began.

"Yes, miss."

"Did you walk both ways?"

"Yes."

"You must have felt tired when you got back?"

"I hardly remember what I felt when I got back—I was met by a surprise."

"May I ask what it was?"

"Certainly, miss. Do you remember a black bag of mine?"

"Perfectly."

"When I returned from the city, I found the bag open, and the things I kept in it—the shawl, the linen, and the letter—"

"Gone?"

“Gone.”

My heart gave one great leap in me, and broke into vehement throbbings, which made it impossible for me to say a word more. I reined up my horse, and fixed my eyes on Michael. He was startled; he asked if I felt faint. I could only sign to him to go on.

“My own belief,” he proceeded, “is that some person burnt the things in my absence, and opened the window to prevent any suspicion being excited by the smell. I am certain I shut the window before I left my room. When I closed it on my return, the fresh air had not entirely removed the smell of burning; and, what is more, I found a heap of ashes in the grate. As to the person who has done me this injury, and why it has been done, those are mysteries beyond my fathoming.—I beg your pardon, miss, I am sure you are not well. Might I advise you to return to the house?”

I accepted his advice and turned back.

In the tumult of horror and amazement that filled my mind, I could still feel a faint triumph stirring in me through it all, when I saw how alarmed and how anxious he was about me. Nothing more passed between us on the way back. Confronted by the dreadful discovery that I had made, I was silent and helpless. Of the guilty persons concerned in the concealment of the birth and in the desertion of the infant, my nobly-born, highly-bred, irreproachable aunt now stood revealed before me as one! An older woman than I was might have been hard put to it to preserve her presence of mind in such a position as mine. Instinct, not reason, served me in my sore need. Instinct, not reason, kept me passively and stupidly silent when I got back to the house. “We will talk about it to-morrow,” was all I could say to Michael when he gently lifted me from my horse.

I excused myself from appearing at the luncheon-table; and I drew down the blinds in my sitting-room, so that my face might not betray me when Lady Catherine’s maternal duty brought her upstairs to make inquiries. The same excuse served in both cases—my ride had failed to relieve me of my headache. My aunt’s brief visit led to one result which is worth mentioning. The indescribable horror of her that I felt forced the conviction on my mind that we two could live no longer under the same roof. While I was still trying to face this alternative with the needful composure, my uncle presented himself, in some anxiety about my continued illness. I should certainly have burst out crying, when the kind and dear old man kissed me and condoled with me, if he had not brought

news with him which turned back all my thoughts on myself and my aunt. Michael had shown the General his letter, and had given notice to leave. Lady Catherine was present at the time. To her husband's amazement, she abruptly interfered with a personal request to Michael to think better of it, and to remain in his place !

X.

" I SHOULD not have troubled you, my dear, on this unpleasant subject," said my uncle, " if Michael had not told me that you were aware of the circumstances under which he feels it his duty to leave us. After your aunt's interference (quite incomprehensible to *me*) the man hardly knows what to do. Being your groom, he begs me to ask if there is any impropriety in his leaving the difficulty to your decision. I tell you of his request, Mina ; but I strongly advise you to decline taking any responsibility on yourself."

I answered mechanically, accepting my uncle's suggestion, while my thoughts were wholly absorbed in this last of the many extraordinary proceedings on Lady Catherine's part, since Michael had entered the house. There are limits—out of books and plays—to the innocence of a young unmarried woman. After what I had just heard, the doubts which had thus far perplexed me were suddenly and completely cleared up. I said to my secret self, " She has some human feeling left. Michael Bloomfield is her son !"

From the moment when my mind emerged from the darkness, I recovered the use of such intelligence and courage as I naturally possessed. From this point you will find that, right or wrong, I saw my way before me, and took it.

To say that I felt for the General with my whole heart, is merely to own that I could be commonly grateful. I sat on his knee, and laid my cheek against his cheek, and thanked him for his long, long years of kindness to me. He stopped me in his simple generous way. " Why, Mina, you talk as if you were going to leave us !" I started up, and went to the window, opening it and complaining of the heat, and so concealing from him that he had unconsciously anticipated the event that was indeed to come. When I returned to my chair, he helped me to recover myself by alluding once more to my aunt. He feared that her health was in some way impaired. In the time when they had first met, she was subject to nervous maladies, having their origin in a " calamity," which was never mentioned by either of them in later days. She might possibly be suffering again from some other form of nervous derangement,

and he seriously thought of persuading her to send for medical advice.

Under ordinary circumstances, this vague reference to a "calamity" would not have excited any special interest in me. But my mind was now in a state of morbid suspicion. I knew that my uncle and aunt had been married for twenty-four years ; and I remembered Michael had described himself as being twenty-six years old. Bearing these circumstances in mind, it struck me that I might be acting wisely (in Michael's interest) if I persuaded the General to speak further of what had happened at the time when he met the woman whom an evil destiny had bestowed on him for a wife. Nothing but the consideration of serving the man I loved would have reconciled me to making my own secret use of the recollections which my uncle might innocently confide to me. As it was, I thought the means would, in this case, be for once justified by the end. Before we part, I have little doubt that you will think so too.

I found it an easier task than I had anticipated to turn the talk back again to the days when the General had seen Lady Catherine for the first time. He was proud of the circumstances under which he had won his wife. Ah, how my heart ached for him as I saw his eyes sparkle and the color mount in his fine rugged face !

This is the substance of what I heard from him. I tell it briefly, because it is still painful to me to tell it at all.

My uncle had met Lady Catherine at her father's country house. She had then reappeared in society, after a long period of seclusion, passed partly in England, partly on the Continent. Before the date of her retirement, she had been engaged to marry a French nobleman, equally illustrious by his birth and by his diplomatic services in the East. Within a few weeks of the wedding-day, he was drowned by the wreck of his yacht. This was the calamity to which my uncle had referred.

Lady Catherine's mind was so seriously affected by the dreadful event that the doctors refused to answer for the consequences unless she was at once placed in the strictest retirement. Her mother, and a French maid devotedly attached to her, were the only persons whom it was considered safe for the young lady to see, until time and care had in some degree composed her. An after-residence in a quiet Swiss valley slowly completed the restoration of her health. Her return to her friends and admirers was naturally a subject of sincere rejoicing among the guests assembled

in her father's house. My uncle's interest in Lady Catherine soon developed into love. They were equals in rank, and well suited to each other in age. The parents raised no obstacles; but they did not conceal from their guest that the disaster which had befallen their daughter was but too likely to disincline her to receive his addresses, or any man's addresses, favorably. To their surprise, they proved to be wrong. The young lady was touched by the simplicity and the delicacy with which her lover urged his suit. She had lived among worldly people. This was a man whose devotion she could believe to be sincere. They were married.

Had no unusual circumstances occurred? Had nothing happened which the General had forgotten? Nothing.

XI.

It is surely needless that I should stop here, to draw the plain inferences from the events just related. Any person who remembers that the shawl in which the infant was wrapped came from those Eastern regions which were associated with the French nobleman's diplomatic services—also, that the faults of composition in the letter found on the child were exactly the faults likely to have been committed by the French maid—any person who follows these traces can find his way to the truth as I found mine.

Returning for a moment to the hopes which I had formed of being of some service to Michael, I have only to say that they were at once destroyed when I heard of the death by drowning of the man to whom the evidence pointed as his father. The prospect looked equally barren when I thought of the miserable mother. That she should openly acknowledge her son, in her position, was perhaps not to be expected of any woman. Had she courage enough, or, in plainer words, heart enough, to acknowledge him privately?

I called to mind again some of the apparent caprices and contradictions in Lady Catherine's conduct, on the memorable day when Michael had presented himself to fill the vacant place. Look back with me to the record of what she said and did on that occasion, by the light of your present knowledge, and you will see that his likeness to his father must have struck her when he entered the room, and that his statement of his age must have correctly described the age of her son. Recall the actions that followed—the withdrawal to the window to conceal her face; the clutch at the curtain when she felt herself sinking; the cry, not of terror at a cat, but of recognition of the father's nervous infirmity

reappearing in the son ; the harshness of manner under which she concealed her emotions when she ventured to speak to him ; the reiterated inconsistencies and vacillations of conduct that followed, all alike due to the protest of Nature desperately resisted to the last—and say if I did her injustice when I believed her to be incapable of running the smallest risk of discovery at the prompting of maternal love.

There remained, then, only Michael to think of. I remembered how he had spoken of the unnatural parents whom he neither expected nor cared to discover. Still I could not reconcile it to my conscience to accept a chance outbreak of temper as my sufficient justification for keeping him in ignorance of a discovery which so nearly concerned him. It seemed at least to be my duty to make myself acquainted with the true state of his feelings, before I decided to bear the burden of silence with me to my grave.

What I felt it my duty to do in this serious matter I determined to do at once. Besides, let me honestly own that I felt lonely and desolate, oppressed by the critical situation in which I was placed, and eager for the relief that it would be to me only to hear the sound of Michael's voice. I sent my maid to say that I wished to speak to him immediately. The crisis was already hanging over my head. That one act brought it down.

XII.

HE came in, and stood modestly waiting at the door.

After making him take a chair, I began by saying that I had received his message, and that, acting on my uncle's advice, I must abstain from interfering in the question of his leaving or not leaving his place. Having in this way established a reason for sending for him, I alluded next to the loss that he had sustained, and asked if he had any prospect of finding out the person who had entered his room in his absence. On his reply in the negative, I spoke of the serious results to him of the act of destruction that had been committed. "Your last chance of discovering your parents," I said, "has been cruelly destroyed."

He smiled sadly. "You know already, miss, that I never expected to discover them."

I ventured a little nearer to the object I had in view.

"Do you never think of your mother?" I asked. "At your age, she might be still living. Can you give up all hope of finding her without feeling your heart ache?"

"If I have done her wrong, in believing that she deserted me," he answered, "the heartache is but a poor way of expressing the remorse that I should feel."

I ventured nearer still. "Even if you were right," I began—"even if she did desert you—"

He interrupted me sternly. "I would not cross the street to see her," he said. "A woman who deserts her child is a monster. Forgive me for speaking so, miss! When I see good mothers and their children, it maddens me when I think of what *my* childhood was."

Hearing those words and watching him attentively while he spoke, I could see that my silence would be a mercy, not a crime. I hastened to speak of other things.

"If you decide to leave us," I said, "when shall you go?"

His eyes softened instantly. Little by little the color faded out of his face as he answered me.

"The General kindly said when I spoke of leaving my place—" His voice faltered, and he paused to steady it. "My master," he resumed, "said that I need not keep my new employer waiting by staying for the customary month, provided—provided you were willing to dispense with my services."

So far I had succeeded in controlling myself. At that reply I felt my resolution failing me. I saw how he suffered; I saw how manfully he struggled to conceal it. All my heart went out to him in spite of me.

"I am not willing," I said. "I am sorry—very, very sorry to lose you. But I will do any thing that is for your good. I can say no more."

He rose suddenly, as if to leave the room; mastered himself; stood for a moment silently looking at me—then looked away again and said his parting words.

"If I succeed, Miss Mina, in my new employment—if I get on perhaps to higher things—is it—is it presuming too much to ask if I might, some day—perhaps when you are out riding alone—if I might speak to you—only to ask if you are well and happy—"

He could say no more. I saw the tears in his eyes; saw him shaken by the convulsive breathings which break from men in the rare moments when they cry. He forced it back even then. He bowed to me—oh, God, he bowed to me, as if he were only my servant! as if he were too far below me to take my hand, even at that moment! I could have endured any thing else; I believe I could still have restrained myself under any other circumstances.

It matters little now ; my confession must be made, whatever you may think of me. I flew to him like a frenzied creature—I threw my arms round his neck—I said to him, “ Oh, Michael, don’t you know that I love you ? ” And then I laid my head on his breast, and held him to me, and said no more.

In that moment of silence, the door of the room was opened. I started, and looked up. Lady Catherine was standing on the threshold.

I saw in her face that she had been listening—she must have followed him when he was on his way to my room. That conviction steadied me. I took his hand in mine, and stood side by side with him, waiting for her to speak first. She looked at Michael, not at me. She advanced a step or two, and addressed him in these words : “ It is just possible that *you* have some sense of decency left. Leave the room.”

That deliberate insult was all I wanted to make me completely mistress of myself. I told Michael to wait a moment, and opened my writing-desk. I wrote on an envelope the address in London of a faithful old servant who had attended my mother in her last moments. I gave it to Michael. “ Call there to-morrow morning,” I said. “ You will find me waiting for you.”

He looked at Lady Catherine, evidently unwilling to leave me alone with her. “ Fear nothing,” I said ; “ I am old enough to take care of myself. I have only a word to say to this lady before I leave the house.” With that I took his arm and walked with him to the door, and said good-by almost as composedly as if we had been husband and wife already.

Lady Catherine’s eyes followed me as I shut the door again, and crossed the room to a second door which led into my bed-chamber. She suddenly stepped up to me, just as I was entering the room, and laid her hand on my arm. “ What do I see in your face ? ” she asked, as much of herself as of me—with her eyes fixed in keen inquiry on mine.

“ You shall know directly,” I answered. “ Let me get my bonnet and cloak first.”

“ Do you mean to leave the house ? ”

“ I do.”

She rang the bell. I quietly dressed myself to go out. The servant answered the bell as I returned to the sitting-room.

“ Tell your master I wish to see him instantly,” said Lady Catherine.

“ My master has gone out, my lady.”

“To his club?”

“I believe so, my lady.”

“I will send you with a letter to him. Come back when I ring again.”

She turned to me as the man withdrew. “Do you refuse to stay here until the General returns?”

“I shall be happy to see the General, if you will inclose my address in your letter to him.”

Replying in those terms, I wrote the address for the second time. Lady Catherine knew perfectly well, when I gave it to her, that I was going to a respectable house, kept by a woman who had nursed me when I was a child.

“One last question,” she said. “Am I to tell the General that it is your intention to marry your groom?”

Her tone stung me into making an answer which I regretted the moment it had passed my lips.

“You can put it more plainly if you like,” I said. “You can tell the General that it is my intention to marry *your son*.”

She was near the door, on the point of leaving me. As I spoke, she turned with a ghastly stare of horror—felt about with her hands as if she were groping in darkness—and dropped senseless on the floor.

I instantly summoned help. The women-servants carried her to my bed. While they were restoring her to herself, I wrote a few lines, telling the miserable woman how I had discovered her secret. “Your husband’s tranquillity,” I added, “is as precious to me as my own. As for your son, you know what he thinks of the parents who deserted him. Your secret is safe in my keeping—safe from your husband, safe from your son, to the end of my life.”

I sealed up those words, and gave them to her with my own hand, when she had come to herself again. I never heard from her in reply. I have never seen her from that time to this. She knows she can trust me.

And what did my good uncle say when we next met? I would rather report what he did, when he had got the better of his first feelings of anger and surprise on hearing of my contemplated marriage. He kissed me on my wedding-day; and he gave my husband the appointment which places us both in an independent position for life.

This is my shocking story, Madam. This is how I disgraced myself by marrying my groom.

WILKIE COLLINS.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

TWO NOVELS.—Mr. Eggleston's "Roxy"¹ is so good that one wishes it were better. The scene is laid in Indiana in 1841. The local coloring, which reminds one of passages in Dickens's "American Notes" and "Martin Chuzzlewit," is fresh, and probably true to life; the story, though not new to a novel-reading world, is told in a manner calculated to interest a person who cares for tales of this class; the characters are various, and are well enough discriminated; the style is usually correct, and sometimes impressive; the general moral tone is good. On the other hand, despite the excellent intentions of Roxy, the liveliness of Twonnet, and the noble purposes of Mr. Whittaker, a not over-fastidious person rises from the book with a disagreeable feeling that he has been spending a good deal of time in low society, associating with people whose personal acquaintance he would not care for, and listening to coarse and profane talk. Even the author himself sometimes catches the language, if not the tone, of his associates; and this notwithstanding the pains he takes to make clear that he knows what a vulgarism is, and can tell an Eastern from a Western one.

Miss Warner's "Diana"² belongs to the same general class with her "Wide, Wide World." The leading character is a minister, who is a perfect man, with the virtues of his profession and his sex, and the practical gifts of all professions and both sexes. The story turns on the heroine's agony in consequence of marrying the wrong man, who turns out to be the right one; and this agony is wrought out and dwelt upon in a manner and to a length peculiar to writers who study marriage from the outside. There is a good deal of religious conversation in the book; and most of the talk, whether about a picnic or a prayer-meeting, is in short sentences, each forming a paragraph by itself. By this device the story is extended to the requisite length. It is unfortunate that Miss Warner should make her characters indulge in repartee, for in that she is not a proficient. Yet the book is so much superior, both in purpose and in execution, to many

¹ "Roxy." By Edward Eggleston. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1878.

² "Diana." By Susan Warner, author of "Wide, Wide World," etc. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

that meet the wants of large circles of readers, that we would not say a word to discourage any admirer of Miss Warner's previous works from taking up this one.

THE WAVERLEY DICTIONARY.¹—This book undertakes to do even more than the title promises ; for it gives a synopsis of each novel, and professes to enumerate all the chapters in which each personage appears. Its illustrative selections from the text are well enough, and serve to remind one who knows Scott already of old acquaintances. It may be doubted, however, whether a genuine lover of Waverley will not prefer to refresh his memory by reference to the original rather than to extracts from the original however skilfully made, and whether one who has not read Waverley should be advised to pick up its dry bones from a book like this. The "Waverley Dictionary" would, in short, have been a more serviceable book, had it been nothing more than a directory to novel and chapter, with brief references to the action of each character named, as in the indexes to the Centenary edition of the novels.

Such a directory should, however, be absolutely free from errors of every kind. Its excellence lies in its thoroughness and exactness. To the extent that the proof-sheets are not carefully read, the book loses its value. This test the "Dictionary" will not bear. Opening it at random, we find that Meg Merrilies sometimes appears as Meg Merriles, Mr. Pleydell as Mr. Plydell, and Mr. Protocol as Mr. Proctocol ; and the last two misspellings are reproduced in the general index. In the synopsis of "Kenilworth" we read of "the sleeping portion." The first reference to *Plydell* is *Chapter X.*, but in that chapter the name does not occur ; the second reference is to *Chapter XXVI.*, evidently a misprint for *Chapter XXXVI.*

We may have been unlucky in the pages we opened at ; but a few such errors lead to a general distrust of the book that contains them.

TRAVELS IN THE EAST.²—The central interest of Mr. Warner's "In the Levant," as of his "Mummies and Moslems," lies in the opposition of ideas and associations between the author and his themes. In these pages the East does not describe itself : it is described by a quick-eyed, quick-witted American, who is not free from sentiment, but who has a keen sense of humor and a quaint way of putting things. It would be too much to say that Mr. Warner exemplifies his own remark : "There is I know not what in a real living Yankee that puts all appearances to the test and

¹ "The Waverley Dictionary : An Alphabetical Arrangement of all the Characters in Sir Walter Scott's Waverley Novels, with a Descriptive Analysis of each Character and Illustrative Selections from the Text." By May Rogers. Chicago : S. C. Griggs & Co., 1879.

² "In the Levant." By Charles Dudley Warner. Boston : James R. Osgood & Co.

dissipates the colors of romance." He does not dissipate the colors of romance, but he adds to them a sparkling color of his own, and he puts appearances to a modern test. He does not, like some of the travelers he met, find fault with the East because it fails to provide him with Boston buns or with Hartford comforts ; still less does he "do" the Jordan after the manner of the "Cookies" (Cook's tourists), of whom he makes much fun : but the comparison between Asia and the United States ; between things in Judea and Greece as they are in themselves and as they are imagined by us to be, is constantly suggested ; and it must form the great value of the book for many readers. If they went to the Levant, they would be making such comparisons all the time for themselves, and they are glad to look through a pair of eyes like their own, and none the less glad because those eyes see infinitely more than theirs would do.

Mr. Warner makes no pretensions to learning, and few efforts to play the part of Murray or of Baedeker. He goes through Palestine, Bible in hand ; but he neither cants about religion nor sneers at it. He has his laugh at the "unheroic Jonah and his whale," who in "a manner anticipated the use of the monitors and other cigar-shaped submerged sea-vessels ;" he ruthlessly lays bare the festering superstitions, the filth, the squalor, the shams, the "factories of relics," that fill the land consecrated by the Christian imagination for nineteen centuries ; he shows an intimate acquaintance with both the Old and the New Testament, and he knows them well enough to treat them with modern freedom ; but he rarely writes a word that would offend the most sensitive believer. Occasionally his humorous fancies stray into the region of extravaganza, as when he describes his chase of a feather that fell from a flying eagle, or pictures the Dead Sea as a fashionable resort ; but usually they serve to give freshness to a scene or piquancy to a criticism.

From Palestine the author journeys to Baalbec, Damascus, Ephesus, Cyprus, Rhodes, Constantinople, and Athens. Often he has time for only a hurried glance, but he is almost always able to tell us about each place he visits something new in itself or in his way of telling it. Occasionally he writes an eloquent paragraph, and he writes many bright ones.

To do justice to Mr. Warner's skill in suggesting, through his fancy or his humor, the Orient and the Oriental, longer extracts than we have room for would be required. He rarely tries his hand at "word-painting," but either individualizes a place by a single epithet, or sums up its character by showing its effect on his mind.

OF MR. APPLETON'S NILE JOURNAL¹ there is little to say. It contains nothing to justify the author's deserved reputation as a sayer of good things. The brilliant talker is by no means a lively writer. The few attempts at

¹ "A Nile Journal." By T. G. Appleton. Boston : Roberts Brothers.

wit—as where Antonio (the cook) is said to be able to “travesty a crocodile into delightfulness,” or make fish-balls that “reminded us of a past starry with fish-balls”—can hardly be considered successful. Equally absent from these pages is the charm of life upon the Nile. We are not brought in contact with the strange old civilization of Egypt ; we are not made to feel the contrast between the river of the Sphinx and our own mill-turning streams ; we do not breathe the wonderful air which brings youth again to the most jaded traveler. Not that nothing is said about all these things, but that they are not touched by the imagination or the fancy. The mind of the writer “moves like a questing hound among the dim places of the past ;” he is “saturated, overwhelmed, as if time had presented us with a goblet too heavy for our weak nerves ;” we learn that “the river shot its moving threads of blue and silver while focussing the living gold ;” we read of “horizontal,” “uprights,” “figures marvelously accented against the brightness,” “the grand, twisted camel silhouetted against the sunset ;” we “lap the sunshine with our northern nerves :” but somehow all these fine words fail of the desired effect. Where no real enthusiasm exists or no power to put it into words, the best course for a traveler is to tell a simple, straightforward story.

LINES IN THE SAND.¹—“Most of the poems in this volume were written,” says the “Publisher’s Apology,” “while the author was pursuing a University course of study, supporting himself meantime by teaching, and performing sundry other literary work.” In expression and elevation of tone, they are equal if not superior to any other collections of college verse within our knowledge ; and they are absolutely free from indecency of language or impurity of suggestion. Some lines are obscure, some metaphors confused, some words—*glimpsed*, for example, which occurs at least twice—without warrant in good usage ; but, on the whole, there is promise in such lines as the following from “A Story,” the longest poem in the little volume :

“Did she perceive that a lightness rose in his heart as he heard ?
Did she perceive a numbed passion start ’neath the wand of her word ?
Saw she not beam a strange brightness, when the dull cinders she stirred ?

“Ah ! if she did, she was human. Heaven shall judge her, not I.
Is it a lure to be loved and, not loving, to smile and to sigh ?
Well, if it be, she was woman ; that is reproof and reply.”

THE RING OF AMETHYST.²—The author of the pretty little volume before us has the courage to dedicate her work to George Eliot, and to

¹ “Lines in the Sand.” By Richard E. Day. Syracuse : John T. Roberts for the Syracuse Chapter of Delta Upsilon. 1878.

² “The Ring of Amethyst.” By Alice Wellington Rollins. New York : G. P. Putnam’s Sons. 1878.

inscribe on her title-page a motto from Mrs. Browning—thus boldly pointing to her two principal sources of inspiration. If no one of the poems has the thoughtfulness of George Eliot or the fire of Mrs. Browning, they are all simple, clear, and in good taste and just feeling. Many of them deal with the writer's personal experiences. Of the others, "Andromeda" is one of the best.

ECHOES FROM MIST-LAND.¹—The book with this somewhat fanciful title will serve as an introduction to the legends of the Nibelungen Lay, to which Wagner has given a fresh interest. The author undertakes to retell the tale "in simple English prose, in style, so far as possible, adapted to the mode of thought and expression of our day and country."

BARNETT SMITH'S LIFE OF SHELLEY.²—At present, more than ever before, Shelley's writings are the *vogue* in England; and of this late enthusiasm Mr. Smith's very readable study is one of the freshest results. Its effort is twofold: first, to give a connected account of the poet's outward and visible life, with such divination of the invisible as might be possible; second, to gather the clues afforded by his life and writings into a consistent estimate of his character and of his rightful position in English literature. It was an ambitious effort; and, in so far as it is incompletely successful, partial reason, at least, may be found in the fact that the time has not arrived for a final estimate of Shelley. It was but the other day, so to speak, that we first had the facts respecting the circumstances of his death; for it is with justice that Mr. Smith accepts as probably genuine the confession of the Italian seaman (published in the London literary journals of 1876) respecting the purposed running down of Shelley's boat in the bay of Spezzia. And the mystery which so long covered the last scene in his life was scarcely deeper than that which still clouds the motives of many of his acts. To their critical explanation Mr. Smith has seriously addressed himself in this little volume; and he has given us an analysis which must interest all who care for Shelley. If it can scarcely be called a final analysis, it is to be remembered that Shelley was the least English of all English poets; he was so especially at variance with the thought and belief of his own country that his fullest critical comprehension is yet, we believe, to come from others than his countrymen. Meanwhile we are thankful for Mr. Smith's biography; it is carefully executed, and is the outcome of a genuine knowledge and appreciation of one of the greatest of English poets.

¹ "Echoes from Mist-Land; or, The Nibelungen Lay Revealed to Lovers of Romance and Chivalry." By Auber Forestier. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co.

² "Shelley. A Critical Biography." By George Barnett Smith, author of "Poets and Novelists," etc. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1878.

COUNT TOLSTOY'S *THE COSSACKS*.¹—For Western readers this story has an almost necessary interest in the novelty of its setting, in a life so different from ours as that of the military stations in the Caucasus, and in the character of Circassian mountaineers and outlaws ; even in the strange Slavonic names, which, but for the context, would serve the Western reader equally well for the heroes or the heroines of the tale. But, aside from this zest of remoteness, the story is vividly told ; and it is told not merely by a picturesque narrator, but by a clear and cultivated thinker. Even rapid readers will pause, for instance, over that suggestive passage in the second chapter where Count Tolstoy speaks of the unique opportunity of youth : “ not strength of the intellect, of the heart, or of the imagination, but that never-recurring *élan*, that force which is given once to every man of making himself all that he desires.” He distinguishes, in a vein of pregnant philosophy, between those who follow this “ god of youth ” and those who “ put upon themselves the first yoke they find, and honorably work in it to the end of their life.” Between discriminations like this on the one hand, and the roughest of Cossack fighting and love-making on the other, the hero, Olenin, a sort of Russian Hamlet, plays a constantly interesting part. The translation reads well, but it is fair to remember the censure of critics versed in the Russian language, who complain that it sometimes goes wide of the meaning of the original.

A CANOE TRIP IN CANADA.²—This is one of the numerous books which would never have been written but for Mr. John McGregor's famous “ Voyage of the Rob Roy ”—a book which must be held responsible for the launching, during these recent years, of many a frail canoe and many a frailer volume. The style of the present narrative is, at least in intention, humorous, but it is a fatiguing humor ; the woodcuts are extremely crude, and their fun is scarcely more satisfying than that of the text. Reading the book with the most resolute good-will, we find little matter for commendation in it until reaching the appendix, which contains clear practical directions about buying, rigging, and repairing canoes. This is the best part of the book ; it will render substantial service to the intending canoeist.

SHOOTING STARS.³—These papers recall Sydney Smith's famous saying, that the essence of wit is surprise. Certainly more unexpected and

¹ “ The Cossacks : a Tale of the Caucasus in 1852.” By Count Leo Tolstoy. Translated from the Russian by Eugene Schuyler. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. 1878.

² “ Canoeing in Kanuckia.” By C. L. Norton and John Habberton. Illustrated. New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1878.

³ “ Shooting Stars, as observed from the ‘ Sixth Column ’ of the *Times*.” By W. L. Alden. New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1878.

startling incongruities of thought than these, though they are not witty but humorous, would be hard to find. Mr. Alden's humor is not so grotesque as John Phoenix's, nor as unctuous as Artemus Ward's, nor as varied and spontaneous as Mark Twain's; but it is in a very ingenious vein. If it is not always very refined, it is at least really amusing; it is clearly distinguishable from the mock humor which consists in mere oddities of tormented phrase, and which is still so popular with some of the daily journals; and it is fresh enough to be called a new departure in its line.

CHUMS.¹—" 'Are you jesting?' he said. 'I never was more serious in my life,' I remarked, coolly."

To a reader in search of the satire in this "satirical sketch," this passage from one of the dialogues in the book will have a painful significance. The most entertaining character is "Ned," who amuses himself with eating bananas at a hotel window and throwing the skins on the heads of a party of servant-girls below.

The principal personages are Kate Preston, who invites a gentleman whom she addresses as "Friend Rod" to visit her at a mountain hotel, and tells him that she wishes an escort who "would be willing to walk with me without desiring to kiss me, row on the river with me in the moonlight without staring in my face, and who would recognize the fact that I am not in the matrimonial market." In the first chapter, they walked down "the main aisle" of the dining-room together; in the last chapter, "he bent down and kissed her cheek."

Typographical errors are in place in a book of this character; accordingly we find *me* for *be* and *by*, *glace* for *glance*, and *profless* for *profitless*.

DR. LEAVITT'S POEMS.²—The title Dr. Leavitt has adopted for the late edition of his well-known poems is itself a striking and even stirring assertion of the ever-youthful immortality of poetry, and his book fairly illustrates his title.

It must be confessed, however, that the popular taste is not now inclined towards poetry that adheres to classical models; nor is it much more favorable to a fixed faith. It is even doubtful whether belief in noble sentiments, as practicable life principles, has not already been superseded by a kind of grimly jocose trust in adroit pretension. There is enough respect for truth and nobleness, and just enough value set upon virtue and purity, to make it popularly worth while to wear them as masks. Even that is daily growing weaker.

¹ "Chums." A Satirical Sketch by Howard MacSherry. Charles S. Clarke, Jr., Jersey City, N. J.

² "New World Tragedies from Old World Life, with other Poems." By John M. Leavitt. New York: Harper Brothers.

To those readers who look upon all these as signs of mental and moral emancipation, the broad allusion, the irreverent suggestion, and the philosophic self-sufficiency of much popular poetry now in vogue, will be preferred to such works as this of Dr. Leavitt. But they who revere humanity for its likeness in type to God Himself, and who, under all circumstances of age, religion, and culture or cultus, believe in the possible outbursting of noble sentiments in some select heroes of the times, and who can conceive of such sentiments working up into grand self-sacrifices, and leading on to either victory or death, with unswerving faith in the present worth of truth, and of its sure, final victory—such reverers of godlike humanity will feel a sense of gratitude to Dr. Leavitt for his trust in the true and the beautiful, and for putting into skillful and polished forms expressions of that trust, which some can appreciate, and all should accept.

The leading fault of these poems, if it be a fault, is the monotony of their lofty tone and the unrelieved swell of their language. One feels, after reading, like laboring for breath, and would be willing, for a time at least, to lose the wide outlook as from a mountain-top, if he might only refresh himself a moment with the denser air of easier walks below. Nor can it be said that the toiling is repaid by absolutely new visions of far-reaching glory and grace.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN EUROPE.¹—This volume completes the series of eight volumes of the "History of the Reformation in the Time of Calvin," and concludes the whole series of thirteen volumes which cover the entire period from 1517, when Luther placed his theses upon the door of the church at Wittenberg, to his death in 1546. This great work, so finished, is a noble legacy to Christendom. It has long since made the author's name a household word, wherever evangelical churches and lovers of God's free truth are found.

BENJAMIN DU PLAN.²—This biography concerns a man who is here shown to be an earnest Christian, and the indefatigable and self-sacrificing representative of the Huguenot churches of France during the years of their tribulation. Du Plan was of noble family. In 1710 he abandoned the position which as a noble he held in the army, to devote himself wholly

¹ "History of the Reformation in Europe in the Time of Calvin." By the Rev. J. H. Merle d'Aubigné, D.D. Translated by William L. R. Cates. Vol. VIII. Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, Netherlands, Geneva, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1879.

² "Benjamin du Plan, Gentleman of Alais, Deputy-General of the Reformed Churches of France from 1725 to 1763." By D. Bonnefon, Pastor of the Reformed Church of Alais, Department of Gard. London: Hodder & Stoughton; New York: Scribner & Co. 1878.

to "the support and diffusion of the Protestant religion." The work of defending his faith was surrounded with danger in those days of persecution, and great secrecy had to be maintained as to all deliberations and transactions. The biography presents most interesting and useful accounts of the condition of French Protestantism during Du Plan's life. Antoine Court, a Protestant missionary, who rendered the cause of Protestantism lasting service as an organizer of the proscribed religion, was in regular and frequent correspondence with the layman Du Plan, and found in him a most faithful and ardent friend and colleague. The volume is made up of letters which passed between Du Plan and his Protestant contemporaries joined together like the links of a chain, forming a connected and thrilling history of the perilous period between the years 1710 and 1763.

The biographer has done his work with judicious care, and the translator, Mr. Lloyd (a descendant, by the way, of Du Plan), has rendered the work attractive to English readers in biographical literature.

ROMAN LITERATURE.¹—It is seldom that a better service has been rendered to classical students than has been performed by the author of this book. The task of presenting, in small compass, a history of the rise, development, progress, and decline of Roman literature, which should be at the same time sufficiently full and reliably accurate, was at once great and difficult. It has been executed by Mr. Cruttwell with scholarly care and thoroughness; and as a volume for the use of students in the higher schools and colleges, and of educated men who are not specialists, for purposes of general reference and review, one could hardly hope to find any thing more complete.

The introduction explains the design of the work and the plan adopted by the author. Assuming as the *terminus a quo* the time of Livius Andronicus, B.C. 240, he divides the whole period of which he proposes to treat into three subordinate periods, viz. : I. From Livius to Sulla, 240–80 B.C. II. The Golden Age, from Cicero to Ovid, B.C. 80–14 A.D. III. The Period of the Decline, from the accession of Tiberius to the death of Marcus Aurelius, 14–180 A.D. In accordance with this general plan, the culture of the language and taste of the Romans and the characteristics of prominent authors in the different departments of literature, are treated with condensed and discriminating criticism. Without excess of detail he presents a succession of sketches which are sufficiently extended to enable one to gain an intelligent comprehension of the rise, progress, and decline of Roman literature as a whole. The relation of Roman literature to that of Greece—about which the learned have

¹ "A History of Roman Literature, from the Earliest Period to the Death of Marcus Aurelius." By Charles Thomas Cruttwell, M.A. With Chronological Tables, etc., for the use of students. New York : Charles Scribner & Sons.

widely differed—its character as determined by the practical and realistic cast of the Roman mind, the manner in which it was carried to its highest point of refinement, and the causes which corrupted and gradually destroyed its classic purity, are discussed with comprehensiveness and judgment. There is a felicitous adjustment and proportion in the treatment of authors and topics. The writer is not led by his own tastes to expand too much his comments on favorites, and pass too lightly over others. Of course some of his readers will not entirely accept his critical opinions, or agree with all his estimates of men; but no competent person, we think, can read his work without being impressed with the thoroughness and fidelity of his labor in its preparation.

The value of the volume is increased by a copious table of contents and an appendix containing well-arranged tables of reference, and other helps to the right use of the book. It is seldom that the results of so much critical scholarship have been condensed into one moderate sized volume.

HOME LESSONS.¹—Miss Symington has here given, with much tact and ability, a series of conversations upon the meaning of the questions and answers which comprise the Shorter Catechism, her object being to aid children in easily comprehending and applying the lessons therein taught. This attempt at a familiar exposition of Bible truths will certainly serve a useful purpose. The author has selected many pointed illustrations for the book, and her style is agreeable both to grown and little folks.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF WAR.²—Mr. Ram, in this brief argument in favor of war, takes the ground that "it has been by war, by countless ages of war, of constant physical war, that nature has brought savage men out of monkey-like anthropoids, civilized men out of savages, and good men out of lawless and immoral ones."

By war, China will be opened up like India, and hereafter, instead of one out of every three human beings on the face of the earth, there will be a much less proportion of Chinamen by some process analogous to war, which nature has a way in her own good time of using. If England does not give herself to the elevation of mankind by wielding the club, and setting loose the "dogs of war," Russia will. Let England have regard for her laurels!

¹ "Home Lessons, on the old paths. Conversations on the Shorter Catechism." By M. T. S. Paisley: J. and R. Parlane. 1878. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1879.

² "The Philosophy of War." By James Ram. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1878.

MCKNIGHT'S ELECTORAL SYSTEM.¹—The chief purpose of this book appears to be to show what was the real electoral system established by the Constitution of the United States, and how greatly, in counting the votes and declaring the results of recent Presidential elections, there has been a departure from it. For this purpose the Constitution is examined in the light of contemporary history and opinions, and the precedents of early elections are given. Mr. McKnight believes that these establish beyond cavil that the constitutional method of canvassing and determining the result of a Presidential election is for the president of the Senate to open the certificates of votes transmitted to him from the several States, count the votes, and declare the result; and that when Congress, by joint rule or otherwise, assumes the power for the two houses—or, as has been done in some elections, for either house—to reject a State, it is guilty of plain and most gross usurpation of power. The subject is examined with great fullness and no little ingenuity, and the evils and dangers of the recent precedents are presented forcibly. Mr. McKnight believes the Electoral Commission to have been an unconstitutional tribunal to aid Congress in the exercise of unconstitutional powers, and that the nation by means of it was defrauded of its choice for President. Incidentally he advocates amendments to the Constitution, one of which extends the President's term to six years, and renders him ineligible for a re-election.

THE LITERARY MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND.

HARE'S WALKS IN LONDON.² (New Edition).—The surprising growth of London since the time of Queen Elizabeth—who caused enactments to be made to restrict the extension of the city—is clearly shown in these very interesting volumes. Mr. Hare is a most intelligent observer and a diligent antiquarian; no one could have better disposed of his wealth of materials than he has done. We here get attractive glimpses of the most astonishing city in the world as it has affected residents therein from the days of Chaucer down to those of Charles Lamb. Perhaps the best idea of the magnitude of London may be gained when we reflect that more people live in it already than in the whole of Denmark or Switzerland, more than twice as many as in Saxony or Norway, and nearly as many as in Scotland. Almost every street in the older portions of the city teems

¹ "The Electoral System of the United States." By David A. McKnight. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

² "Walks in London." By Augustus J. C. Hare, author of "Walks in Rome," etc. London: Daldy, Isbister & Co. New York: Scribner's Sons.

with historical associations. Mr. Hare boldly claims for London what foreigners never concede to it, that if the capitals of Europe are considered, it is one of the most picturesque—far more so than Paris or Vienna ; incomparably more so than St. Petersburg, Berlin, Dresden, Munich, Brussels, or Madrid. However, leaving this debatable ground, it is very pleasant to stray (with Mr. Hare as our guide) through the Strand, the Inns of Court, Fleet Street, Cheapside, Bishopsgate, Aldersgate, Smithfield, Canonbury, and all the other districts of the metropolis, memorable for their age or the events which have occurred within their borders. In his second volume, Mr. Hare describes Trafalgar Square, Westminster Abbey, Lambeth, Chelsea, Kensington, etc. This work is most entertaining from an informational aspect, but it is also as full of interest as any novel.

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF EDMUND J. ARMSTRONG.¹—We have here a valuable memoir of a very remarkable man, cut off before he had attained his prime, and before his intellectual faculties reached their full expansion and expression. All critics are agreed that in Edmund J. Armstrong there were the makings of a true poet and a man of letters. His brother tells the story of his life with feeling and affection. Born in Dublin in the year 1841, by the time he had reached his thirteenth year Armstrong had obtained a considerable knowledge of and a strong affection for poetry. A hard period of study succeeded, till, at the age of eighteen, he was prostrated by a long and precarious illness. No sooner had he recovered a certain measure of health and strength, however, than he plunged once more into the delights of composition. He appears at this time to have passed through many peculiar religious phases. His assiduity was great, and his literary powers of the most varied order. At length, in 1865, at the age of twenty-three, the end came, after much suffering. Edmund Armstrong died very peacefully and with a simple and child-like confidence in his Creator. He has left behind him a collection of essays and sketches which exhibit considerable originality, but his fame will chiefly depend upon his poems, which reveal a capacity of no mean order. As Sainte-Beuve said, "He will have his place to himself in that group, immortal and pathetic, of the Kirke Whites, the Keatses ; and his young star will continue to shine before the eyes of all who study English poetry." Every lover of literature should possess these volumes.

BRITISH INDIA.²—Mr. Wheeler has done good service by preparing

¹ "The Life and Letters of Edmund J. Armstrong." Edited by G. F. Armstrong. "Essays and Sketches and Poetical Works of E. J. Armstrong." (3 vols.) Longmans, Green & Co.

² "Early Records of British India." By T. J. Wheeler. Trübner & Co.

this work, in the compilation of which he has drawn liberally upon official documents, and upon writers now forgotten, who dealt with the early history of India. Touching upon the condition of the Moghul empire in 1738-39, Mr. Wheeler remarks that at this period it received a mortal blow. "Nadir Shah, of Persia, advanced with a large army upon Delhi. The story of the invasion of Nadir Shah reveals the fact that the Moghul empire was rotten at the core." In the dependencies also every thing pointed to a collapse. The author gives a full sketch of the administration of Clive and of his successor Verelst. The curious coincidence is mentioned, that precisely a century intervened between Clive's proposal to transfer the Government of India to the Crown and the day when the direct Government of India was actually assumed by Queen Victoria. Mr. Wheeler's work does not deal with the present century, but upon the early history of India its information is most precise and valuable.

THE HISTORY OF VICTORIA.¹—Mr. La Villiere has accomplished his task of relating the history of the colony of Victoria in a thorough and excellent manner. His pages bear witness to the completeness of his investigations, and the work is the most trustworthy which we have upon the subject. After a futile effort to colonize Victoria, in 1826, began the attempt which ultimately proved successful. The whole country was so beautiful and so fertile that it was at first proposed to call it Australia Felix. The pioneers of Victorian enterprise met with great difficulties, and their efforts were even censured by the Government in an indirect manner. The result, however, has abundantly proved their foresight. Melbourne was founded by John Pascoe Fawkner, and since that time the colony has made rapid strides in wealth and population. The soil appears to be as productive as any we have in England. Mr. La Villiere observes with regard to the founding of Melbourne and its subsequent progress, "It would have been a flight of fancy far too high for sober imagination to have conceived on that famous day, August 29th, 1835, when the placid waters of the Yarra were ruffled by Fawkner's little ship, that they were so soon to be disturbed by a ceaseless throng of vessels of various sorts and sizes, and the stillness of ages broken by the harsh screech of the civilizing locomotive and the many sounds of industry and commerce. But here, as in many other points in early colonial history, when we think of the pictures which fancy might have painted but never even ventured to sketch, we must remember Burke's description of colonial progress, 'Fiction lags after fact, invention is unfruitful, and imagination cold and barren.'" This record of the growth of an important British colony is well worth reading.

¹ "Early History of the Colony of Victoria." By Francis Peter La Villiere. Sampson Low, Marston & Co.

MR. FRANCILLON'S NEW NOVEL.¹—Mr. Francillon is developing into one of the best of our living writers of fiction, and the present work will distinctly add to his reputation. The story is better held in hand than in his previous works, and it is not of so eccentric a nature as we have been accustomed to. John March—otherwise Andrew Gordon, the famous composer—and Mademoiselle Clari, the prima donna, are the finest characters Mr. Francillon has yet conceived. They are most powerfully worked out, and indeed the whole novel exhibits unusual literary power. The plot is of no ordinary description, and though the reader at one time may fear it is in danger of becoming confused, it works round with considerable skill, till the naturalness of all its incidents become apparent. Whatever else may be said of this writer's works, they are never open to the charge of being vapid and dull. The most intellectually *ennuyéd* of readers may take up the present romance with the certainty of finding it full of freshness and interest.

ARCHDEACON DENISON'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.²—This work fulfills all the requisites of a true autobiography—it is graphic, racy, and vigorous. Archdeacon Denison is one of our muscular High Church Christians, who does not object to a good game of cricket on a Sunday afternoon. Pugnacity and courage are his characteristics from a religious point of view, but there is in him personally a good deal of that ready humor and that bluff frankness which are associated in the minds of foreigners with the typical John Bull. The Archdeacon is the eldest surviving child out of fourteen, all of whom grew up to man's or woman's estate. Several of the sons acquired celebrity: one became Speaker of the House of Commons, and was subsequently created Viscount Ossington; another was Bishop of Salisbury; a third was Deputy-Judge Advocate; a fourth was Chief Commissioner of Civil Service at Madras; a fifth acted for a time as Governor-General of India; and a sixth is the Archdeacon, now in his seventy-third year. Few families can show such a list of honors as that of Denison; and of all who have risen to eminence bearing the name, none have exhibited a greater amount of originality than the one who now records his experiences. One can scarcely fancy him a Bishop, and doubtless his numerous angularities have stood in the way of his further preferment in the Church. The story he has written of his life, however, is most interesting, and can not fail to be widely read.

THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT.³—The death of the author of this work

¹ "Strange Waters." A Novel. By R. E. Francillon, author of "Olympia," "Pearl and Emerald," etc. Bentley & Son.

² "Notes of My Life, 1805-1878." By George Anthony Denison. Parker & Co.

³ "The Chinese Government. A Manual of Chinese Titles, categorically arranged and explained." By W. F. Mayers, Chinese Secretary to Her Britannic Majesty's Legation at Peking. Trübner & Co.

has removed one of the ablest of Chinese scholars. It is, perhaps, not every one who desires to become acquainted with the paraphernalia of Chinese government, but for those who are called upon to do so Mr. Mayers's work will be found invaluable. Those who have not studied the question can form no idea of the ramifications of government in the various dependencies of China. The system of administration which prevails in one dependency is utterly unsuited to another, yet notwithstanding the vastness of the empire and the various requirements of the numerous provinces, the central government manages to keep itself *au fait* with all that transpires throughout the empire. Europeans have little conception of the details of management in this great empire; but the more it is studied, the more do we perceive the administrative skill which is required on the part of Chinese statesmen. This work conveys a large amount of information upon the subject of which it treats.

MISS TYTLER'S NEW STORY.¹—Miss Tytler is one of the most even of our numerous writers of fiction. She is never dull and commonplace on the one hand, or morbidly sensational on the other. Some of her portraits are like cameos, clear and sharply cut. There are two of such characters in the present volumes, which embrace two stories of Scotch life, well and gracefully told. They are fully equal to Miss Tytler's previous efforts in fiction.

ENGLISH MEN OF LETTERS.²—This series of books, edited by Mr. John Morley, is not intended for men of leisure, who have both taste and opportunity for becoming acquainted with the great masters of English literature. They are rather intended as a kind of digest of the lives and works of authors for those who can not possibly devote the time necessary to a thorough acquaintance with the original works themselves. So far the series has been very successfully executed. Mr. Leslie Stephen has long made a special study of Dr. Johnson and his period, and for that reason he was probably the best writer who could have been selected to deal with the great lexicographer. He lacks warmth of style, but though this might be a bar to his treatment of such characters as Byron and Shelley, it is none to the treatment of a man of letters like Dr. Johnson. For the biography of Scott, Mr. Morley has done wisely to go to Mr. R. H. Hutton. So far as the scope of the work is concerned, he has given us one of the finest monographs we possess upon the great novelist. None of his praise is exaggerated, and the whole sketch is full of the generous enthusi-

¹ "Scotch Firs." By Sarah Tytler. Smith, Elder & Co.

² "English Men of Letters." Edited by John Morley. "Johnson." By Leslie Stephen. "Scott." By R. H. Hutton. "Gibbon." By J. Cotter Morrison. Macmillan & Co.

asm of the writer for his subject. Gibbon does not furnish so interesting a topic as either of his predecessors in the series, and for that reason Mr. Morrison has been somewhat heavily weighted ; but the author is one of our best critics, and his work has been most conscientiously performed.

CANON FARRAR'S NEW WORK.¹—Canon Farrar writes a polished and graceful style, but he is not very deep or original in thought. The present volume is an example of the truth of both these observations. The reader will peruse the two hundred pages of which the work is composed with great pleasure, but he will be astonished to find a quotation from some well-known author upon almost every page. The writers drawn upon range from Ignatius (not the one who is also called Loyola) down to Tennyson. The saintly workers discoursed upon are the martyrs of the Church, the hermits, the monks, the early Franciscans, and the missionaries. From each class Canon Farrar draws lessons which will be helpful in the present day. The work is in places really eloquent, and, as we have intimated, the whole may be read with profit and interest.

FRENCH PICTURES IN ENGLISH CHALK.²—These sketches are exceedingly graphic ; in fact, it may be doubted whether we have another English writer who so thoroughly comprehends the French character with its peculiar idiosyncrasies as the author of "The Member for Paris." He here exhibits his usual powers of satire and pathos. His stories are not only full of interest, but they are well written and reveal very considerable powers of observation and analysis. Perhaps the finest of these sketches are those entitled "Fleur-de-Lys" and "Justin Vitali's Client." There are touches of humanity in both, which fix them indelibly upon the memory, while the incidents upon which they are founded are of no ordinary description. The whole volume is well calculated to sustain the reputation of the author in this class of literature.

MOLLY BAWN.³—The writer of this novel manifested considerable power in her previous work, but the effect of the story as a whole was marred by several coarse passages. There is nothing of this kind in "Molly Bawn," and we confess with satisfaction the pleasure derived from its perusal. The first half of the story sparkles with badinage, while the portrait of Molly, the heroine, is a beautiful and bewitching one. There are darker shades in the latter half of the novel, which, though they

¹ "Saintly Workers. Five Lenten Lectures delivered in St. Andrew's, Holborn." By F. W. Farrar, D.D., F.R.S., etc., Canon of Westminster. Macmillan & Co.

² "French Pictures in English Chalk." (Second Series). By the author of "The Member for Paris," etc. Smith, Elder & Co.

³ "Molly Bawn." By the author of "Phyllis." Smith, Elder & Co. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1878.

give a deeper thrill of interest to it, are not likely to be so popular as the lighter shades of character and the tender descriptions of nature in the earlier portion. But the author has undoubtedly made an advance upon "Phyllis," and may be welcomed as an addition to the number of living original novelists.

MRS. OLIPHANT'S NEW NOVEL.¹—It is not long since we had occasion to comment upon Mrs. Oliphant's literary fecundity, and yet here she is again with a new three-volume story. And a very good one it is withal. This writer, when at her best, has a very true gift in the delineation of character. Margaret and her father, in the present story, are well worthy of being ranked as amongst the best of the pictures in Mrs. Oliphant's now very extensive portrait-gallery. There are also picturesque passages of description here and there, and not a little of the better and subtler class of humor. Altogether her readers will not complain so long as they receive from Mrs. Oliphant such genuine work as is to be found in this Scotch story.

LITERARY TALK IN LONDON.—The appearance of the new drama by Mr. Tennyson—referred to in my last—will be preceded by the publication of a volume of lyrical poems. The poet-laureate is now engaged in correcting the proof-sheets of this work, which will be looked forward to with great interest by all lovers of literature. Mr. Spencer Walpole, the distinguished conservative member of Parliament, is engaged upon a "History of England" in the nineteenth century, or rather from the peace of 1815, the first volume of which will be published early by Messrs. Longmans & Co. We already possess several histories of considerable value upon the eighteenth century, but this new field is rich enough for many coming workers. Mr. Wilkie Collins, who has been seriously out of health, and who has been sojourning in Italy, has returned to England. He is now considerably stronger, but his progress towards perfect recovery is very slow.—The *Examiner*, which had such a brilliant career under Leigh Hunt, and subsequently under Fonblanque, is, as your readers are doubtless aware, now the property of that clever radical young nobleman, the Earl of Rosebery. It has recently been edited by Mr. W. Minto, but this gentleman has retired, and the paper is now under the editorship of Mr. Robert Williams, an able Oxford man and a trenchant writer. Mr. Williams made his literary mark some years ago by his translation of Aristotle. He is very popular in literary circles here. While upon this point, I may mention that a previous editor of the *Examiner*, Mr. Lewis Sergeant, has just published a very creditable work upon "New Greece."—A sketch of the dis-

¹ "The Primrose Path." By Mrs. Oliphant. Hurst & Blackett.

tinguished Austrian statesman, Count Beust, has just been published, which is said to be the work of a gentleman well known in the diplomatic world. —Another anonymous work recently issued, "Work in the Five Dials," heralded by an introductory note from the pen of Mr. Carlyle, is by the Hon. Maude Stanley, a sister of the present Lord Stanley of Alderley.

GEORGE BARNETT SMITH.

LONDON.

THE LITERARY MOVEMENT IN GERMANY.

THE interest in Greece aroused in many minds at present by the questions pending between that country and Turkey, is a fair reason for recalling early Grecian history. Georg Busolt, already well known to classical students by his "Second Athenian Confederation," of 1874, now comes to us with a more extended work upon the "Lacedæmonians and their Confederates."¹ The volume before us only reaches down to the founding of Athens' naval supremacy, although the author had at first intended to make it extend to the Peloponnesian war. He treats of the Lacedæmonian state and of its importance in the Peloponnesus; of the political condition of Lakonia's neighbors in the first decades of the sixth century, and of the founding of the Lacedæmonian supremacy in the Peloponnesus, of Sparta as the leading power of Hellas, and of its position during the Persian wars. The clearness with which the subject is treated is duly reflected in a readable print.

The door to classical history is the languages of Greece and Rome. If we observe to how large an extent the Latin instruction in America is a mere babble of unknown words, speedily forgotten, and if we reflect that even German teachers complain of their own Latin instruction as not thorough and systematic enough, we shall be glad to welcome every work calculated to further the study of Latin. Theodor Arndt has prepared a compendium of "Latin Syntax,"² which deserves such welcome. The fame of the Teubner firm in regard to classical helps need not be recalled to the many American scholars who find its name on the title-pages of so many of their books. As Brambach's thin pamphlet on Latin spelling has become an authority and a constant book of reference, it is to be hoped that many a scholar and many a teacher will also find these thirty-five

¹ Busolt, "Die Lakedaimonier und ihre Bundesgenossen. Erster Band. Bis zur Begründung der athenischen Seehegemonie." Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1878. (viii. 486 pp. 8 vo.) 12 Marks, or \$3.

² Arndt, "Lateinische Syntax. Im Auszuge bearbeitet." Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1878. (35 pp. 8vo.) 0.60 Marks, or \$0.15.

pages of Arndt of great use in teaching syntax. It may also be remarked that much of the book can be understood by one who knows but little German, owing to the large number of Latin words or of familiar grammatical terms.

Arndt issues at the same time the second course of his "Latin Exercises."¹ Able classical teachers at Harvard, Yale, and the University of Michigan are using every means to improve the method of classical instruction throughout the country. We think that if those whom they are trying to enlighten could see in this book what the "lower" classes in Germany are expected to take as a "part" of their work, the comparison of it with their own antiquated manuals would be startling. Look at one example: on page sixteen, reference is made to the section of the grammar on adverbs; this is followed by a page of closely pressed Latin sentences from standard authors, and then by a page of German sentences to be rendered into Latin, containing, of course, examples for the rules. At the close are almost forty pages of vocabulary, judiciously arranged, which must be memorized. The author insists upon it, as the best teachers now commonly do, that the scholars should retain the book during their gymnasium course and "repeat" in it. This "repeating," reviewing, or quizzing, done by teacher and pupil, or by pupils among themselves, is one of the most important and valuable points in German classical instruction.

The antipode of ancient research is modern discovery. In these days of excitement about Stanley's journey, a new and good book, by Ernst Marno, upon Africa,² will be well received, even though the author's departure for a third African journey may have rendered the preparation of the book somewhat hasty. In the account of his journeys from Suakin to Berber, Chartun, Lado, and to the country north of the Moutan Lake, of his stay at the rain-torrent bed (Nile arm) Tura el chadra, and of his Kordofan excursions, he gives, in a simple way, much information as to the geography, people, and fauna, and even an interesting series of fables about animals which he heard related.

Marno illustrates the account by means of thirty plates, forty-one pictures in the text, four mountain panoramic views from original sketches, and two maps. To this should be joined Chavanne's "Physical Map of Africa,"³ in four sheets of color-print, on the scale of 1: 8,000,000. The large and the small map show the characteristics of the continent, its

¹ Arndt, "Lateinisches Uebungsbuch. Für den Gebrauch in den untern Classen höherer Lehranstalten bearbeitet. Zweiter Cursus." Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1878. (vi. 215 pp. 8vo.) 2.10 Marks, or \$0.53.

² Marno, "Reise in der ägyptischen Aequatorial-Provinz und in Kordofan, in den Jahren 1874-1876." Vienna: Holder. 1878. (viii. 286 and 168 pp. lexicon 8vo.)

³ Chavanne, "Physikalische Wandkarte von Afrika." Mit einer gedruckten Beilage. Vienna: Hölzel. 1878.

surface, temperature, rainfall, and flora. The supplement furnishes a summarizing map of the chief routes of travelers, and a valuable chronological list of all African voyages of discovery.

Professor Paul Schanz, of Tübingen, in "Galileo Galilei and his Trial,"¹ judiciously sums up in a clear view the results of the late researches into this vexed matter. Pages 5-18 deal with Galileo's earlier life, up to 1613; pages 19-42 with the theological discussions touching the Copernican system, and the decision of 1616; and pages 43-68 describe Galileo's life from 1616 to his death, especially his condemnation and retraction in 1633. The statements are well fortified with pertinent references. Schanz's conclusion is the fair one, in regard to the Catholic Church, namely, that "the Roman tribunal made a mistake that is to be acknowledged, but that it shared this error with the great majority of scholars." He adds well that "the publication of the minutes of the trial has at least furnished proof that the dark colors of many historians have been borrowed rather from fancy than from the reality."

We can commend to those who regard this age as the worst the world has ever seen the consideration of a little book by Professor Wirthmüller, of Munich, "Upon the Moral Law."²

After defining the fundamental conceptions, he speaks of the eternal law of morals, of the natural law, of the positive divine law, and of the human law. Sometimes it is said that those who busy themselves with moral questions exclusively, lose their perceptions of right and wrong in practical morals. It may be that the present state of a large part of society is then due to too extensive moral discussions; but however that may be, the men alluded to can expect no further injury in the direction indicated, and might be benefited by attention to some such works as this. Let us have a little more morals and a little less legislative and official bribery and corruption, a little less public and private lying, stealing, and cheating, a little less condoning the crimes of "respectable" scoundrels.

Every student of polite literature is aware of the vast hymnological treasures of the German language. Many hear of but a few chance hymns in translations, but others, taking up the originals and applying them to the grand old chorals, reproduce for themselves the sounds that fill the uncouth churches of the Fatherland. Nevertheless, few find time to make extensive researches into these treasures and their history, and few are able to learn by isolated inquiries the points of interest which attach to their favorite hymns. Superintendent A. F. W. Fischer comes to their help

¹ Schanz, "Galileo Galilei und Sein Prozess. Nach den neuesten Forschungen." Würzburg: Leo Woerl. 1878. (68 pp. 8vo.) 0.80 Marks, or \$0.20.

² Wirthmüller, J. B., "Ueber das Sittengesetz." Würzburg: Leo Woerl. 1878. (70 pp. 8vo.) 0.80 Marks, or \$0.20.

with his "Hymn Lexicon,"¹ the first part of which is in our hands. The work is to contain "hymnological and literary notes upon about four thousand five hundred of the most important and widely spread of the hymns of all ages, in alphabetical order, accompanied by a review of the hymn-writers. To judge by the first half, which reaches to the letter J, Fischer has done his work well. He arranges the hymns alphabetically, by their first lines, always adding the second line to secure the identity of each. The description states the contents of the hymn, the number of its stanzas, the tune, the author, and a list of hymn-books in which it is found. In case of need, detailed researches follow as to the author, or date, or shape of disputed lines. For example, under the hymn "Jesus my Trust" ("Jesus meine Zuversicht"), we find six pages of fine print, bearing largely upon the point whether or not Luise Henriette, Electress of Brandenburg, wrote it. Not infrequently in changed hymns the first lines of all the stanzas are quoted. Sometimes inserted or altered parts are given in full. A brief glance at these pages will be enough to appall any one who thinks that hymns should be carefully preserved in their original shape. The second half of the lexicon is soon to follow.

It is rarely the case that an author appoints to his volumes a title which the reader feels to be far too modest. Adolf Stahr, however, did so in calling his charming essays on art² a "torso." The work had been long out of print, and he had prepared the new edition in so far that he hoped to publish it by the year 1877, but his death on October 3d, 1876, put an end to his labors. A relative, Wilhelm Gurlitt, closed the revision of the book, and offers it to us in the new form. As the editor declares, the book needs no better recommendation than Rauch's: he said that the "Torso" was one of the few works on the history of art from which the practical artist could learn something. Beginning with a view of Greece and its people, of the mythical art-father Dædalus, and of the connection between Greek and Eastern art, Stahr leads us gracefully through the different periods in such a way as to deceive us in learning while we seem but to be amusing ourselves. The latter part of volume first is devoted to five special essays: the position of the artist in Greek life; art and freedom; the portrait; coloring works of sculpture; and the nude in Greek sculpture. His remarks upon the last topic might well be taken to heart by young American students, and even be read to ad-

¹ Fischer, "Kirchenlieder-Lexicon." Erste Hälfte, die Lieder aus den Buchstaben A—J umfassend. Gotha: F. A. Perthes. 1878. (xxxii. 418 pp. large 8vo.) 12 Marks, or \$3.

² Stahr, "Torso. Kunst, Künstler und Kunstwerke des griechischen und römischen Alterthums." Zweite vermehrte und verbesserte Ausgabe letzter Hand. In zwei Theilen. Braunschweig: F. Vieweg und Sohn. 1878. (xvii. 642, xvii. 558 pp. 8vo.) 20 Marks, or \$5.

vantage by such canvas-coverers and flesh-uncoverers as Hans Makart. Nevertheless, he, in certain points, claims more, we think, for Greek dress than can be supported by history. The second volume pursues the history through Alexander's day to the later schools, and describes art among the Romans down to the end of Hadrian's reign. The closing division treats at length of the statues and busts of the Roman emperors, and of the colossal in plastic art. In the latter essay, Stahr refers to Schwanthaler's colossal "Bavaria" at Munich, and among other things says, "A 'Bavaria' that views itself as a colossus in the giant form of a Bavarian Pallas, is in and of itself an absurdity that a Greek's brain would not conceive of."

Friedric Kenner's "Friend"¹ is a very innocent novelette, in which a devotee and a free-thinker, happening to be of different sex and to interest each other, after various harsh fortunes, are induced to become man and wife, on an indefinite general basis which free-thinking readers will consider their own, and which is as well suited to contain the thoughts of the most mystical devotee. We notice it here, neither for its forced plot nor for its "tendency," which we have not been able to discover with any certainty, but because the whole story gives a good view of the life and ways in an Austrian province. The name "Friend" is that of a dog, "bonnie wi' ill-faur'dness," which serves as an important figure from beginning to end.

Herzog's theological "Encyclopedia"² advances rapidly. The third volume reaches to Du Bergier. Professor Franz Delitzsch's article on "Daniel" shows that he concedes nearly all a sensible critic will demand; he should, however, not put too much trust in Lenormant for Assyriological matters. The first two parts of the fourth volume are already in our hands. Scheurl's article on "Eherecht" ("Marriage Laws") is of especial interest in the present confusion of Germany in entering upon the civil marriage of the new laws. Professor Zahn, of Erlangen, has a full article upon "New Testament Introduction."

The reference to Professor Delitzsch reminds us that his new edition of the Hebrew New Testament is almost ready. For his next programme as Dean of the theological faculty at the university, he is preparing a paper on the readings of the Complutensian Polyglot in the Old Testament. With the last number for this year, which is already printed, and will soon be published, Professor Delitzsch's review, the "Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche," will cease to appear. Not merely would it be too great a strain for him to edit it alone, now that

¹ Kenner, "Freund. Novelle in fünf Büchern." Dresden: E. Pierson. 1878. (236 pp. 16mo.) 3 Marks, or \$0.75.

² Herzog, "Real-Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche." Vol. III. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs. 1878. (806 pp. large 8vo.) 10 Marks, or \$2.50.

Guericke has passed away, but also the review needs to be replaced by one on new rules, untrammelled by former engagements and matters of habit.

Tollin has completed his development of Servetus's doctrinal system,¹ and to our mind has thoroughly shown that the Spaniard was, as he expresses it, "more than a mere episode in Calvin's life." Every student of systematic theology who pretends to look into the theology of the sixteenth century, should take up and work over these three volumes by Tollin.

We seem to have fallen into theological lines and may as well continue. The Kempten translation of the principal work of the church fathers progresses fast, and is drawing near its close. Many of the chief fathers are already finished. This "Library of the Church Fathers"² supplies the reader of German, at a trifling cost, with, for the most part, excellent translations of almost every patristic work that he will wish to read. We know these volumes to be in use among learned professors as ready hand-books of patristics. They are a valuable gift to the general church, and are a worthy witness to the learning and devotion of the Catholic clergy. Over thirty scholars, many of them busy parish priests, have served in this work of love for the church. Two hundred and eighty-four of these tiny volumes have already been issued. If any one scorns them as the product of Catholic scholarship, he is an object for pity, but unworthy of contempt.

May we add a word touching two foreign books? Our review has no place for Scandinavian and Greek books, but perhaps that is because of their scarcity, so let us greet two which have appeared.

Mr. Belsheim has published an edition of the "Golden Codex,"³ found in the Royal Library at Stockholm. It is a Latin manuscript of the four gospels. The editor conceives it to be a pre-Hieronymic translation, but in this he is mistaken, singular as the fact is that Rönsch, in reviewing it, neglected to state this. The codex is nevertheless not without value, and Mr. Belsheim deserves thanks for his work. In the preface he gives the details of his collation of this manuscript with other Latin manuscripts; in this work he has not always been perfectly accurate, as may be discovered by checking it. It is a pity that no page-headings help the use of this collation. The frontispiece is a gorgeous plate from the beginning of the manuscript (Matthew i. 18), with richly illuminated letters. This page also is annotated with the indirect information that the codex was in

¹ Tollin, "Das Lehrsystem Michael Servet's genetisch dargestellt." Vol. III. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann. 1878. (xv. 319 pp. 8vo.)

² "Bibliothek der Kirchenväter. Auswahl der vorzüglichsten patristischen Werke in deutscher Uebersetzung." Kempten: J. Kösel. Price, per volume, of say 100 pp. 16mo, 0.40 Marks, or \$0.10.

³ "Codex Aureus sive Quatuor Evangelia ante Hieronymum Latine translata . . . edidit Joannes Belsheim." Christiania: P. T. Malling. 1878. (lvi. 384 pp. 8vo.) With five plates. 11 krone 25 øre, or \$3.65.

England in the ninth century. It was probably written in the sixth century.

If we speed from Stockholm to Athens, Mr. G. Constantinos places before our eyes the first volume of his "Critical and Practical Interpretation of the Sacred Gospels."¹ This is a more scientific work than a previous commentary which he had published in 1872 and 1876. The first interest in this book will attach to it as a fresh token of a "renaissance" in Grecian scholarship. But the student of the New Testament in western lands will find in this Greek commentary a great deal of instruction, both from the very endeavor to discuss Greek in Greek and from the numerous patristic citations. It is pleasant to find the author's references in the preface to several English and American scholars, and in particular to Dr. Philip Schaff, of New York.

CASPAR RENÉ GREGORY.

LEIPZIG.

THE LITERARY MOVEMENT IN FRANCE.

THIS autumn season will witness the issue of a large number of luxurious editions of well-known books from some of the most celebrated publishing-houses in Paris. Hachette & Co. exhibit, in the dainty nook where they are established in the International Palace, on the Champ de Mars, the proof-sheets of numerous volumes destined to create a profound sensation. Most conspicuous among these is the "Orlando Furioso" of Ariosto, translated into French prose, and profusely illustrated with designs from Doré's nimble pencil. The great master of the grotesque and picturesque in drawing has fairly excelled himself on this occasion. His imagination revels in the portrayal of the mysterious forests, the knights clad in armor and mounted upon prancing steeds, the dreadful combats, the miraculous adventures, of which Ariosto sang. Few great poems have been printed in so many and such beautiful forms as the "Orlando;" but this newest edition will, in the future, outrank those of Venice, Parma, and Milan. A fortune has been expended upon this princely volume, and the engravings are perfect beyond praise. Early in October, the Messrs. Hachette will have their new issue of the "Memoirs of Saint Simon" complete. These exquisite books will contain no less than five hundred

¹ Ἑρμηνεία κριτικὴ καὶ πρακτικὴ τῶν ἱερῶν εὐαγγελίων εἰς τόμους δύο μετὰ προλεγομένων περὶ γνησιότητος, ἀνθεντίας, θεοπνευστίας, γλώσσης, ἐποχῆς αὐτῶν, κτλ. Μετ' εἰκονογραφίων, γεωγραφικῶν χάρτων καὶ πανομοιοτύπων χειρογράφων. Τόμος α'. Εὐαγγέλια κατὰ Ματθαῖον καὶ κατὰ Μάρκον. Ἐν Ἀθῆναις, ἐκ τοῦ τυπογραφείου τῆς Ἀθηναίδος (Ὁδὸς Βουλῆς Ἀριθ. 29) 1878. (λθ', 544 pp. 8vo.) Δρ. 5 : 00.

medallion portraits of the noted persons mentioned in Saint Simon's gossip narrative. Yet another superbly illustrated work, which the same enterprising firm is preparing, is the "Recits Merovingiens," to be issued in parts, each *livraison* containing a picture, illustrating an historical episode, by the celebrated artist Laurens. A fourth volume, announced for October, is "Aucasson and Nicolette," a fabliau of the twelfth century, for which Bida has contributed some very remarkable illustrations. From Bida's hand has also come the pictures which illustrate the books of "Esther," "Ruth," and "Joseph," from the Old Testament, shortly to be published separately by Hachette. The "Ruth" is a delicious poem, and may fairly be considered Bida's masterpiece. The original sketches for "Ruth" and "Esther," shown at the exhibition, have elicited universal admiration.

Messrs. Alfred Mame & Son, of Tours, and Hachette & Co., of Paris, have the honor of receiving the two grand prizes at the Universal Exhibition, as publishers. The first mentioned firm will shortly publish two beautiful books, the lives of "Saint Louis" and "Saint Elizabeth," with many chromos as well as ordinary engravings in each. Books of such luxurious character seem only suitable for the libraries of princes or of bibliomaniacs.

We have latterly been treated to such a revival of the school of sentimental fiction in France, that memories of "Werther" have been evoked, despite a determination to be charitable, and not to make any unfavorable comparisons. M. Octave Feuillet, who keeps apart from the gay and fashionable world of Paris, and matures his talents in the seclusion of a country château, has just sent forth a volume impregnated with Wertherian sentiment and melancholy. "A Woman's Journal"¹ is pure and free from many of the extravagances of which, in earlier years, its author was guilty; but the tone of discouragement, even of despair, which pervades it is far from healthy. M. Feuillet shows us a series of persons enveloped in a tissue of misunderstandings, partially because of their own sensitiveness and timidity, partly because of certain absurd social conventionalities. Two delicate and highly cultured women, married to men whom they cannot love, lead an existence which is necessarily full of temptation and danger. The woman who tells the story loves the husband of the other unfortunate lady, but nobly keeps her secret during the life of her rival, who is herself so unhappy that she commits a fault, and then, heart-broken at her shame, leaves the world by means of suicide. If the book teaches any thing, it is that, by a lack of frankness towards each other, numerous persons can be made extremely miserable for life. M. Feuillet's grace of description has not deserted him, and his minute and comprehensive analy-

¹ "Le Journal d'une Femme." Par Octave Feuillet. 3eme édition. Paris: Calmann Levy. 1878.

sis of character is as striking as ever. The "Cecile" of this volume, the poor young girl-wife who has a wretched fate when there was not the least necessity for it, will rank as one of Feuillet's most life-like creations. There are a few episodes from the late war, told with wonderful vividness and power, in this book.

Akin, by its general character, to the "Woman's Journal," is the latest novel by Gustave Haller, as a clever lady who has recently married and assumed high social position in France chooses to call herself. "Le Bleuët," Gustave Haller's early work, gained a wide circle of readers, and was introduced to the French public with a preface by no less a personage than George Sand. The present novel is called "The Nail in the Convent,"¹ and for the second title has the divine injunction, "Love one another." It recites the heart history of a young workman who, sent one day by his employer to hang a picture in a convent, is impressed by the face of a beautiful nun whom he accidentally sees, and decides that she is the ideal woman of whom he has long been in search. A fortunate misstep precipitates him from the ladder on which he is perched, while driving a nail, and allows him to remain, while recovering, in the convent long enough to declare his passion. After the young nun has had fearful struggles with her conscience, she discovers that she has made a mistake in her vocation, and returns to the world, informing the workman that he has won her heart and that she will marry him. But the workman is amazed to discover that his love is the daughter of a rich marquis, and, as he has vowed hatred to the aristocracy, he prefers to sacrifice his heart rather than to accept an alliance which he fancies would degrade him. So he leaves the late nun lamenting, and goes off to speculate in co-operative schemes, until at last the old marquis, the girl's father, manages to cure him of his sulkiness and his pride, and to make him his son-in-law. The aim of the author of the story is to show the folly of the mutual distrust which prevails between the upper and lower classes in this old and somewhat disorganized society. But one can not help feeling that there is a certain despair of accomplishing her desire in the author's heart, a despair reflected upon almost every page. Gustave Haller is a profound thinker, but would do far better to put her social theories into essays rather than to include them in her novels, which are charming when she does not indulge her tendency to preach.

The fifth and last volume of M. Edmond Scherer's "Studies in Contemporary Literature"² has just appeared. It merits careful reading, and will convince even the incredulous that Sainte-Beuve is not long to remain without worthy successors. M. Scherer is one of the most trench-

¹ "Le Clou au Convent." Par Gustave Haller. Paris: Calmann Levy. 1878.

² "Etudes sur la Littérature Contemporaine." Tome 5eme. Par Edmond Scherer. Paris: Calmann Levy. 1878.

ant as well as witty and accomplished of living French critics, and he has lately attracted much attention by the vigorous manner in which he has attacked M. Taine's "Origins of Contemporary France," and more especially that distinguished author's judgments upon the Revolution. "The principal fault in the work of M. Taine," writes M. Scherer, "is that it is sectarian. The word is harsh, but it is impossible to take it back. The writer here shows himself quite the contrary of the untrammelled spirit which we expected, with which we were acquainted. He is the enemy of the Revolution as one is the enemy of notions and facts for which one has no place in his system. It is an heresy which disturbs his orthodoxy—a false religion which disquiets his belief; he seeks to rid himself of this nightmare by persuading himself and others that it is only an evil dream, an incoherent mass of atrocities and absurdities, a brutal fact without idea and without excuse. . . . The French Revolution has had the effect of changing him who was apparently the most disinterested and the most abstract of our thinkers into a heated controversialist, into a partisan and prejudiced writer." M. Scherer was delegated by the Republican party to do justice upon Taine, and he has done it. In his present volume he deals delightfully with a wide range of literary topics. He gossips of André Chenier and his verses; of Madame de La Roche Jaquelein and M. de Barante; of the two Ampères; of Lamartine and Eugene Fromentin; of "Daniel Deronda," and of George Eliot's peculiar characteristics; of M. Renan's "Philosophical Dialogues;" and his admirable remarks on the translation into French of Goethe's "Faust" are also included. For George Eliot, M. Scherer, who is thoroughly acquainted with English literature, has an enthusiastic admiration; and he is sarcastic in his reproaches to his countrymen because they remain ignorant of the great literary movement in progress on the other side of the Channel. Despite his earnest worship of some of the great woman's qualities, M. Scherer can not refrain from uttering the opinion that George Eliot's art is in danger from her constant tendency to theorize. "Among all the contradictions of which life is made up," he says, "there is none more striking than this one: there is no great art without philosophy, and yet no more dangerous enemy of art than reflection." For Lamartine, and more especially the Lamartine of old age, M. Scherer shows himself a severe critic.

The memory of the great poet just mentioned has received a fresh dedication recently by the erection of a statue at Macon, an occasion which brought forth eulogies from numerous prominent writers and politicians. M. Henri Lacretelle has also just published an interesting volume called "Lamartine and his Friends."¹ It overflows with anecdotes, and brings

¹ "Lamartine et ses Amis." Par Henri de Lacretelle. 1 vol. Paris: Maurice Dreyfus. 1878.

up in kaleidoscopic review a host of dead and gone celebrities, such as Madame de Girardin, Montalembert, Emile Deschamps, Alfred de Vigny, Saumet, Jules Janin, and Ponsard. The reader will search in vain in this piquant book for any careful appreciation of Lamartine's literary worth, but he will gain numerous glimpses of the poet's private life. Such works are useful, and are so popular that M. Rivet, a pleasant writer of some note, has been persuaded to publish one upon Victor Hugo. The serene old poet has offered no objections to the publication of the simplest details of his daily round of duty and pleasure.

The rage for memoirs still exists, and it is announced that the Duke de Broglie has been tempted by it to prepare the publication of two volumes containing numerous extracts from the correspondence of his family, and certain curious documents on the secret policy of Louis the Fifteenth, whose principal agent was a Count de Broglie. It is also said that a series of letters by a certain Madame de Gerando, of whom Madame de Staël spoke as one of the best writers of her time, will soon be published. The second edition of the late M. de Lomenie's "The Countess of Rochefort and her Friends,"¹ possesses an interest for historical students. It is an animated picture of the society of the eighteenth century. Another posthumous book, De Remusat's "Saint Bartholomew,"² continues to enjoy marked popularity. The sinister figures of Charles the Ninth and Catherine de Medicis are brought out in this work in as strong relief as they sometimes are on the stage. De Remusat possessed an essentially dramatic genius, which he seems to have struggled to keep in check rather than to develop and strengthen.

M. Emile Caney is a prominent publicist, and at present a deputy. He has just published, under the title of "Questions of To-day and To-morrow,"³ a strong attack upon the clerical party and its influence upon the education and morals of the country's population. The book has excited most violent criticism from the Catholic clergy and the reactionary element in politics. In "The Little Sister,"⁴ an ethereal romance from the pen of M. Ernest Daudet, the author preaches the solid consolations which spring from lives of abnegation. Between such refreshing books as this and the atrocities of M. Belot and others of his tribe, there is an impossible gulf.

Twelve superb volumes of the new edition of the works of La Place,⁵

¹ "La Comtesse de Rochefort et ses Amis." Par Louis de Lomenie. 1 vol. Paris: Calmann Levy. 1878.

² "Saint Barthélemy." Par Charles de Remusat. 1 vol. Paris: Calmann Levy. 1878.

³ "Questions d'aujourd'hui et de demain." Par Emile Caney. 1 vol. Paris: Calmann Levy. 1878.

⁴ "La Petite Sœur." Par Ernest Daudet. 1 vol. Paris: Dentu. 1878.

⁵ "Œuvres Complètes de La Place." Paris: Gauthier-Villars. 1878.

issued in accordance with a provision in a will left by the great man's son, have been issued, and others will soon follow. The first volume contains the famous "Traité de mécanique céleste." From the same publishing-house a collection of the scientific works of the celebrated physician, M. Léon Foucault,¹ has been issued; the proofs of this volume were read by Madame Foucault, mother of the deceased scientist, and a woman eighty-three years old.

No history of French philosophy in the nineteenth century existed until M. Ferraz, Professor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Letters of Lyons, and author of "The Psychology of Saint Augustine,"² wrote one. The first volume of this ambitious work is now published, and has received the most favorable notice. It is at once historical, filled with lively and important biographical details, with impartial and severe criticism, and vigorous polemics.

Those interested in social science should read the remarkable study in experimental psychology written by M. Bernard Perez, entitled "The Child's First Three Years."³ For the general reader, M. Baudrillart's "History of Luxury"⁴ will have a singular fascination. It is as interesting as a romance, yet it may almost claim to be a philosophical work. M. Baudrillart announces that he has given twelve years of his life to the research necessary to the completion of this history. The years have been well spent; the essays on the effect of luxury on our modern society are very striking.

During the last two months the minor poets have sent forth to the world several volumes of verse, none of which, it is to be regretted, seem likely to gain enduring fame. Among the most noticeable are "Edel,"⁵ by Paul Bourget. It is a rhythmic story, full of clever description and intense feeling; but it is not great. François Coppée is a fine singer, with a note which promises to make itself remembered; but in his new volume of "Elegies and Recitals"⁶ there are not so many proofs of this as one might reasonably desire.

EDWARD KING.

PARIS.

¹ "Recueil des Travaux Scientifiques de Léon Foucault." Paris: Gauthier-Villars. 1878. 1 vol. et un atlas.

² "Etude sur la Philosophie en France au XIXeme Siècle." Par M. Ferraz, Professeur de Philosophie à Lyon.

³ "Les Trois Premières Années de l'Enfant." Par Bernard Perez. Paris: Germer Baillière. 1878.

⁴ "Histoire du Luxe." Par M. Baudrillart, de l'Institut. 1 vol. in 8vo. Paris: Hachette. 1878.

⁵ "Edel; Poème." Par Paul Bourget. 1 vol in 18mo. Paris: Lemerre. 1878.

⁶ "Les Recits et Elégies." Par François Coppée. Paris: Lemerre. 1878.

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